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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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EDITED BY

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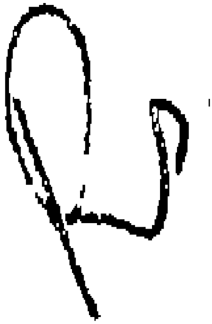
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The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 4, last line,— *for* a Hechche *read* at Hechche.

,, 17, line 10 from top,—*for* Phaukaprasravana *read* Phankaprasravaṇa.

,, 32, line 17 from bottom,—*for* nI *read* In.

,, 41, line 8 from top,—*for* Nāḍlai *read* Nāḍlāi.

,, 48, foot-note 1,—*for* Badāri *read* Badāri.

Page 107, text line 17,— *for* Ḍhinḍhaka- *read* Tthiṇḍaka.

,, 108, line 14 from bottom ,, ,, ,,

,, 120, No. 10.—The dates in the Burmese inscription at Bōdh-Gayā are said to fall in January, A.D. 1295, and November, A.D. 1298: that, however, is not correct: the case is as follows.—(1) The first date answers quite regularly, for the year B.E. 657 expired, to Friday, 16th December, A.D. 1295.—(2) The second date is "irregular": instead of working out for a Sunday as given in the record, for the year B.E. 660 expired, the given lunar day answers to Monday, 13th October, A.D. 1298; and for the year B.E. 660 current it answers to Thursday, 24th October, A.D. 1297.—See my paper in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1913, pp. 378-84, where I have treated these two dates fully, and have shown how easily Burmese dates may be calculated by using the means provided by Sir Alfred Irwin in his *Burmese and Arakanese Calendars* (1909) and his "Elements of the Burmese Calendar from A.D. 638 to 1752" published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 39 (1910), pp. 289-315.—J. F. Fleet.

,, 144, text line 31,—for अह्माखे *read* ग्रह्माखे.

,, 172, below Table XIII,—for 177 *read* 171.

,, 185, line 36 from top,—*cancel the words* "who was the King's commander-in-chief."

,, 236, line 3 from bottom,—for Konguṇivarman *read* Koṅgoṇivarman.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XI.

No. 1.—AN INSCRIPTION AT DEVAGERI.

By J. F. Fleet, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.

This inscription has been mentioned by me in vol. 5 above, p. 172: and I have given a brief statement of the purport of it under No. 29 in my List of Spurious Records in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 30 (1901), p. 217. I publish it now for the first time, and give a facsimile of it from an ink-impression made for me by Mr. Kalyan Sitaram Chitre in 1890, when (if my memory is correct) he was Māmlatdār of the Sampgaum tāluka of the Belgaum District.

The inscription is on a stone which was found in a field, Survey No. 85, at Dēvagēri, a village about six miles west-by-south from Karajgi, the head-quarters of the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwār District. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) shews the place as 'Dewgeeree'. The Map of the Dhārwār Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Deogeree'. The Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) presents its name as 'Deogiri'. And the Dhārwār volume (1884) of the Bombay Gazetteer treats it as 'Devgiri' (p. 665). In connexion with some early Kadamba copperplate records which were obtained at this village, I originally gave its name as 'Dēvagiri',[1] in accordance with those spellings. Subsequently I was given to understand that the cultivators call it 'Dēvagere', and that this should be taken as its real name: and I have sometimes used this form.[2] Since then, however, I have ascertained that a record of A.D. 1075 in the temple of Basavaṇṇa at the village itself distinctly gives its name as Dēvaṁgēri, as also does a record of the period A.D. 1210-47 at the temple of Mārtaṇḍadēva at a neighbouring village, Kōḷūr: also, that the impression of a record of A.D. 1121 in the temple of Basavaṇṇa, while leaving it doubtful whether the original does or does not present the *anusvāra*, again distinctly gives the second component of the name as *gēri*, and thus yields either Dēvaṁgēri or Dēvagēri. Further, Mr. K. S. Chitre, while writing the name on the impressions sent by him to me as 'Dēvagiri' in English characters, according to the official spelling, wrote it as 'Dēvagērī', in the same place, in the Mōḍī or current Marāṭhī characters. I therefore entertain no doubt that what the cultivators really call the village is, not 'Dēvagere' (as reported to me), but Dēvagēri, and that this

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 7, p. 33: and I have used the form 'Dēogiri' in vol. 5 above, p. 172.

[2] For instance, in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency vol. 1, part 2, p. 285 ff.

is the form of the name that should be used.[1] At the same time, in justification to a certain extent of the official form of the name, I may state that a record of A.D. 1674 on a pillar in the same temple of Basavaṇṇa does distinctly present the name as **Dēvagiri**, and thus carries back the corrupt form for an appreciable time. The inscription now published does not mention the name Dēvaṁgēri in any form, but speaks only of a village called **Palarūr**. This name seems to be another form, by transposition,[2] of the name which we have as **Paralūr** (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 70) in the inscription of the time of Kīrtivarman II (A.D. 746-47 and 757) at Āḍūr, about eight miles south-west-by-west from Dēvagēri, and as **Bṛihat-Paralūr** (*id.*, vol. 7, p. 35, line 9) in the still earlier copperplate grant, of the third year of Mṛigēśavarman, which was discovered at Dēvagēri itself. In any case, the purport of our record distinctly implies that the stone which bears it, and which was found in a field in the lands of Dēvagēri, was set up in the village Palarūr, and thus marks **Palarūr** as being then the name of the place. It may be added that the inscription of A.D. 1075, mentioned above, registers an assignment of tolls, for certain purposes of the god Kaṅkaḷēśvara of Dēvaṁgēri, at Dēvaṁgēri and **Palavūr** and in the *taḷa*, 'site or tract', composed of Eleya-Tammuge and two unnamed villages: here we may possibly have still another form of the name Paralūr, Palarūr: but it is difficult to account for the *v* in the place of the *r*; and Palavūr may be another village which does not now exist. Any such name as Paralūr, Palarūr, and Palavūr, is not now found in maps, etc. And the position seems to be that Dēvagēri was originally a *dēvaṁgēri* or *dēvapurī*, a 'god's ward', of Palarūr; that the lands of Palarūr and some other villages have been absorbed into the lands of Dēvagēri, which is a somewhat large village; and that consequently the latter name only has survived. The inscription now published places Palarūr, tacitly but plainly, in the **Banavāsi twelve-thousand province.** So, also, the record of A.D. 1075 in the same way places Dēvaṁgēri, with the other villages mentioned in it, in that same province, and, further, in a division of it known as the **Bāsavura one-hundred-and-forty.**

At the top of the stone there are **sculptures**, showing a bull, recumbent to the right (proper left) and apparently intended for the usual Nandi, and below it, plainly not as a family or dynastic emblem but in connexion with the topic of the record, an elephant, standing to the right (proper left), with a man standing behind it with uplifted arms. The **writing** covers an area about 1′ 8″ broad in lines 9 to 14 by 3′ 0″ high. The stone on which it is engraved seems to have been even originally of an irregular shape; and it is only at the end of lines 1 to 8, 17, 20, and 21, and at the beginning of lines 18 to 22, that any portions of it have been broken away.

The **characters** are Kanarese, boldly formed and, generally, well executed. In lines 1 to 15 the size of them ranges from about ½″, as in the *ya* of *baḻiyan*, line 9, to ¾″, as in the *ba* of *bare*, line 15; in lines 16 ff. it increases up to (for single letters) 1¼″ in the *ba* of *sāsirbar*, line 19, and it almost seems that this part of the record may have been written by another hand: the *ynū* of *ay-nūṟa*, line 2, is 1¾″ high: the *lnī* of *maseyal=nīran*, line 11, is 2″ high: and the *chchi* of *mechchidaṁ*, line 16, is 2½″ high. They are of the general standard of the tenth century A.D. and closely thereabouts. They include both the types of the initial short *i*, on which detail see p. 7 ff. below: the earlier type of this vowel occurs in *irppatt-*, line 2; the later type is found in *idaṁ*, line 20; also in *idan=* at the beginning of line 18, where, however, it is mostly broken away. The *kh*, *j*, *b*, and *l* are all of the later types; the guttural nasal *ṅ* does not occur. No distinction seems to be made between *d* and *ḍ*. In *chhatra*, for *chchhattra*, line 6, we have the rare full

[1] Regarding the confusion which has arisen in the official spelling of various place-names in consequence of mistakes that have been made between *keṟe*, *kere*, 'a tank', and *kēri*, 'a street', see my note on the name Aṇṇigere in vol. 6 above, p. 100, note 3.

[2] Compare the metathesis in *maral* and *malar*, *aral* and *alar*, and *eral* and *elar*: see Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, verse 29.

form of *chh*, which necessarily can seldom occur except when, as here, it is used instead of *chchh*.

The **language** is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record was neatly put together by the use of the *satisaptamī* or locative infinitives *ene*, lines 10, 11, 14, *ire*, line 14, *bare*, line 15, and *nile*, line 15, coupled with the subjunctive or conditional *endoḍe*, lines 12, 13, 16. And not unworthy of note, in respect of the nicety of the composition, is the point that, whereas the remainder of the record, appropriately cast in pure Kanarese, naturally presents the words *pul*, *pullu*, for 'grass' (lines 11, 14, 15), and *āne* for 'elephant' (line 15), into the ruling prince's mouth there are put (in accordance with the theory of the Hindū drama, that kings and such people should speak Sanskṛit) Sanskṛit words, woven however into a Kanarese sentence, which include *tṛiṇa* and *hastin*.[1] Line 7 gives us *nēvarade*, the instrumental singular of a word *nēvara* which seems to be a longer form of *nēra*, = *nēr* (3), 'straightness, propriety, pleasantness'. In line 10-11 we have *kuḍugaḷ* as a variant of *kuḍugōl*, *kuḍagōl*, *kuḍigōl*, *kuḍugalu*, 'a kind of sickle', for which forms see Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary under *kuḍu* (3).[2] In the first component of the term *būdagūḻ*, 'an offering of boiled rice to ghosts', lines 12, 17, we have *būda*, instead of the more usual *būta*, as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskṛit *bhūta*. In *arasara* and *aḍa*, line 12, *pulla*, line 14, and *koyvara*, line 15, we have either a careless omission of the final *ṁ* (*n*), or, with equal probability, instances of the accusative in *a* instead of *aṁ* (*an*)[3]. Line 8 presents the word *baḻi* (3), 'a man who calls or invites' or we may say 'a summoner', in connexion with which the following remarks may be made. In the form *baḷi* (with *ḷ* instead of *ḻ*) we have this same word in an unpublished inscription of A.D. 1052 at Nīralgi in the Hāngal tāluka, Dhārwār, in a passage which runs:— śrīman-mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvaraṁ Harikēsaridēvar . . . . śrīmad-agrahāraṁ Nīriliya mahājanaṁ mūnūrvvarige baḷiyan=aṭṭi barisi; "the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Harikēsaridēva . . . . having sent a summoner to the three-hundred *Mahājanas* of the holy *agrahāra* Nīrili, and having caused them to come," etc.: and similar passages occur in records of A.D. 1074 and 1075 at the same place. And we can now recognize that we have the word *baḻi* itself in line 20 of the Āḍūr inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 70), where, modifying my original rendering, I would translate:—"The *Gurāva* Prabhāchandra, the summoner of the Jain temple of Paralūr, obtained this grant." It would seem that, in addition to meaning generally 'any man who calls or invites', the word denoted also a recognized official of some kind, both religious and secular.

In respect of **orthography** we may note (1) the use of *b* for *v* in *saṁbatsura* twice in lines 1 to 3; (2) the use of *s* for *ś* throughout; (3) the mistakes of *kh* for *k* in *sakha*, line 1, of *d* for *dh* in *samadigata*, line 4, and of *ri* for *ṛi* in *triṇa*, line 9.[4]

The inscription can only be treated as a **spurious record**, as which it has been entered under No. 29 in my List of Spurious Records in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 30 (1901), p. 217; because it

[1] This is the record which I mentioned, from this point of view, in the discussion on "Sanskṛit as a spoken language"; see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1904, 486.

[2] Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary adds the form *kuḍuguḷa*. The most familiar term is *kuḍugōḷ*, in its later form *kuḍugōlu*.

[3] According, indeed, to Kēśirāja's Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, verse 134, and Bhaṭṭākalaṅka's Karṇāṭakaśabdānuśāsana, sūtra 231, we might regard some of these as genitives used in the sense of accusatives. But *aḍa* at any rate is not a genitive. And there can be little doubt that Dr. Kittel's opinion is correct; namely, that the supposition of a use of the genitive for the accusative is unnecessary, and that the accusative in *a*, frequent enough in the mediæval and modern dialects, existed in also the more ancient colloquial dialect, though it had not been generally accepted by classical writers: see his *Kannaḍa Grammar*, §§ 117, 122, 352. Many instances of the accusative in *a* can be found in my Kanarese ballads: thus, *māta* for *mātannu*, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 300, line 3 from the bottom; *siṭṭa* for *siṭṭannu* = *siṭṭannu*, p. 301, line 1; *karava* for *karavannu*, line 8; *yēna* for *yēnannu*, line 11. It would, in fact, be pedantic to use the accusative termination in ordinary speech; except perhaps with pronouns.

[4] Except, of course, for Sanskṛit words being aimed at here, there would be no objection to *triṇa*.

purports to have been framed on a date which is utterly incompatible with the period to which its characters refer it. As, however, it states (apart from the date) nothing that is in any way unnatural, suspicious, or irreconcilable with the local history for its true period, we may accept the information given in it as true. It deals with a thing which it calls būdagūḷ. This term is composed of *būda*, a *tadbhava*-form of the Sanskṛit *bhūta*, 'a spirit, goblin, ghost', and the Kanarese *kūḷ*, *kūḷu*, 'boiled rice'; and it denotes 'an offering of boiled rice to the ghosts'. Other names of the offering are *bhūtabali* and *bhūtayajña*; also the word *bali* by itself, which is explained in Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary as meaning, amongst other things, 'an offering to demons (especially also Durgā or Kāli), etc., performed by putting heaps of boiled rice, or by killing sheep, buffaloes, etc., and also men.' As a regular sacrifice, the offering ranked as one of the *pañchamahāyajña* or 'five great sacrifices': see, for instance, the Mānavadharmaśāstra, 3. 70. I have been told, however, that in a more special way the *bhūtabali* is offered in connexion with the *garbhādāna* or ceremony performed to ensure conception. I further learnt from the late Sir James Campbell that the *bhūtabali* is offered in cases of barrenness, from the point of view that that misfortune is due to the influence of malicious spirits. And we thus obtain a clear explanation as to why the record represents the village-maidens as interested in the matter of the *būdagūḷ*. The inscription mentions a certain *Mahāsāmantādhipati* or great feudal prince named Śāntivarman, who was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province. It describes him as belonging to the Māṭūra race, and as having the hereditary title of "supreme lord of the town Trikundapura", with reference to the place of origin of his family, and as possessing the Nandanavana umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner.[1] It recites that Śāntivarman came, in the course of a tour, to Palarūr, and demanded a supply of grass for his horses and elephants. For some reason not stated, the right to make the offering of boiled rice to the ghosts was in abeyance; apparently under a sentence of excommunication. Incited by the village-maidens (*koḍagūsugaḷ*, line 11), who said that, if he could get the restriction removed, he might marry as many of them as he might wish, a man named Allagunda cut a supply of grass so much to the satisfaction of Śāntivarman that the latter offered to grant him a boon. Whereupon Allagunda asked for, and obtained, the restoration of the right to make the offering to the ghosts. As to whether the village-maidens kept their promise to him, the record is silent.

The inscription is dated on a Monday coupled with the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśira of the Kālayukta *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-saṁvat 522. This date, however, is obviously not authentic: and all else that need be said about it is as follows. By the mean-sign system, which is the one that applies for that time, Kālayukta began on 29 October, A.D. 600, in Śaka-saṁvat 522 expired, and ended on 25 October, A.D. 601. In that period, the given *tithi* ended closely about 22 hours 55 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Sunday, 13 November, A.D. 600, and cannot be connected with the Monday. And from this we see that the case is not one in which the writer of the record obtained a correct date by calculation.

As one means towards determining the real date of the record, we may cite some other notices of the Māṭūra family, to which the record refers the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Śāntivarman. We have one mention of it in the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa epitaph of the great Gaṅga prince Noḷambāntaka-Mārasiṁha (A.D. 963-64 to 974), which describes him as seizing the possessions of the lord of the Vanavāsi country, and causing him or those who belong to the Māṭūra race to do obeisance to him (*ante*, vol. 5, p. 179). No personal name, however, is mentioned there. Some other notices of the family, of a specific nature, from other records in Mysore, are as follows :—

(1) An inscription a Hechche in the Sorab tāluka, Shimoga District : *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 8,

[1] The Udayēndiram plate of Pallavamalla-Nandivarman allot a "mirror banner made of (? put together with) a peacock's tail" to the Śabara king Udayana: *South-Ind Inscrs.*, vol. 2, p. 372.

Sb. 476. This record refers itself to the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, and is dated in the Vikārin *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-saṁvat 861 (expired), with details falling in December, **A.D. 939.** It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* **Māchiga, Māchidēva,**—whom it describes as "lord of Trikundapura the best of towns"; born in the **Māṭūra race;** and having the Nandavana umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner,—was then ruling at Heṛdese :[1] the sphere of his government is not stated.

(2) An inscription at Ōṭūru in the same tāluka: *ibid.*, Sb. 70. This record is not **dated**: but it refers itself to the same reign, and is therefore to be placed **between A.D. 939 and 959.** It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* **Māchiyarasa** was then lord of the Banavāsi twelve-thousand. It describes him just as Māchiga, Māchidēva, is described in No. 1 above; and he is plainly the same person.

(3) An inscription at Kakkarasi in the same tâluka: *ibid.*, Sb. 474. This record refers itself to the same reign, and is dated in the Ānanda *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-saṁvat 876 (expired), with details falling in October, **A.D. 954.** It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* **Māchiyarasa**—described in the same terms as in Nos. 1 and 2 above— was then ruling over "the twelve thousand."[2]

(4) Another inscription at Hechche: *ibid.*, Sb. 479. This record refers itself to the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kakka II, and consequently, though not dated, may be referred to **closely about A.D. 972.** It tells us that the *Mahāsāmanta* **Śāntivarman**— whom it describes as "lord of Trikundapura the best of towns"; born in the **Māṭūra race;** and having the Nandanavana umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner—was then ruling at Heṛdese.

(5) Another inscription at Hechche: *ibid.*, Sb. 477. This record refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Āhavamalla-Taila II, and is dated (without full details) in the Khara *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-saṁvat 913 (expired), = **A.D. 991-92.** It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* **Śāntivarman**— described otherwise in just the same terms as in No. 4 above—was then ruling the Belguhe 70, the Eḍenāḍ 70, the Tandavūra 12, the Gedeya 12, the Mugunda 12, the Pulivaṭṭi 12, the Kalvatti 7, and the Sāntaḷige 1000.

These other notices of the Māṭūra family agree with the palæographic evidence in placing **the real date of the record in the tenth century A.D.** And as a means towards determining its **exact date** we take the given *saṁvatsara*, Kālayukta. In the tenth century, this *saṁvatsara* came only once. By the southern lunisolar system, which is applicable for this time to the locality to which the record belongs, it coincided with Śaka-saṁvat 880 expired. And in this year the given details are correct for **Monday, 15 November, A.D. 958,** on which day the specified *tithi* ended at about 17 hours 30 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). This result satisfies the requirements of the case, both palæographic and historical. And we entertain no doubt that this is the real date on which the record was framed, and that the Śāntivarman mentioned in it is the Śāntivarman of the Hechche inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5 above. As to **why the writer of the record antedated** it by practically six of the sixty-years cycles, we can only conjecture that the ban laid upon the village had existed for some long time; that it had been disregarded; and that antedating (made in fact to a preposterous extent) was necessary to legalize acts which had been performed in spite of it.

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[1] This name, much damaged here, is completed from No. 4 below.

[2] An inscription at Keḷagina-Kiruguṇise in the same tāluka, *ibid.*, Sb. 501 which refers itself to the same reign, and is dated (without full details) in the Kālayukta *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-saṁvat 881 (current) = A.D. 958-959, tells us that a certain Māchiga was then governing the Eḍenāḍ seventy. He may have been some junior member of the family, perhaps holding office under Śāntivarman. But there is nothing in the record to mark him as such.

TEXT.[1]

1 Svasti[2] Sakha[3]-nripa-kāl-ātita-sambatsara-[sataṁ]-
2 gaḷ=ay-nūṟa irppatt-eraḍaneya Kāḷayukta-[saṁ]-
3 batsara[da*] Mārggasira-suddha-bidiyeyuṁ Sōmavāra[d-and]u[ṁ]
4 Svasti samadi(dhi)gatapañchamahāsabda-[ma*]hāsāmantādhipati
5 Trikundapura-paramēsvara Brahmakshatriya-Māṭūra-vaṁs-ōdbhavaṁ Na-
6 [nda]navanachhatra-hayalāñcha(ñchha)na-darppaṇadhvaja-virājamānaṁ
7 [Sā]ntivarmma[4] [n]ēvarade maryyādey=āge Banavāsi-pa[n]n[i]-
8 rch[chh]āsiraman=āḷuttaṁ yathā-kramade Palarūrge ba[nd]=e-
9 ḷpadiṁbarge baḷiyan=aṭṭi emma haya-hasti-samūhakke tri(tṛi)ṇa-
10 saṁgrahaṁ bēḷkum=ene oḷḷit-āgi koyvem=endu pōp-āgaḷ=Allagunda ku-
11 ḍugaḷam=maseyal=nīran=eṟeyim=ene koḍagūsugaḷ=īta pullaṁ koyd=a-
12 rasara mechchisi būdagūḷaṁ biḍisuvon=akkum=endoḍ=ada biḍi-
13 sidoḍe nīm=enag=ē geyvir=endoḍ=inib-em-oḷage nī mechchidaroḷaṁ ma-
14 duve-nilu yene pōgi pulla koyutt-ire arasan=[ā]neyan=ēṟ-iḷdu
15 koyvara nōḍutta bare Allagundan=āneya pulla sūḍoḷe nile-
16 y=idey=arasaṁ mechchideṁ bēḍi-koḷḷ=endoḍe
17 būdagūḷaṁ biḍim=endu biḍisido[ṁ] [||*]
18 [I]dan=aḷidoṁ Vāraṇāsiyuṁ sāsira
19 [ka]vileyuṁ sāsirbar=ppārvoruman=a-
20 [ḷida] pātakan=akkuṁ idaṁ kādon=init[u]-
21 [maṁ pāl]isido[ṁ*] [||*] Rāmasiṅga-bhaṭāra niṟisi[doṁ]
22 [Maṅga]ḷa(?)

TRANSLATION.

Hail! On the second tithi, and on Monday, of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśira of the Kāḷayukta saṁvatsara which was the five hundred and twenty-second (year of) the centuries of years elapsed of the era of the Śaka kings :—

(Line 4.) Hail! The *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Śāntivarman,—who has attained the *pañcha-mahāśabda*, who is a supreme lord of the town Trikundapura, who has been born in the Brahmakshatriya Māṭūra race,[5] who is decorated with the Nandanavana umbrella and the horse crest and the mirror banner,—while governing the Banavāsi twelve thousand with rectitude and according to established customs, came in due course to Palarūr, and sent a summoner to the seventy (*Mahājanas*) to say :—"A supply of grass is wanted for Our troop of horses and elephants!"

(L. 10.) Thereupon (*the cutters*) said :—"Right well will we cut!", and were going out. Then Allagunda said :—"Pour ye out water to whet (*my*) sickle!" Thereupon the young maidens said :—"This is the man who will cut grass, and please the king, and cause the offering of boiled rice for the ghosts to be set free." Thereupon he said :—"If I cause that to be set

[1] From the ink-impressions. Ordinary brackets are used for such corrections and doubtful points as can be conveniently noted in this manner. Square brackets are used to mark syllables, or parts of them, which in the original are illegible or broken away and lost. An asterisk, attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation do not stand in the original text.

[2] There are various marks before this word. But they seem to be due only to injuries to the stone, and not to include any symbol for the word *ōm*.

[3] Read *saka*, for *śaka*.

[4] The first syllable of this name is greatly damaged, and cannot be recognized distinctly even on the back of the impressions. There can be no doubt, however, that it was *sā*, for *śā*.

[5] That is, "in the Māṭūra race which is of mixed Brāhmaṇ and Kshatriya origin." On the term Brahma-kshatriya see some remarks by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 35 ff.

free, what will ye do for me?" To which they said:—"Marry just as many of us as thou mayest like!"[1]

(L. 14.) Thereupon he went out. And when, while he was cutting grass, the king, mounted on an elephant, came looking on at the cutters, Allagunda stood up on the very bundle of grass which was for the elephant. Then, behold!, the king said:—"We are pleased: ask a boon!" Thereupon he said:—"Set ye free the offering of boiled rice for the ghosts:" and thus he caused it to be set free.

(L. 18.) He who destroys this shall incur the guilt of destroying Vāraṇāsi and a thousand brown cows and a thousand Brāhmaṇs! He who protects this is a protector of just so much!

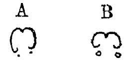
(L. 21.) The worthy Rāmasiṅga set this up. [May it be auspicious (?)]

Note on the Kanarese and Telugu initial short i.

The alphabet exhibited in this Dēvagēri inscription is a specimen, belonging to the tenth century A.D., of that which Professor Bühler in his *Indische Palaeographie*, § 29, termed the Kanarese and Telugu alphabet.[2] An interesting detail in this particular record is that it presents the two types of the initial short i of this alphabet: we have the earlier type in *irppatt-*, line 2, and the later type in *idaṁ*, line 20: the latter is found also in *idan=*, at the beginning of line 18, but is much damaged there. And we have to consider the circumstances in which this mixture of the two types could occur. I had hoped to give a sketch, with plates, of the full history of the vowel in question, and at the same time of the initial long *ī*: because, in addition to the interest that attaches to the study itself, the types and forms of these two letters may at any time be found particularly instructive in respect of the proper placing of undated genuine records, and of fixing limits for the fabrication of some of the spurious records. For the present, however, it has been found impracticable to prepare the requisite plates; chiefly in consequence of a want of published facsimiles for the crucial period when the earlier types were being supplanted by the later ones. I must, therefore, confine my treatment of the matter to the history of the initial short i in the Kanarese and Telugu countries during the transitional period, and limit my remarks to such details as can be made clear without more than half a dozen illustrations.

The earlier type of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short *i* has been illustrated by Professor Bühler in his plate VII, line 3, cols. XII, XIII, XV to XVIII, and plate VIII, line 3, cols. II to V. I give two other illustrations in the margin: A. is drawn from the *i* of *iḻnūrvvoruṁ*, line 20, letter No. 13, in the Sirūr inscription of A.D. 866 from the Dhārwār District, Bombay, *ante*, vol. 7, p. 206, plate: B. is from the *i* of *irugaṅge*, line 5, No. 22, in the Bēgūr inscription of the period A.D. 908-38 from the Bangalore District, Mysore, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 48, plate.

A B



In this type the character consisted, when fully made, of two parts, with various forms according to certain differences in the details of the two parts. The lower part consisted of two components, which were placed sometimes on the lower line of the writing, sometimes below it. These components, when made with uniformity, were sometimes two small circles, as in B., or two round marks which were not completely closed in as circles, and sometimes two dots, as in A., which might be either round or of irregular shape. But sometimes, whether owing to caprice or carelessness of the writers, or to indifferent work by the engravers, or to the material breaking away (especially in the case of records on stone) in the hands of the engravers, these details are met with interchanged, and we have a circle accompanied by a dot. And occasionally the components of

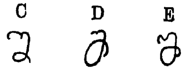
[1] Literally, "amongst us who are so many as these, marry all whom thou art pleased with!"

[2] German original in the Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, vol. 1, part 11 (1896): English version in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 33 (1904), appendix.

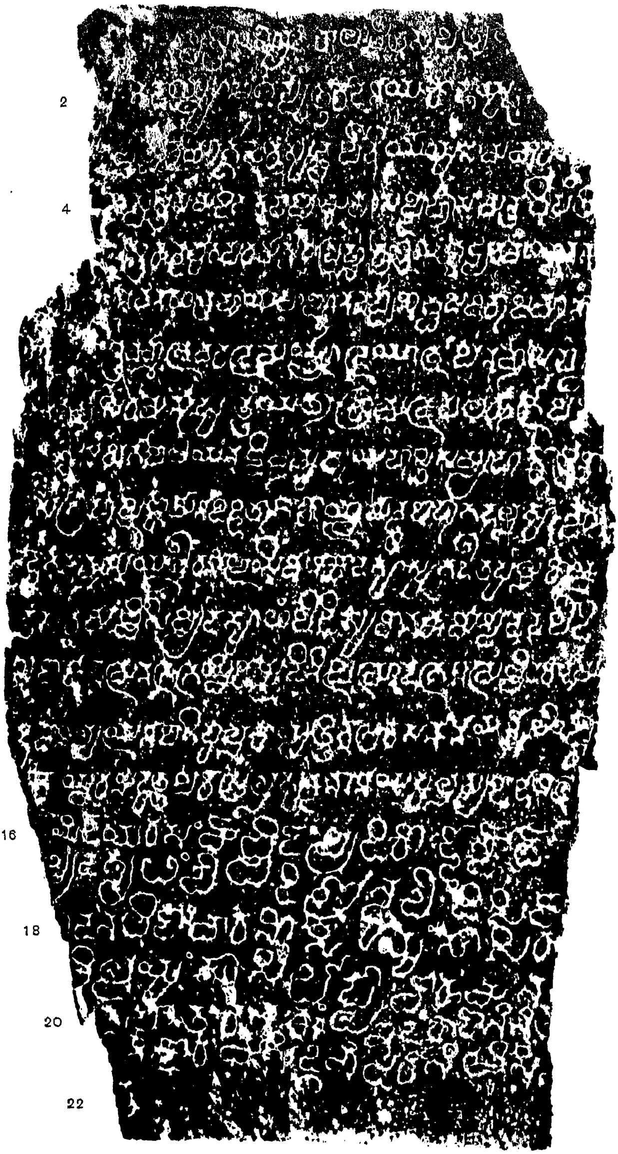
the lower part were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were then usually brought down to the lower line of the writing: for a published instance of this, from the eastern parts of Southern India, see *iti*, line 43, No. 17, *iṟṟula*, line 66, No. 5, and *iḍiyūri*, the same line, No. 14, in the Kaluchumbaṟṟu grant of the period A.D. 945-70, *ante*, vol. 7, p. 186, plate. In a quite exceptional instance of A.D. 982 from Mysore (see p. 13 below) the lower part consists of three circles, instead of two: this can only be regarded as a freak. The **upper part** sometimes took the form of a plain smooth arch, as in *ittodu*, line 2, No. 5, and *ittodān=*, line 3, No. 11, in the inscription of the period A.D. 597-608 outside the Vaishṇava cave No. 3 at Bādāmi in the Bijāpūr District, Bombay, *Archæol. Surv. West. India*, vol. 1, p. 24, plate; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 10, p. 59, plate. But usually there was a more or less marked notch or bend down, pointed or curved, in the centre of the top: we have this in its pointed form in the illustrations A. and B. given herewith; and more markedly in *iti*, line 21, No. 12, in one of the early Kadamba copperplate records, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, p. 96, plate: in its curved form, which had the effect of giving a waving shape to the top stroke, we have it in *iti*, the last line, No. 9, in the Haidarābād plates of A.D. 612, *ibid.*, p. 74, plate. And sometimes this notched form was made so flatly that it resembles rather closely the outspread wings of a hovering bird: see, for instance (though these cases do not come from the particular territories with which we are concerned), Professor Bühler's plate VII, 3, IV, VI, VII, IX, and plate VIII, 3, I. The upper part is usually found single, formed by one continuous sweeping movement: but in some cases it has a disjointed appearance, with a break in the middle, as if it was made by two separate strokes, as in *idam=*, line 9, No. 17, in the Nerūr plates of the period A.D. 609-42 from the Sāwantwāḍī State, Bombay, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 8, p. 44, plate, and in *iva*, line 42, No. 9, from the end, *idaṁ*, line 56, No. 9 from the end, and *iḍigūr=*, line 82, No. 10 from the end, in the Kaḍaba plates from the Tumkūr District, Mysore, which bear a date in A.D. 812 or 813, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 14, plate: *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 12, Gb. 61, plate: as, however, this feature is only noticed in records on copper, it is evidently to be attributed to the process of engraving, not to the writers. The sides of the upper part were not always of equal length. And sometimes the left side is curled in much more than the right side; as, for instance, in the cases mentioned above from the Haidarābād and Kaḍaba plates, and, in fact, in the Dēvagēri inscription itself. Sometimes both the sides were well curled in, as in the illustrations A. and B. above, and more markedly in *iṟidu*, line 4, No. 1, and *ivu*, line 5, No. 1, in the Hatti-Mattūr inscription of about A.D. 765, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 162, plate: so also in an instance from the eastern parts of Southern India, in *iti*, line 85, No. 7 from the end, in the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of A.D. 1019, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 357, plate. Occasionally, the right side was continued downwards in a slanting direction to, or towards, between the two components of the lower part: one instance of this is found in *idam=* (for *imam=*), line 13, No. 40, in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of A.D. 602, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 19, p. 18, plate: another is Professor Bühler's plate VII, 3, XVIII, which is from the *ity=* in line 13, No. 11, of the Eastern Chalukya record of A.D. 668, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 7, p. 186, with plate in vol. 8, p. 320. And sometimes the right side was continued down into the right component of the lower part: this was a transitional form, which will be noticed below.

The **later type** of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short *i* has been illustrated by Professor Bühler in his plate VIII, line 3, cols. VI, VIII, IX. I give three other illustrations in the margin: C. from *ittham=*, line 22, No. 2 from the end, in the (?) Masulipatam plates or Ākulamannaṇḍu grant of the period A.D. 934-45 (see p. 15 below): D. is drawn from the *i* of *int=initu*, in line 46 of the inscription of A.D. 980 at Saundatti in the Belgaum District, Bombay, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. 10, p. 207 (no plate), and it is practically the modern form now used, both in Kanarese and in Telugu: E. is from the *i* of *ivu*, line 25, No. 4, in the inscription of A.D. 1064 on the Jaṭṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District, Mysore, *ante*, vol. 4, p. 212, plate. In this type the character, when properly and

C D E



Inscription at Devageri.



J. F. FLEET. SCALE ·25 W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

FROM AN INK-IMPRESSION BY MR. KALYAN SITARAM CHITRE.

customarily formed, did not consist of separate parts, but was made in one unbroken whole by a continuous sweeping movement of the reed or *stilus*. But, as with the earlier type, the top is occasionally found in a disjointed shape, as a result of the process of engraving : for instance, in *itaḥ*, line 79, No. 4, in the Chellūr plates of A.D. 1143, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 59, plate. And the top part in the instance figured as C. above was evidently made by the writer by two strokes instead of one continuous movement. The top of the letter in this type is the upper part of the earlier type, in its notched form : but a very exceptional form is occasionally found in records from the eastern side of Southern India, in which the character begins with a curl down towards the left, instead of the curl up to the right: see, for instance, *iti*, line 102, the last *akshara* but one, in the Ṭēki plates of A.D. 1086-87, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 343, plate. The remainder of it was made by continuing the right side of the top downwards, and then in a loop upwards to the left and turning to the right to meet the down-stroke ; and it was finished off by a projection taken to the right and turned down into a sort of tail : in some cases, however, this projection to the right is very rudimentary, as, indeed, in the illustration E.; and in others, of the transitional class (see below), it does not appear at all.

The method of the transition from the earlier to the later type can be easily recognized though an intervening link or two may be wanting. The first step was a continuation of the right side of the upper part of the earlier type down to touch the right component of the lower part: I give an instance of this, in the illustration F. in the margin, from an Eastern Chalukya record, the Ṭrandapaṛu grant, of the period A.D. 844—88 (see p. 15 below). The next step was to form the right component of the lower part, not by an entirely separate movement after raising the reed or *stilus*, but by an unbroken continuation of the down-stroke : we have an instance of this, with the right lower component formed by a continuation of that movement to the left, in Professor Bühler's plate VIII, 3, II, which is from the *i* of *int-app-āt* in line 13, No. 4 from the end, in the Kanarese record of Gōvinda III of A.D. 804, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 137, plate.[1] It must, however, have become customary, in this continuous formation of the right lower component, to make the movement to the right, instead of the left. The next step probably was to make the entire letter by one continuous stroke, without any lifting of the reed or *stilus*, in the manner suggested in illustration G. given in the margin, with the two circles of the lower part running into each other. In the cursive movement thus set up, a subsequent step certainly was to make one large loop serve the purpose of the two circles, as in illustration H.: we have instances of this in *iy=ūra* (for *īy=ūra*), line 12, No. 7, and *i* (for *ī*) *dammavan=*, line 16, the last *akshara*, in the inscription of A.D. 1047-48 at Miṇḍigal in the Kōlār District, Mysore, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 207, plate. It seems to have been then recognized that a confusion was liable to arise between the initial short *i* and the initial *ai* of the same alphabet :[2] and it must have been in order to avoid such

F



G



H



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[1] In this record the vowel is found in also *iidaṁ* (for *idaṁ*), line 12-13 : but it does not present the same peculiarity there.

[2] The Kanarese and Telugu initial *ai* is of somewhat rare occurrence, and has not been illustrated by Professor Bühler, who, in fact, gave only one southern *ai*, plate VII, 6, VII, from *aiśvaryya*, line 61, No. 7, in the Alīnā Valabhī plates of A.D. 766, my *Gupta Inscriptions*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. 3, p. 179, plate. Other instances from that part of Southern India may be seen in *aihik-*, line 23, No. 37, of plate ii, in the Valabhī record of A.D. 760, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, p. 21, plate, and in the same word, line 21, No. 11, in the Rāshṭrakūṭa record of A.D. 813 from Tōrkhēḍē, *ante*, vol. 3, p. 55, plate : these two forms are more like those which we have from the Kanarese country.

A Kanarese initial *ai* of the eleventh century may be seen in *ai-goḷagaṁ*, line 14, No. 4 from the end, in the Miṇḍigal Chōḷa inscription of A.D. 1047-48 from Mysore, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 207, plate. An earlier form may be seen in *ai-guḷa*, line 13, the last *akshara* but one, in a Bāṇa inscription, also from Mysore, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 10, p. 39, plate ; *Epi. Carn.* vol. 10 (Kōlār), Sp. 6, with plate (a better one) at translations, p. 272.

A Telugu initial *ai* of about A.D. 900 may be seen in *airiviya*, line 32, No. 9, in the Eastern Chalukya grant of the period A.D. 888-918, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 129, plate.

confusion that there was added the projecting tail to the right, which produced the form illustrated in **C.**, **D.**, and **E.** above.

Professor Bühler's latest instances of the earlier type are as follows. As noted in the preceding paragraph, his plate VIII, 3, II, is an *i* of **A.D. 804**, and is really a transitional form. His plate VIII, 3, III, is from the record on the Kaḍaba plates from Mysore, bearing a date in **A.D. 812** or **813**: the vowel is found fourteen times in this record: the instance figured seems to be from *iva*, line 15, No. 23 (side ii *a*, line 1), *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 14, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 12 (Tumkūr), Gb. 61, plate. His remaining two illustrations are from the eastern parts of Southern India. The later of them, plate VIII, 3, V, is entered as if it was taken from the copperplate record which gives the date of the coronation of Amma II in A.D. 945, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 7, p. 15, plates: but that record does not include any initial *i*; and the illustration seems to have been supplied from *ih=aïjatē*, line 40, No. 7 (side iii *b*, last line), in the 'Pāganavaram' plates or Diggubaṛṛu grant of the period **A.D. 934-45**, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 214, plate. On the other side, his earliest instance of the later type is plate VIII, 3, VI: it is from the eastern part of Southern India, from the copperplate record which gives the date of the anointment of Rājarāja I in **A.D. 1022**, and may be of any date from that year up to about **A.D. 1063**; and it appears to be the *i* of *iti*, line 11, No. 5, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 50, plate. There is thus a gap in the history of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short i, of roughly a century, from A.D. 934-45 to 1022-63, to be extended, in fact, as regards the Kanarese country, to even two centuries, in respect of which we have, so far, no information. We have now to see how this gap can be bridged over. It was chiefly due, as far as Professor Bühler was concerned, to a lack of materials in the shape of published facsimiles. The same want still exists to almost the same extent. But we can now cite various facsimiles which have been published since his time: and I can supplement them by ink-impressions which necessarily were not available to him.

We will consider first such materials as are available from the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency; taking the matter up from the earliest instance, known to me, after Professor Bühler's latest instance of the earlier type. Here I use only records which are specifically dated; and, when I cannot refer to a published plate, I cite my details from ink-impressions which were prepared under my direction when I was in the districts in question.[1]

From these parts, we still have the earlier type of the initial short i running through the records of the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I. We have it in the Nīlgund inscription, dated in **A.D. 866**, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwār; *ante*, vol. 6, p. 102, plate; in *iti*, line 6, No. 17: it occurs also in *idan=* towards the end of line 28, to which part of the record, however, the plate does not extend. We have it again in the Sirūr inscription of the same date, from the Nawalgund tāluka, Dhārwār; *ante*, vol. 7, p. 206, plate; in *iti*, line 4, No. 6, and *iḷnūrvvoruṁ*, line 20, No. 13: the illustration **A.** on p. 7 above is from the latter instance. Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in **A.D. 872** or **874**, at Chiñchli in the Gadag tāluka; in *indapayyaṁ* and *int=ī*, line 4. Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in **A.D. 874**, at Rōṇ, the head-quarters of the Rōṇ tāluka in the same district; in *idan=*, line 10: also in the same word in line 4 of a second record, not dated, below that one. And again in the Niḍagundi inscription of **A.D. 874-75**, or within a year on either side, from the Baṅkāpūr tāluka, Dhārwār; *ante*, vol. 7, p. 213, plate; in *idam*, line 16, No. 13, in *idan=*, line 17, No. 12, and in *i* (for *ī*) *kallaṁ*, line 19, No. 8: also in *i* (for *ī*) *ṭānamaṁ* in line 25 in the supplementary record at the top of the stone, not shown in the plate. And for the next reign, that of Kṛishṇa II, we

[1] I have abstained from quoting a few records which are of doubtful authenticity: and it has of course been useless to quote records which refer themselves to (for instance) the reign of a Kannaradēva or Kannaravallabha, without anything to indicate which king Kṛishṇa is intended. But I have not found in any of them anything that conflicts in any way whatsoever with the facts and results which I bring forward.

have it in an unpublished inscription, dated in **A.D. 897-98**, at the village Chiñchli mentioned above; in *iti*, line 7, and *idaṁ*, lines 14 and 17.

On the other hand, we have the **later type** in an unpublished fragmentary inscription of the same reign, of Kṛishṇa II, dated in **A.D. 901-2**, at Yeli-Śirūr in the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwār; in *irppatta*, line 1: here the precise form is a lop-sided one, very much like that which we have in *ity=*, line 41, No. 12, in the Ṭēki plates of A.D. 1086-87 from the eastern side of Southern India, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 339, plate. And the later type is found again in the Nandwāḍige inscription of the same reign, dated in **A.D. 903**, from the Hungund tāluka, Bijāpūr; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 221, with plate in vol. 11, p. 127; in *irppatt-*, line 2, No. 1. These two cases are the **earliest instances of the later type** that I can cite from either the western or the eastern parts of Southern India: but they are run close by an instance of A.D. 909-10 from the Kōlār District, Mysore (see p. 12 below).

The next record takes us back to the **earlier type**: it is the Hattī-Mattūr inscription of the time of Indra III, dated in **A.D. 916-17**, from the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwār; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 224 (no plate): here we have the earlier type, in a thoroughly archaic form, in *idaṁ*, line 10, and *i* (for *ī*) *stitiyan=*, line 11. Regarding the second inscription on the same stone, see lower down on this page.

The next records take us on again to the **later type**. One is the unpublished Kaḷas inscription of the time of Gōvinda IV, dated in **A.D. 930**, from the Baṅkāpūr tāluka, Dhārwār, noticed *ante*, vol. 6, p. 177: here we have the vowel in the later type in *idan=*, line 73. The others are records of the time of Kṛishṇa III. Here we have the later type in the unpublished inscription, dated in **A.D. 942**, at Rōṇ, Dhārwār District, noticed in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 30, p. 262; in *i[du]*, or some such word, in the last line but one. Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in **A.D. 946**, at Tuppada-Kurahaṭṭi in the Nawalgund tāluka, Dhārwār; in *idarke*, line 16, in *int=ī keygaṁ* and *idaṁ*, line 20, and in *idan=*, line 23. And again in the Soraṭūr inscription of **A.D. 951**, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwār; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 257 (no plate); in *idan=*, line 20.

On the other hand, the **earlier type** is presented again in the unpublished Chiñchli inscription of the same reign, dated in **A.D. 953**, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwār, noticed *ante*, vol. 6, p. 83; in *idarke* or *ivarke*, line 29.

We next have the **later type** again in the unpublished inscription of **A.D. 967, 970, or 971**, of the time of Khoṭṭiga, at Hirē-Handigōḷ in the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwār, noticed *ante*, vol. 6, p. 180; in *int=appavaṁ*, line 20.

But the **earlier type** appears again in an unpublished inscription of the same reign, dated in **A.D. 969**, at Nāgāvi in the same tāluka, noticed *ante*, vol. 6, p. 180, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, p. 422, note 3; in *ivarke* or *idarke* in the last line but five.

For the time of the last Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Kakka II, I cannot cite any instance of the use of this initial vowel. The next available record is one in which we find **the two types mixed**, just as in the Dēvagēri inscription. It is the inscription of **A.D. 975** from Hebbāḷ, in the Lakshmēshwar subdivision of the Miraj State within the limits of the Dhārwār District; *ante*, vol. 4, p. 351 (no plate): here we have the later type in *irppattu*, line 35; but in *int=īy=ayvar=*, line 38, we have the earlier type, with the sides of the top brought down to the lower line of the writing, and with omission of the two circles or dots of the lower part of the letter.[1] And we may note that we have **the same mixture of types** in the undated inscription which lies below the Hattī-Mattūr record of A.D. 916-17 (mentioned above) from the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwār; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 224 (no plate): here we have the later type in *int=ivar=*, line 15, and in

[1] For similar instances from the eastern parts of Southern India, see pp. 15, 16, below.

idam, line 17; but in *idan=*, line 19, we have the earlier type, and again with prolongation of the sides of the top down to the lower line of the writing, together with omission of the two circles or dots of the lower part. It thus now seems that, in spite of a somewhat marked difference in the general appearance of the characters, this second record at Hatti-Mattūr cannot be placed as late as I thought when I edited it, but must be referred to not long after A.D. 975.

The two cases mentioned in the preceding paragraph are the latest instances, that I can cite, of the use of the earlier type of the initial *i* in the Kanarese districts of Bombay. The next available records all show the fully developed **later type**. The first is the unpublished inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Taila II, dated in **A.D. 980**, at Sogal in the Parasgaḍ tāluka, Belgaum, mentioned in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, p. 428: here we have the vowel in *i* (for *ī*) *dharmmaman=*, line 2 from the end. The next is the inscription of the same reign, dated six months later in the same year, at Saundatti, the head-quarters of the Parasgaḍ tāluka; *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. 10, p. 204 (no plate): here we have the vowel in *int=initu*, line 46, illustrated as D. on p. 8 above. The next is the unpublished inscription of the time of Irivabeḍaṅga-Satyāśraya, dated in **A.D. 1002**, at Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwār, mentioned in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 2, p. 297, No. 3 (where the date has been wrongly shown as Śaka-saṁvat 984, instead of 924): here we have the vowel in *int=ivarim*, line 6 from the end. It seems unnecessary to pursue the matter beyond this point: in every other instance from the Bombay districts, known to me, only the later type is found.

We now take the matter up for **Mysore and Coorg**; starting, again, with the earliest instance, known to me, after Professor Bühler's latest instance of the earlier type, and using chiefly records which are specifically dated, but also a few which can be distinctly referred to well-ascertained periods. Here, when I cannot point to published plates, I cite my details from ink-impressions for which I am indebted to Professor Hultzsch and Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.

From these parts, we have the **earlier type of the initial short i** in an inscription dated in **A.D. 878-79** at Baragūr in the Tumkūr District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 12, Si. 38 (no plate); in *int=ā*, east face, line 1. Again in the Biḷiūr inscription, dated in **A.D. 888**, from Coorg; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, p. 102, No. 2, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 1, p. 5 (no plate); in *idarkke*, line 10, No. 14, and line 11, No. 13, and in *idan=*, line 11, No. 18. Again in an inscription of about **A.D. 891-92** (see *ante*, vol. 6, p. 68) at Kyātanahaḷḷi in the Mysore District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 3, Sr. 147, plate; in *idan=*, line 15, No. 1. Again in an inscription dated in **A.D. 904** at Bētamaṅgala in the Kōlār District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 10, Bp. 1 (no plate); in *ippatt-*, line 3, in *ivage* (?), line 14, and in *idan=*, line 15: here, in the second instance, the right side of the upper part of the letter is continued down to the right component of the lower part, giving a transitional form mentioned on p. 9 above. Again in an inscription dated in **A.D. 907** at Tāyalūr in the Mysore District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 3, Md. 14, with plate; in *idan=*, line 12, the last *akshara* but one, in *idarkke*, line 14, No. 18, and in *inibara*, line 15, No. 17: in these three cases the two circles or dots forming the lower part of the letter are absent; but that is probably due to the person who prepared the lithograph (which is not a facsimile), rather than to the writer or the engraver. And again in the Bēgūr inscription of the Gaṅga prince Ereyappa, of the period about **A.D. 908 to 938**, from the Bangalore District; *ante*, vol. 6, p. 48, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 9, frontispiece; in *irugaṅge*, line 5, No. 22, in *iggalūru*, line 8, No. 4, and in *inituma*[*ṁ*], line 15, No. 4: the first of these instances is given as illustration B. on p. 7 above.

In Mysore and Coorg, I find the **later type** first in an inscription, dated in **A.D. 909-10**, at Maṇigaṭṭu-Gollahaḷḷi in the Kōlār District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 10, Mb. 229 (no plate): here we have the vowel in *ire*, line 4, and *inpara*, line 7, in a form resembling illustration D. on p. 8 above, but not shaped in so slanting a fashion, and made with the looped part smaller in proportion; it resembles more closely, in fact, the instance of A.D. 961-62 mentioned farther on.

This is the earliest instance but two, known to me, of the occurrence of the later type: the earlier instances are those of A.D. 901-2 and 903 from the Dhārwār and Bijāpūr Districts, Bombay, mentioned on p. 11 above. If this instance came from the north of Mysore, it would be quite intelligible. But it comes from a part where we do not trace the later type again till A.D. 1029-30, and where we find indications of a transitional position even after that time (see p. 14 below). It is therefore peculiar. And we can only regard it as intrusive, and conjecture that the writer of this record was not a local man, but came from some territory where the later type of the vowel was well established. The explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact that the record, which comes from the Bairakūr hōbḷi in the north-east quarter of the Muḷbāgal tāluka, near the boundary of the North Arcot District, Madras, is a Bāṇa record: we know that the territory of the Bāṇa princes of this period extended at least well into North Arcot.

We are taken back to the earlier type by the next available record, an inscription of the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV, dated in **A.D. 930-31**, at Nandiguḍi in the Chitaldroog District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Dg. 119, plate; here we have the vowel in *idan=*, line 8, No. 9. We have it again in an inscription dated in **A.D. 942** at Hēmāvati in the Anantapur District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 12, Si. 28;[1] in *iṛiva*, line 29, and *int=ivar*, line 53. And again in an inscription dated in **A.D. 944-45** at Bētamaṅgala in the Kōlār District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 10, Bp. 2 (no plate); in *idan=*, line 12: here the components of the lower part of the letter were perhaps omitted.

The next record comes from the northern part of Mysore, and gives us a second instance of the **later type**; namely, an inscription dated in **A.D. 961-62** on the Jaṭṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Mk. 27, with plate at texts, p. 142: here we have the vowel in *idaṛa*, line 5, No. 1.

In the south, however, we have the **earlier type** again in the epitaph of the Gaṅga prince Noḷambāntaka-Mārasiṁha, framed in **A.D. 975**, at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa in the Hassan District; *ante*, vol. 5, p. 178, plate; in *ity=*, line 50, No. 1, and *intu*, line 100, No. 1: here, in both cases, both the sides of the upper part of the letter were continued down to the components of the lower part. We have it again in the Peggu-ūr inscription dated in **A.D. 978**, from Coorg; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, p. 102, No. 1, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 1, p. 7, plate; in *idan=*, line 18, No. 1. And again in the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa epitaph of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Indra IV, dated in **A.D. 982**, from the Hassan District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 2, p. 53 (no plate); in *iṛiyalk=*, north face, line 15, and *irade*, south face, line 31: here in the first case, the lower component consists quite exceptionally, of three (instead of two) circles.[2]

I cannot cite any use of the earlier type in Mysore after that date. From about half-way down the western side of the province, we have the fully developed **later type** in the Chikmagaḷūr inscription, which belongs to the period **A.D. 989—1005**, from the Kaḍūr District; *ante*, vol. 8, p. 58 (no plate); *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 6, Cm. 3 (no plate: I cite the form from the photograph from which I edited the record); in *iṇṇūṛu* (for *innūṛu*), line 9, in *int=ivar=* and *i* (for *ī*) *koḍaṅgeyaṁ*, line 12, and in *indavūrada*, line 16. And the next two citable records from the northern parts (beyond which we need not pursue the matter for that locality) present the same type. One is an inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Jayasiṁha II, dated in **A.D. 1035**, at Beḷagāmi in the Shimoga District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 7, Śk. 126, plate; see, more clearly, the photograph in *Pāli*, *Sanskṛit*, and *Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 155: here we have the vowel in *iṁt=ī*, line 23, No. 5, and in *int=ī*, line 32, No. 4. The other is the inscription

[1] A plate is given *op. cit.*, translations, p. 92; but it shows only the first seventeen lines of the record. In line 14 we have, not *indrō* as given in the published text in Roman characters, but *īndrō*, with the long *ī* by mistake for the short vowel, as given in the text in Kanarese characters.

[2] In line 25 of the north face, at the beginning of verse 6, the original seems distinctly to have *dhiru*, as given in the text in Kanarese characters. At any rate, the word is not *iru*, as given in the romanized text.

of the time of the Western Chālukya prince Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, dated in A.D. 1064, on the Jaṭṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District; *ante*, vol. 4, p. 213, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Mk. 29, with plate at texts, p. 130: here we have the vowel in *ivu*, line 25, No. 4, and in *i* (for *ī*) *dharmmaman=*, line 26, No. 3, from the end: the illustration E. on p. 8 above is from the first of these two instances.

The northern parts of Mysore, however, the Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts, were subjected to progressive influences, first under the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings and then under the Western Chālukyas, which did not penetrate much beyond them. In the south, I trace the later type again, for the first time after A.D. 909-10 (p. 12 above), in the Chōḷa inscription, dated in A.D. 1029-30, at Sōladēvanahaḷḷi in the Bangalore District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 9, Nl. 1, with plate at translations, p. 28; in *idarkke*, line 14, No. 11: here the letter is formed in a very exceptional manner; the end of it is curled over inside the down-stroke on the right, instead of being carried on to that stroke or across it into the usual tail. We perhaps have the later type, fully formed, in the Chōḷa inscription, dated in A.D. 1032 (see *ante*, vol. 4, p. 69), at Suttūru in the Mysore District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 3, Nj. 164 (no plate): here, in the last line, we seem to have either *desey=akhkhaṇḍuga*, corrected into *dese ikhkhaṇḍuga*, or else *dese ikhkhaṇḍuga*, corrected into *desey=akhkhaṇḍuga* for *desey=ikhkhaṇḍuga*. And we certainly have a form of the later type in the Chōḷa inscription, dated in A.D. 1047-48, at Miṇḍigal in the Kōlār District; *ante*, vol. 5, p. 207, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 10, Ct. 30 (no plate); in *iy=ūra* (for *īy=ūra*), line 12, No. 7, and in *i* (for *ī*) *dammavan*, line 16, the last *akshara*: here, in both cases, the form is practically identical with that which I have given as a transitional form in the illustration H. on p. 9 above; the loop of the lower part stops short at the down-stroke on the right, instead of being carried across that stroke and on to form the usual tail. These two instances of A.D. 1029-30 and 1047-48 are suggestive that for an appreciable time after A.D. 982 the letter was still in a transitional stage in the southern and south-eastern parts, and that, when more materials are available, we may find the earlier type still in use there up to about A.D. 1000. Good specimens of the later type in its full form, from the southern part of the province, may be seen in two records, dated in A.D. 1117, from Bēlūr in the Hassan District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 5, Bl. 58, plate; in *ity=atō*, line 2, No. 7 from the end, and in *inan=*, line 13, No. 57: and *ibid.*, Bl. 71, plate; in *ity=atō*, line 10, No. 6. But it was, of course, well established everywhere long before that time.

Coming now to sum up the inquiry, we find the position to be as follows. In the Kanarese districts of Bombay, we have the earlier type of the initial short *i* still in use up to at least A.D. 975. But the later type figures freely along with it from A.D. 901-2. For this part of the country, then, we may consider that the tenth century was a transitional period of usage, when the later type, though well established, had not yet superseded the earlier one, but both of them were accepted on equal terms. And in these circumstances we feel no surprise at finding the two types occasionally used together in one and the same record: in the Dēvagēri inscription, which we refer to A.D. 958; in the Hebbāḷ inscription, which is dated in A.D. 975; and in the undated inscription at Hatti-Mattūr. As regards Mysore, with Coorg, we must separate the northern parts from the southern. In the north, the case was probably much the same as in the Bombay districts, though we have not, so far, actually traced the later type there before A.D. 961-62. And, as we find the later type half-way down the western side of the province between A.D. 989 and 1005, we may expect to meet with it anywhere from about A.D. 1000. In the south, however, the change was plainly slower. We have not, indeed, actually traced the use of the earlier type there after A.D. 982. But the later type is found there only once before that time; in an instance of A.D. 909-10 which we can only regard as intrusive. And the records of A.D. 1029-30 and 1047-48 suggest that the commencement of the period of transitional usage in the south can hardly be placed

much, if at all, before A.D. 975, and that we may yet meet with instances of the earlier type there running well into the eleventh century.

We turn now to the eastern parts of Southern India, taking the matter up from the records of the Eastern Chalukya kings, in which series, again, we now have available various inscriptions, presenting the vowel in question and covering the period in which we are interested, which were not known to Professor Bühler.[1] There are two records of this series which I have not been able to examine: namely, the Ederu plates or Gontūru grant of Amma I, of the period A.D. 918-25, *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, vol. 1, p. 39 (no plate), where we have the vowel twice, in lines 38, 54; and the Nandamapūṇḍi grant of Rājarāja I, dated in his thirty-second year, A.D. 1053-54, *ante*, vol. 4, p. 303 (no plate): here the vowel occurs twelve times, in lines 10, 55, 72, 75, 80—87. Setting them aside, from an examination, either in the published plates or in ink-impressions, of all the other records of the whole series down to A.D. 1143, I find the position to be as follows:—

The record on the (?) Masulipatam plates, the Ṭraṇḍapaṟu grant, of Vijayāditya III, of the period A.D. 844-88, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 5, p. 123, with plate showing lines 1 to 15 and 26 to 39, contains the vowel twice, in *ittham=*, line 18, and *iva*, line 35, and presents it in both cases in the earlier type, but in the transitional form with the right side of the upper part continued down to touch the right component of the lower part. The published facsimile does not include these two passages. I have given this form, from *iva*, line 35, as illustration F. on p. 9 above.

The earliest instance of the later type from this part of Southern India[2] is found in the record on the (?) Masulipatam plates, the Âkulamannaṇḍu grant, of Chālukya-Bhima II, of the period A.D. 934-45, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 135, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8 and 17 to 25: in this record the vowel occurs only once, in *ittham=*, line 22, the last *akshara* but one, given as illustration C. on p. 8 above: the upper part of it was plainly formed by two separate strokes instead of one continuous movement. The other records of the same period show the earlier type: the Diggubaṟṟu grant on the 'Pāganavaram' plates, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 213, with plates, has it three times, in lines 15 and 40 (see note 1 on this page); the Koḍhatalli grant on the Kolavennu plates, *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, vol. 1, p. 44 (no plates), also gives it three times, in *indur=*, line 19, *itham=* (for *ittham=*), line 22, and *iti*, line 23; and in the instance in line 23 the components of the lower part of the letter were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were brought down to the bottom line of the writing.[3]

The records of the next period, the reign of Vijayāditya-Amma II, A.D. 945-70, shew only the earlier type, as follows:[4]—The Masulipatam plates or Pāmbaṟṟu grant, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 140, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8, and 17 to 24: once, in *indani-*, line 25, the last *akshara* but two.[5] The Elavaṟṟu grant, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 91, with plates; five times, in lines

[1] His limiting instances of the two types were taken from this same series of records. His latest instance of the earlier type is that given in his plate VIII, line 3, col. V; and it seems to be the *i* of *ik=aijatē*, line 40, No. 7 (side iii *b*, last line), in the 'Pāganavaram' plates or Diggubaṟṟu grant of Chālukya-Bhīma II, of the period A.D. 934-45, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 213, with plates: this record presents the vowel again in *iva*, line 15, No. 14, and *iv=ātipūtam*, line 40, the last *akshara* but four. His earliest instance of the later type is that given in his plate VIII, line 3, col. VI, from the Korumelli grant, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 50, with plates, which gives the date of the anointment of Rājarāja I in A.D. 1022, and may be of any date from that time up to about A.D. 1063: this record presents the vowel six times, in lines 11, 47, 50, 56, 63, 103: Professor Bühler's illustration seems to be from *iti*, line 11, No. 5.

[2] For the slightly earlier instances from Bombay and Mysore, see pp. 11, 12, above.

[3] Compare similar instances in the Kaluchumbaṟṟu grant: see p. 16 below.

[4] Two of them do not present the vowel at all: the Padaṁkalūru grant, on plates now in the British Museum, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 7, p. 15; and the Tāndeṟu grant on the Vandram plates, *ante*, vol. 9, p. 138.

[5] Professor Kielhorn was in doubt as to the type of the letter here: see *loc. cit.*, p. 139, note 4. But I am able to say, from clearer impressions than those which he had, that it is certainly of the earlier type, with damage of the right component of the lower part.

39, 48, 51, 54, 55. The Guṇḍugolanu grant, on plates now in the British Museum, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 249, with plates: twice, in lines 20, 22. The Masulipatam plates, *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, vol. 1, p. 47 (no plate): once, in line 34. The Kaluchumbaṟṟu grant, *ante*, vol. 7, p. 185, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8, 33 to 50, and 60 to 69: three times, in *iti*, line 43, No. 17, *iṟṟula*, line 66, No. 5, and *iḍiyūri*, the same line, No. 14; and here, in each case, the components of the lower part of the letter were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were brought down to the bottom line of the writing.[1] And the Maliyapūṇḍi grant, *ante*, vol. 9, p. 50, with plates: once, in *iva*, line 23, No. 6.

The next known record is the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 351, with plates. This record, which gives the date of the king's anointment in A.D. 1011, and is itself dated in his eighth year, in **A.D. 1018**, presents the vowel seven times, in lines 55, 66 (twice), 70, 85, 87, 97, and in the earlier type throughout.

This is the latest instance of the use of the earlier type that I can cite from either the eastern or the western parts of Southern India. In the Eastern Chalukya series, the next records are two of the time of Rājarāja I; and the order of them perhaps remains to be determined according to what we may learn from one of them about the use of this vowel. One is the Korumelli grant, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 50, with plates, which gives the date of the king's anointment, in A.D. 1022, and may possibly date from that year itself: it presents the later type of the vowel, six times, in lines 11, 47, 50, 56, 63, 103. The other is the Nandamapūṇḍi grant, *ante*, vol. 4, p. 303 (no plate), which also mentions the date of the anointment, but is itself dated in the thirty-second year of the reign, A.D. 1053-54; it has the vowel twelve times, in lines 10, 55, 72, 75, 80-87; and, as mentioned on p. 15 above, it remains to be examined in respect of the type which it presents.

No. 2.—PALITANA PLATES OF SIMHADITYA; THE YEAR 255.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

The existence of these plates was made public by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 129, No. I. They belong to the State of Pālitānā in Kāṭhiāvār and are reported to have been unearthed in the city of **Palitānā** some forty years ago. When first discovered, they were fastened together with six Maitraka grants by a single Valabhī seal and suspended by it from the roof of a small underground chamber adjoining a tank underneath a large stone. I edit the inscription on them from two sets of ink-impressions, prepared by Dr. Vogel's clerk and placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, to whom Mr. W. C. Tudor Owen, I.C.S., Administrator of Palitānā, had kindly lent the originals.

These are **two copper-plates**, measuring, according to Mr. Venkayya, about 9¾ inches in breadth and varying between 7¼ and 7⅛ inches in height. Each of the two plates bears on its inner side 14 lines of well-preserved writing. The letters show through on the back of the plates, especially of the second one. There are two ring-holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate, but no ring or seal is forthcoming.

The **alphabet** is of an early Southern type and includes the signs of *jihvāmūlīya* (ll. 2, 17) and of *upadhmānīya* (ll. 9, 19, 23, 27) and final forms of *t* (l. 25) and of *n* (l. 4). The date (l. 27) is expressed in **numerical symbols**.

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[1] **Compare a similar instance in the Koḍhatalli grant on the Kolavennu plates: see p. 15 above. For instances from the west, see pp. 11, 12, 13, above.**

The rules of *sandhi* are very carefully observed, with two exceptions (ll. 3 f. and 20). The *anusvāra* is represented by *ṅ* before *ś* (l. 3) and *h* (l. 17), and the vowel *ṛi* is replaced by the syllable *ri* in *krita* (ll. 13, 26) and *krishṇa* (l. 21),[1] while the correct forms *kṛita* (l. 2) *etc.* are used in all other cases. The final *s* of *vakshas* is elided before *sthala* (l. 17) in accordance with the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, viii, 3, 36, and consonants following *r* are doubled, with the exception of *t* in *kīrti* (l. 2) and of *bh* in *āvirbhūta* (l. 3).

The language of the inscription is Sanskṛit prose; two verses of Vyāsa are quoted near the end (ll. 24-27).

The inscription records a grant of land, made by the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* **Siṁhāditya** (l. 17) of the **Gārulaka** family (l. 2) This order was issued from a place named **Phaṅkaprasravaṇa** (l. 1). The donee was a Brāhmaṇa of the Maitrāyaṇika school who lived at **Ēlāpadra** (l. 20 f). The object of the grant was a field with a pond in the village **Darbhachāra** (l. 21 f). I am unable to identify Phaṅkaprasravaṇa and Darbhachāra. Ēlāpadra, as Dr. Fleet suggests to me, may be 'Velwad' in the Gōdhrā tāluka, Pañch Mahāls.

The date of the grant was the 13th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Āśvayuja in **the year 255** (l. 27) of an era which is not specified, but which, as suggested by Mr. Jackson, is probably the Gupta-Valabhī era of A.D. 319. The specified month, then, places the record in **A.D 574**.

As stated by Mr. Jackson, the Gārulaka family is a hitherto unknown dynasty of feudatory chiefs who may be assumed to have been tributaries (*sāmanta*) of the Maitraka kings. The Gārulaka Siṁhāditya was a contemporary of Dharasēna II. of Valabhī. The name *Gārulaka* seems to stand for *Gāruḷaka* or *Gāruḍaka* and suggests that this family claimed descent from Vishṇu's bird Garuḍa. The inscription contains the following pedigree of the donor :—

Sēnāpati **Varāhadāsa (I.).**

- *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* **Bhaṭṭiśūra.**
- *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* **Varāhadāsa (II.).**
  - *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* **Siṁhāditya** (A.D. 574).

Each of these four chiefs is praised in purely conventional terms. The only item of information which may be based on a historical fact, is the statement (l. 11 f.) that Varāhadāsa II. defeated a ruler of **Dvārakā** (on the west coast of Kāṭhiāvār), whose individual name is not recorded.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 ओं[3] स्वस्ति [।*] फङ्कप्रस्रवणात्प्रकृष्टकर्म्मारम्भोद्भूताभ्युदयाभिभूताशेषद्विषामनेक-समरशत-

2 संपातात्यन्तविजयिना[4] प्रभूतयशःकीर्त्यलङ्कारालङ्कृतान्वयभुवां गारुलकानां

3 वङ्शानुक्रमेणाविर्भूतो[5] दीनानाथाश्रितार्त्तातिथिबान्धवजनोपजीव्यमानविभवविस्तरः[6]

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[1] The ungrammatical form °*pitryōḥ* (l. 19) also presupposes an erroneous base *pitri* instead of *pitṛi.*

[2] From ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

Read °नां.

[5] Read वंशा°.

[6] Read °विस्तरस्तत°.

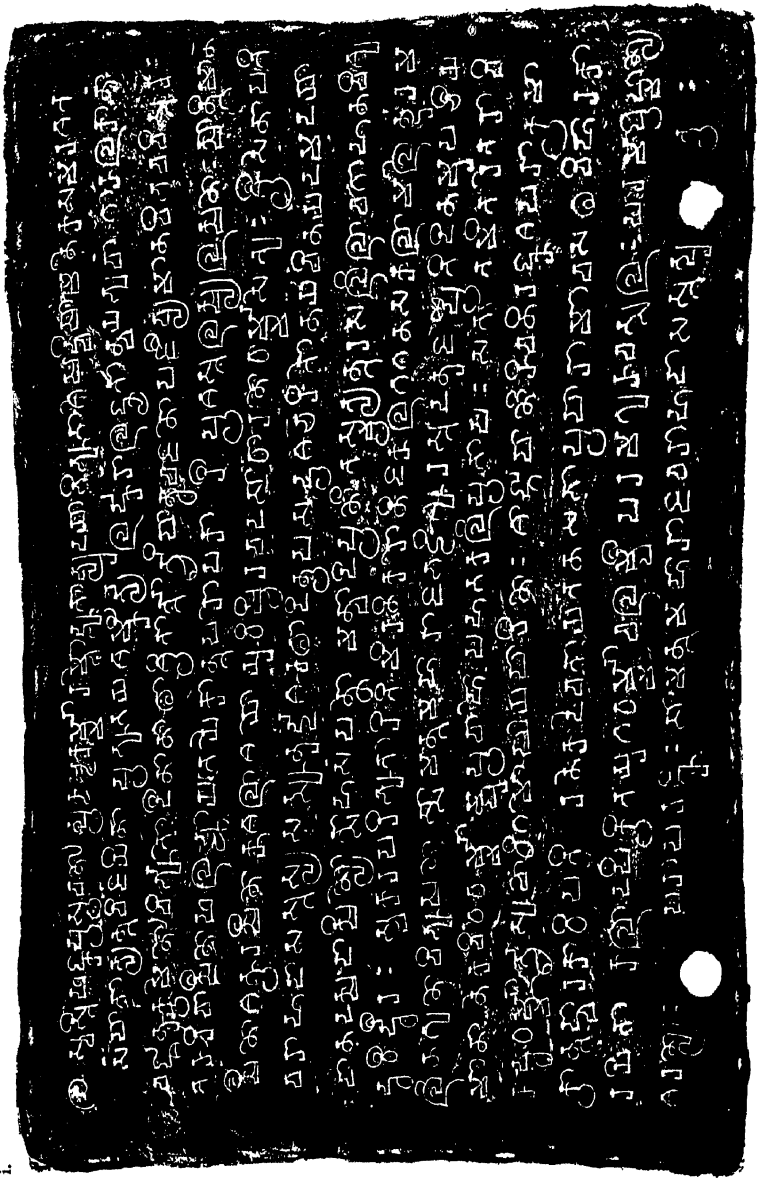
4 तरुरिवाक्षीणफलच्छायतयैकान्तपरोपकारी प्रशस्तलक्ष्यलक्षणः क्षान्तिमान्
5 क्षीणशत्रुरक्षीणकुशलाशयो युधिष्ठिरवदसाधारणधर्म्मसेतुः श्रीसेनापति-
6 वराहदासस्तस्य सत्सूनुर्द्दशरथादिनृपसदृशचरितो नयविनयदमदया-
7 दानदक्षदाक्षिण्योत्साहसंपन्नो[1] मन्वादिप्रणीतस्मृत्यन्तरसलिलावगाहनविशु-
8 द्धधीर्व्वीरः स्वकरपरिभूतारितिमिरनिकरो निजकुलगगनसकलामलेन्दुरम-
9 लिनगुणविभूषणस्सामन्तमहाराजभट्टिशूरस्तदनुजᳵप्रतिदिनमुपचीय-
10 मानानेकविधधर्म्माम्बुप्रवाहोपहतकलिप्रतापः सततमितरेतराबि-
11 रुद्धधर्म्मार्त्थसुखाधिगमोपायपारीणः शार्ङ्गपाणिरिव निरङ्कुशपराक्रमा-
12 क्रान्तद्वारकाधिपतिरनेकदेवतायतनसभाप्रपारामावसथविहारका-
13 रयिता कलादपि[2] कृतयुगधर्म्मावलम्बी परमगुरुवत्सलः परमब्रह्मण्य-
14 शरण्यः परापरज्ञः सामन्तमहाराजवराहदासस्तत्पुत्रः

Second Plate.

15 प्रसभमहाहवसमागमावाप्तदिङ्मुखोद्गीयमानानेकयशाः
16 स्फुटमधुरललितोदारधीरगम्भीरवल्गुप्रहृताभिधानः[3] श्यामोन्नतविपुल-
17 वक्षस्थलस्थिरातिशयानुरक्तश्री[:*] सामन्तमहाराजसिङ्गादित्यक्कुशली[4] सर्व्वानेव
18 राजपुत्रराजस्थानीयामात्यद्राङ्गिकमहत्तरचाटचारभटहस्त्यश्वारोहादीन[5]
19 समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोᳵपुण्याप्यायनायात्म-[6]
20 नश्चोभयलोकहितसुखावाप्तये[7] एलापद्रवास्तव्यब्राह्मणबप्पस्वामिने
21 मैत्रायणिकसब्रह्मचारिणे कृष्णात्रेयसगोत्राय[8] दर्भचारग्रामे भोण्डक-
22 वधिरकुटुम्बी सह वाप्या भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्याचन्द्रार्क्कार्णवक्षिति-
23 समकालीनᳵपुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यतया निसृष्टो यतोस्य भुजतो[9] न केनचि-
24 दाबाधा कार्य्येति ॥ उ[क्तं] च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिं
वर्षसहस्रा-
25 णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
वसेत् ॥[१*]
26 यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि[10] [।*] निर्म्माल्यवान्त-
प्रतिमा-
27 नि तानि को नाम साधुᳵपुनराददीत [॥ २*] इति ॥ सं २००
५० ५ अश्वयुज[11] शु १० ३ [॥*]
28 स्वहस्तो मम ॥

[1] Read °दाक्ष्य° for °दक्ष°.
[2] Read कलावपि क्षत°.
[3] Read °प्रथिता°.
[4] Read °सिंहादित्य°.
[5] Read °दीन्.
[6] Read °पित्रो°.
[7] Read °वाप्तय.
[8] Read कृष्णा°.
[9] Read भुंजतो.
[10] Read °कृतानि.
[11] Read आश्व°.

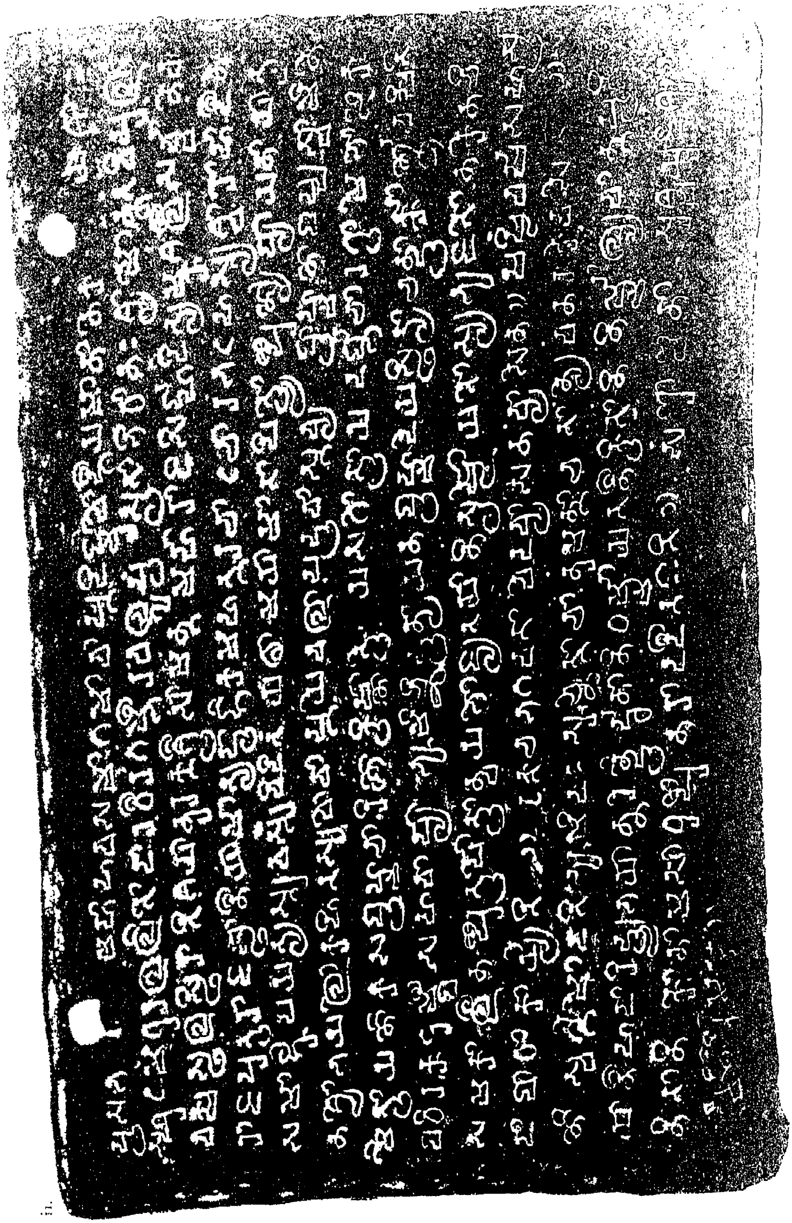
Palitana plates of the Garulaka Simhaditya. — The year 255.



Scale 8:5

E. Hultzsch.

Gebr. Plettner, Halle a. S.



ii.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Ōṁ.* Hail! From Phaṅkaprasravaṇa.[1] In the succession of the family of the Gārulakas, who subdued all enemies by (*their*) prosperity which was produced by the performance of eminent deeds; who gained decisive victories in encounters (*with their enemies*) in many hundreds of battles; (*and*) who sprang from a race adorned with the ornaments of high glory and fame,[2] —there appeared the glorious *Sēnāpati* Varāhadāsa (I.), whose great wealth was being lived upon by the distressed, the helpless, refugees, the sick, suppliants, and kinsmen; who invariably benefited others by granting unceasing rewards and shelter, as a tree by affording unceasing fruits and shade; who had noble aims and auspicious marks; who possessed forbearance; who destroyed his enemies; (*who was*) a receptacle of unceasing prosperity; (*and who was*) an unparalleled bridge of justice, as (*king*) Yudhishṭhira.

(L. 6.) His virtuous son (*was*) the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Bhaṭṭiśūra, whose conduct resembled that of kings like Daśaratha; who was endowed with prudence, modesty, self-restraint, compassion, liberality, cleverness, politeness, and energy; whose mind was purified by bathing in the water of the contents of the codes of law composed by Manu and others; who was brave (*or wise*); who, having subdued the multitude of enemies by his own hand (*as if he were*) dispelling the mass of darkness by his rays, (*became*) the spotless full-moon on the firmament of his family; (*and*) who was adorned with spotless virtues.

(L. 9.) His younger brother (*was*) the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Varāhadāsa (II.), who dispelled the heat of the Kali (*age*) by the stream of libations at (*his*) manifold charities which were accumulating every day; who was constantly expert in means for the acquisition of merit, wealth, and pleasure not conflicting with each other; who overcame the lord of Dvārakā by unchecked valour, as Śārṅgapāṇi (Kṛishṇa) possessed unchecked valour and was the lord of Dvārakā; who caused to be built many temples of the gods, halls, drinking-fountains,[3] gardens, rest-houses,[4] and (*Buddhist*) monasteries (*vihāra*); who, even in the Kali (*age*), held fast to the virtues of the Kṛita-yuga; who was excessively devoted to (*his*) elders; who assiduously afforded protection to pious men; (*and*) who knew what is remote and proximate.

(L. 14.) His son, the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Siṁhāditya, who has acquired much[5] fame, which is being sung in (*all*) the quarters of the horizon, by encountering (*his enemies*) in fierce great battles; whose epithets 'sweet, charming, noble, firm, deep, handsome, and modest' are well-known; (*and*) to whose dark, high, and broad chest the goddess of fortune is firmly and excessively attached,—being in good health, (*thus*) commands all (*people*), (*viz.*) princes (*rāja-putra*), palace-officers (*rājasthānīya*),[6] ministers, city-officers (*drāṅgika*),[7] headmen (*mahattara*), irregular soldiers,[8] spies, regular soldiers, riders on elephants or horses, *etc.*:—

(L. 19.) "Be it known to you that, in order to increase the spiritual merit of (*My*) mother and father, and in order to attain Myself welfare and happiness in both worlds, I have granted to the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin residing at Ēlāpadra, who is a student of the Maitrāyaṇika school (*and*) belongs to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*, (*the field of*) Bhōṇḍaka-Badhira-Kuṭumbin[9] in the village Darbhachāra, together with a pond, according to the maxim of *bhūmichchhidra*, under the

[1] The ablative has to be construed with the verb *samājñāpayati*, 'he commands,' in l. 19.

[2] *I.e.* glory in this life and fame after death. See Bühler, *Z. D. M. G.* Vol. XXXVII. p. 575.

[3] Compare *sabhā-prapā-karēṇa* in the Nāsik inscription No. 10, l. 2 f.; above, Vol. VIII. p. 78.

[4] The words *ārāma* and *avasatha* occur in the same inscription, l. 2.

[5] This use of *anēka* is very inelegant.

[6] Compare Dr. Stein's Translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I. p. 316, note on verse 601.

[7] See Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* p. 169, note 6.

[8] [For a different rendering of the word *chāṭa*, see above, Vol. X. p. 75.—Ed.]

[9] *Badhira* means 'deaf.' With *bhōṇḍaka* compare Hindi *bhōṇḍā*, 'ugly.'

rules of gifts to Brāhmaṇas, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth shall exist, (*and*) to be enjoyed by (*his*) sons, grandsons, and (*further*) descendants.

(L. 23.) "Therefore nobody shall cause obstruction to him while he enjoys (*this field*)."

(L. 24.) "And the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas, has spoken."

[Here follow two of the customary verses.]

(L. 27.) In the year 255, on the 13th (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of Āśvayuja.

(L. 28.) (*This is*) My own signature.

No. 3.—SAHETH-MAHETH PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1186.

BY PANDIT DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A.

Dr. Vogel has already announced the discovery of this copper-plate inscription in two articles. One of these appeared in the *Pioneer* of the 11th May, 1908, under the title of "Śrāvastī and its remains" and contains all the salient points in the history of this ancient city, derivable from the Pāli texts and the writings of modern explorers. It winds up with the statement that the present inscription conclusively settles the identification of **Sahēṭh** and **Mahēṭh** on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts with the Jētavana and Śrāvastī, respectively, of Buddhist literature. The connection of the copper-plate with Jētavana and Śrāvastī is expressed in the most unmistakable language in the inscription engraved on it, and since the plate has been found carefully deposited in a cell of a large monastery at Sahēṭh, it was obviously intended for it. Mr. V. A. Smith, however, while referring to the plate in a footnote on page 792 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for July 1908, has expressed the opinion that the plate may have been brought to Sahēṭh from the real Śrāvastī which he locates somewhere near Bālāpur in Nepal Tarai, not far from the place where the Rapti leaves the hills.

The evidence in favour of the identification of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh with Śrāvastī is set forth by Mr. Marshall in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,[1] and here it is enough to enumerate the main facts. Foremost of these is the remarkable agreement which exists between the topography of the remains at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and the descriptions of Śrāvastī recorded by the Chinese pilgrims. We next come to the well-known colossal *bōdhisattva* discovered by General Cunningham on this site, which according to the Kushaṇa inscription on its pedestal was set up at Śrāvastī. A fragment of its umbrella post (*daṇḍa*) with the same inscription as that on the *bōdhisattva* has recently been brought to light by Dr. Vogel. It is now in the Lucknow Museum, but is believed originally to have been unearthed at Sahēṭh by Dr. Hoey. Then there is the inscribed copper-plate which forms the subject of this paper. And last of all we have the lower half of a life-size statue of a *bōdhisattva* which was discovered by Mr. Marshall at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh in the year 1908-09. The pedestal of this statue bears an early Kushaṇa inscription which states that it was presented by certain Kshatriya brothers at the Jētavana of Śrāvastī. In the face of all this evidence it would be strange, indeed, if the identification of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh remained doubtful, merely because the statements of the Chinese pilgrims about the location of Śrāvastī are somewhat incorrect.

The plate was discovered by me in a monastery (No. 21, map of Sahēṭh, Dr. Hoey's Report[2]) on the site of Sahēṭh in the spring of 1908 when I was assisting Dr. Vogel in his excavations

[1] For 1909, pp. 1066 seq. [2] *Vide J. A. S. B.* for 1892, Part I, extra number.

there. This building was partially excavated by Dr. Hoey, and it was here that, on breaking through the paved courtyard, he found the inscribed slab published in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 61 ff.[1] Dr. Hoey also opened out seven out of the twenty-four cells which surround the courtyard in the centre and it was in one of these, namely, the one adjoining the entrance chamber on the south, that the copper-plate under reference was found. It was carefully packed in an earthen box, 2 feet square and 3 inches high externally, closed with a lid of the same material, the space between the plate and the receptacle being filled with clay. The box was built against the foundation of the northern wall of the cell referred to, just below the floor, well secured to the wall by means of brickwork on all sides.

The plate measures 18″ by 14″ and is ¼″ thick. In the centre of the upper part there is a ring-hole ⅝″ in diameter. The ring was not found, nor the seal which must have surmounted it.[2] The plate is inscribed on one side only and contains 27 lines of writing in a perfect state of preservation. The characters are **Nāgarī** and the language **Sanskṛit** throughout. In respect of **orthography**, the following points may be noted. The letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* throughout. The doubling of consonants before and after *r* occurs in lines 4 (twice), 5, 16 (twice), 17, 18 (twice), 19 (twice), 22 (twice), 23, 24 (thrice), and 27. The horizontal top stroke (*mātrā*) which elsewhere distinguishes the letters *v* and *l* from *dh* and *n*, respectively, is, in a few cases, also found in the latter. Omissions of letters are supplied by the insertion of the corresponding signs immediately above or below their original places: *cf. ra* in *Turashka* in line 21 and *bha* in *bhadrāsanaṁ* in line 23. A rough figure of Garuḍa is engraved once at the end of the 11th line and again in the last line before the words *maṁgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ*.

The inscription begins, like all the other epigraphs of the **Gāhaḍavāla** king Gōvindachandra that have so far come to light, with nine verses in different metres containing his genealogy, and ends with seven benedictive and imprecatory verses and an eighth which supplies the name of the engraver. The formal portion is contained in the rest of the epigraph and is, as usual, in prose. I have given the full text of the inscription, but omitted from the translation the first nine verses, because they are paraphrased in the prose passage following them, and the next seven which contain the usual admonitions to future kings. The taxes specified (line 21) as due to the donees are the *bhāgabhōgakara*, the *pravaṇikara*, and the *Turushkadaṇḍa*.[3] The last named tax figures only in the records of three other kings of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, namely, the Chandrāvatī plate of Gōvindachandra's grandfather, Chandradēva;[4] the inscription issued by Gōvindachandra himself on behalf of his father Madanapāla;[5] and a plate of Vijayachandra and the *Yuvarāja* Jayachchandra.[6]

In respect of the localities mentioned in the record, it is gratifying to note that some of them can be identified beyond all possibility of doubt. The other places have, in all probability, gone out of existence. One of these latter is **Vihāra**, the first of the six villages granted. It is said to have been situated in the district of what appears to be **Vāḍā-chaturaśīti.**[7] There is a comparatively large village called **Bāja Jōt** or the Holy Bāja, about 2 miles west of Sahēṭh. I am inclined to think that Vāḍā may possibly be a mistake for Bāja. The **next** village **Paṭṭaṇā** is situated about 3 miles south-west of Sahēṭh or about 2 miles south of

[1] [It is worthy of note that the slab was found " in a stratum which indicated that it had been placed in a restored building;" see also the following note.—Ed.]

[2] [The absence of the ring and seal would show that the plate must have had a history of its own before it came to be deposited at the spot where it has now been discovered.—Ed.]

[3] For an explanation of *turushkadaṇḍa*, see above, Vol. IX, p. 321.

[4] Above, Vol. IX, p. 305, text line 15.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 17, text line 21.

[6] Above, Vol. IV, p. 120, text lines 22-23.

[7] [It is not unlikely that all the six villages granted by the king were situated in the district of Vāḍā-chaturaśīti.—Ed.]

Katṛā on the road leading to Khargupur Bāzār and is now called Paṭnā. There is a mass of ancient remains near the village and the peasants have discovered a few old wells which they use for the irrigation of their fields. The village of **Upalaüṇḍā** I cannot identify. The fourth village is called **Vavvahali** in the plate. This is presumably now represented by Bēlahā situated near the village of Paṭnā. The villagers say that it is ancient. The next place is "**Ghōsāḍī** attached to **Mēyī**." Ghōsāḍī does not exist; but Mēyī is still an important village near Subhāgpur on the Gonda-Intiathok road. The last village is "**Payāsi** belonging to **Pōṭhīvāra**." This I identify with a village of the name of Bayāsi which formerly stood 2 *kōs* to north-east of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh, but was washed away by the Rapti some years ago. Its site is still known by the name of Bayāsi.

[In line 19 f. the Buddhist ascetic **Śākyarakshita** is said to have been a native of **Utkala**, *i.e.* **Orissa**, and his disciple **Vāgīśvararakshita** belonged to the **Chōḍa** country. The date of the inscription, *viz.* Vikrama-Saṁvat 1186, corresponds to A.D. 1128-9, which falls into the reign of the Chōḷa king **Vikrama-Chōḷa**. The Gāhaḍavāla kings of Kanauj appear to have been on friendly terms with the Chōḷas of Tanjore[1] whose dominions extended into the Northern Circars during the reigns of **Kulōttuṅga I.** and **Vikrama-Chōḷa**. It is not certain if Vāgīśvararakshita came from the Tamil country or from the vicinity of **Amarāvatī** which was included in the dominions of the Chōḷa king at the time. We know very little of the history of Buddhism in the Tamil country. But there is no doubt that there were adherents of that creed down to the 13th century A.D. in the country round Amarāvatī in the Guntur District. Besides, **Kumaradēvī**, the Buddhist queen of Gōvindachandra, was the daughter of a chief of **Pīṭhī**. And Dr. Konow says it is possible to identify Pīṭhī with **Piṭhāpuram** in the modern Godavari District of the Madras Presidency.[2] If this be the case, it is no matter for surprise that the two Buddhist ascetics who pleased Gōvindachandra were natives of Orissa and the Chōḍa country. Probably they were introduced to the king by his queen Kumaradēvī, who probably brought about, either directly or indirectly, the gift recorded in the subjoined inscription. The sentence *punar api śāsanīkṛitya grāmā imē shaḍ api dattā* "these six villages were given again by a charter" implies that these villages had originally been granted to the Buddhist *vihāra* at Jētavana, but, for some reason or other, resumed subsequently. At **Sārnāth**, queen Kumaradēvī restored the "lord of the turning of the wheel" and erected a *vihāra* for his accommodation. It is not impossible that the same queen also infused fresh life into the Buddhist establishment at Jētavana by sending for the two Buddhist ascetics and inducing the king to restore the six villages which once belonged to the *vihāra*.—Ed.]

TEXT.

1 Oṁ[3] svasti |
Akuṇṭhōtkaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭhapīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ |
saṁrambhaḥ surat-ārambhē sa Śriyaḥ śrēyasē=stu vaḥ || [|*]
Āsīd=**Aśītady[u]ti-vaṁśa**-jāta-kshmāpāla-mālā-

2 su divaṁ gatāsu |
sākshād=Vivasvān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā **Yaśōvigraha** ity=udāraḥ || [2*]
Tat-sutō=bhūn=**Mahīcha[ṁ]draś**=chandra-dhāma-nibhaṁ nija[ṁ] [|*]
yēn=āpāram=akūpāra-

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[1] [See the *Annual Report* of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent, Southern Circle, for 1907-08, paragraphs 58 ff. – Ed.]

[2] Above, Vol. IX. p. 322.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

3 pārē vyāpāritaṁ yaśaḥ || [3*]
Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aika-rasika[ḥ] krānta-dvishan-maṇḍalō
vidhvast-ōddhata-vairi-yōdha-timiraḥ śrī-**Chaṁdradēvō** nṛipaḥ |
yēn=ōdāratara-pratāpa-śamit-āśēsha-pra

4 jōpadravaṁ
śrīmad-**Gādhipur**-ādhirā[jya]m[1]=asamaṁ dōr-vvikramēṇ=ārjjitaṁ || [4*]
Tīrthāni **Kāśi-Kuśik-Ōttarakōsal-Īṁdra-**
sthānīyakāni paripālayat=ādhigamya |
hēm=ātmatulyam=a-

5 niśaṁ dadatā dvijēbhyō
yēn=āṅkitā vasumatī śataśas=tulābhiḥ || [5*]
Tasy=ātmajō **Madanapāla** iti kshitīndra-
chūḍāmaṇir=vvijayatē [n]ija-gōtra-chaṁdraḥ |
ya[sy=ā]bhishēka-kalaś-ō[lla]sitaiḥ payōbhiḥ
prā(pra)-

6 kshālitaṁ kali-rajaḥ-paṭalaṁ dharitryāḥ || [6*]
Yasy=āsīd=vijaya-prayāṇa-samayē vuṅg[2]-āchal-ōchchaiś-chalan-
mādyat-kuṁbhi-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhraśyan-mahīma[ṁ]ḍalaḥ |
chūḍāratna-vibhinna-tālu-

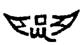
7 galita-styān-āsṛig-udbhāsitaḥ
Śēshaḥ pēsha-vaśād=iva kshaṇam=abhūt=krōḍē nilīn-ānanaḥ || [7*]
Tasmād=ajāyata nij-āyata-vā(bā)hu-valli-
va(ba)ddh-āvaruddha-nava-rā[jya]-gajō narēndraḥ |
sāṁdr-ā-

8 mṛita-drava-muchāṁ prabhavō gavāṁ yō
Gōviṁdachaṁdra iti chaṁdra iv=ā[ṁ]vu(bu)rāśēḥ || [8*]
Na katham=apy=alabhaṁnta(bhanta) raṇakshamā[ṁ]s=
tisṛishu dikshu gajān=atha Vajriṇaḥ |
kakubhi va(ba)bhramur=A[bhra]mu-vallabha-
prati-

9 bhaṭā iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || [9*]
Sō=yaṁ samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēvita-charaṇaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-nija-bhuj-ōpārjita-**Kanyakuvj(bj)**-ādhipa-

10 tya-śrīmach-[Cha]ṁdradēva-pādānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāra[ka]-mahārājādhirāja-para-
mēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-śrīma[n*]-Madanapāladēva-pā[dā]nudhyāta-
paramabhaṭṭā-raka-mahārājādhirāja-para-

11 mēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrayādhipati-vividha-vidyā-
vichāra-Vāchaspatiḥ śrīmad-Gō[vi]ndachaṁdradēvō vijayī ||[3]

 || ||

[1] The akshara *jya* looks like *dya*; one of the strokes necessary to make it *jya* has been omitted.

[2] Read *tuṅg°*.

[3] This sign of punctuation and all the others in lines 12 to 21 are superfluous.

12 **Vāḍā(jā)-chaturaśīti-pattalāyāṁ** Vihāra | [1]Paṭṭaṇā | Upalaüṇḍā | **Vavvahalī** | **Mēyi-saṁva(ba)ddha-Ghōsāḍi** Pōṭhivāra-saṁ[va](ba)**ddha-Payāsi-grāma-nivāsinō**

13 nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api[2] rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-maṁtri-purōhita-pra[tī]hāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-

14 karituragapattanākarasthānagōkulādhikāriṇaś=cha purushān=ājñāpayati vō(bō)-dhayaty=ādiśati cha yathā | Viditam=astu bhavatāṁ yath=ōparilikhita-grāmāḥ sa-ja-

15 la-sthalāḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākarāḥ sa-matsy-ākarāḥ sa-pallikarāḥ[3] sa-gartt-ōsha[rā]ḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantāḥ s-ōrddhv-ādhaś=chatur-āghāṭa-viśu-

16 ddha-sva-sīmā-paryantāḥ | **Saṁvatsarē shaḍaśīty-adhik-aikādaśa-śatē Āshāḍhē mā[s]ē [Sō]mavārē Pūrvvāshāḍhā-nakshatrē** pūrṇṇimāyāṁ **tithau aṅkatō-pi saṁvat 1186 Āshāḍha**

17 **sudi 15 Sōmē** | **ady=ēha** śrī-**Vārāṇasyāṁ Gaṁgāyāṁ** [sn]ātvā mantra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛi-gaṇāṁs=tarppayitvā timi[ra]-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=[4]Ushṇarōchishaṁm=upasthāy=Au-

18 shadhipati-śakala-śēkharaṁ samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trātur=Vvāsudēvasya pūjāṁ vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujaṁ hutvā mātāpitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē gō-

19 karṇṇa-kuśalatā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvam | **Utkala-dēśīya**-Saugata-parivrājaka-**mahāpaṇḍita-Śākyarakshita-tachchhishya-Chōḍa-dēśīya**-Saugata-parivrājaka-**mahāpaṇḍi-**

20 **ta-Vāgīśvararakshitābhyāṁ** paritōshitair=asmābhiḥ Śrīmaj-**Jētavana-mahāvihā-ra**-vāstavya-**Vu(Bu)ddhabhaṭṭāraka**-pramukha-param-ārya-**[Ś]ākyabhikshu-saṁghāya** vihār-āntara-maryāda-

21 **yā** paribhōg-**ārthaṁ mahatā** chitta-prasādēn=āchaṁdrārkkaṁ punar=api śāsanī-kṛitya grā[m]ā imē **shaḍ=api** dattā[5] **matvā** yathā-dīyamāna-bhāgabhōgakara-pravaṇikara-Tu[ra]shkadaṇḍa-pra-

22 **bhṛiti-sarvvādāyān=ājñā-[śra]vaṇa-vidhēyī-bhūya** dāsyath=ēti || Bhavanti ch=ātra ś[l]ōkāḥ | [|*] **Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ** prayachchhati | **ubhau tau puṇyakarmmāṇau** niyatau(taṁ) svarg[ga]gāmi-

23 ṇau | [10*]

Śaṁkhaṁ [bha]dr-āsanaṁ [ch]chhatraṁ var-āśvā vara-vāraṇāḥ |
bhūmi-dānasya chi[hnā]ni **phalam=ētat=Puraṁdara** || [11*]
Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ |
yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya

24 tasya tadā [pha]la[ṁ] || [12*]

Sarvvān=ētān bhāvinaḥ pārthiv-ēndrān
bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāma[bha]draḥ |
sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-sētur=nnarāṇāṁ
kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || [13*]
Shashṭi-va-

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[1] [Either the reading is *Paṭṭaṇyā*, or there are two vertical strokes after *Paṭṭaṇā*.—Ed.]

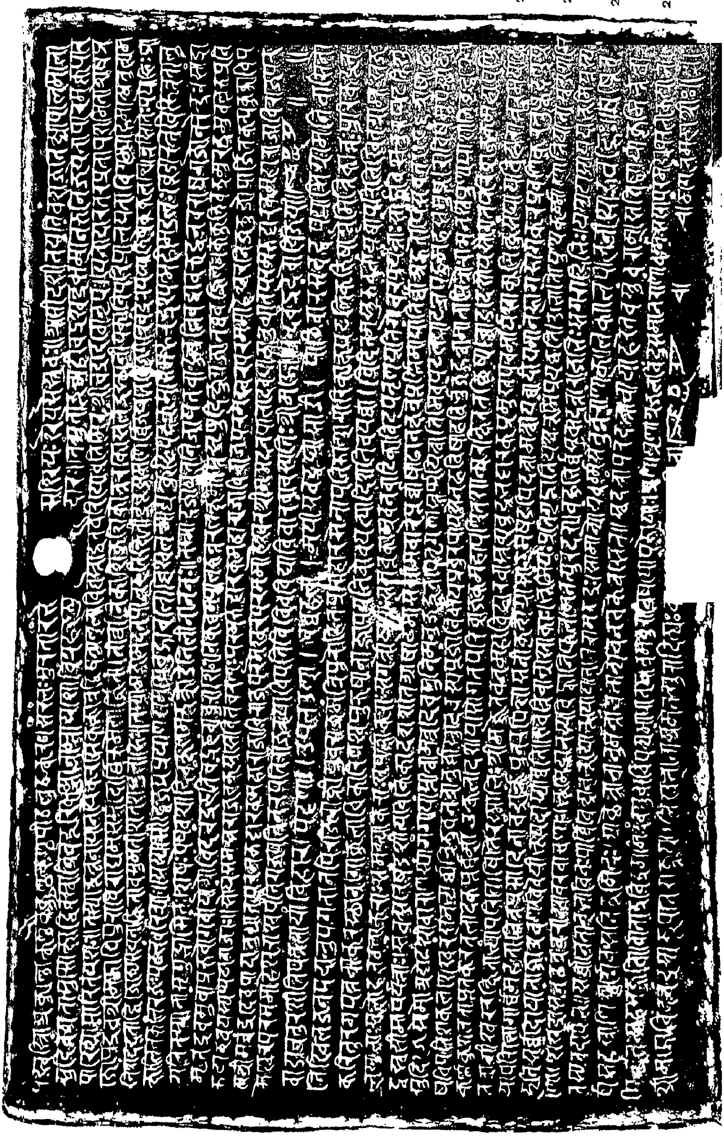
[2] Read *api cha*.

[3] [I think the reading is *sa-parṇṇākarāḥ*; see above Vol. IV, p. 101, text-line 17 and plate.—Ed.]

[4] Read °*sham=*.

[5] Read *dattā iti*.

Saheth-Maheth Plate of Govindachandra.—[Vikrama-] Samvat 1186.



25 rshā-sahasrāṇi svar[gē] vasati bhūmidaḥ |
āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [14*]
Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ |
sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā

26 pi[tṛibhi]ḥ saha majjavi(ti) || [15*]
Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-ādhipatyam=
āpāta-mātra-madhurā [vi]shay-ōpabhōgāḥ |
pr[ā]ṇā[s]=tṛiṇ-āgra-jala-viṁdu-samā narāṇāṁ
dharmmaḥ sakhā param=ahō paralōka-yānē || [16*]

27 Śrīmad-Gōviṁdachaṁdrasya bhūpatēr=ājñay=ālikhat |[1]
tāmram=ētat=Surādityaḥ kāyasthaḥ sarvva-śāstra-vit || [17*]
 [2]| [2]| Maṁgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ || ||

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 9 to 22.)

That victorious and glorious king, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramamāhēśvara* Gōvindachandradēva,—whose feet are honoured by the entire circle of kings; who is (*another*) Vāchaspati in investigating the various sciences; who is the lord of the three kings, *viz.* the *aśvapati* (lord of horses), the *gajapati* (lord of elephants) and the *narapati* (lord of men); who meditates on the feet of the illustrious *P. M. P. P.* **Madanapāladēva**, who (in his turn) meditated on the feet of the illustrious *P. M. P. P.* **Chandradēva**, who acquired the sovereignty over **Kanyakubja** by (the strength of) his own arms,— orders, informs and commands all the people assembled, residing in the villages of **Vihāra** in the district (?) of **Vāḍā-chaturaśiti**, of **Paṭṭaṇā**, **Upalaüṇḍā**, **Vavvahali**, **Ghōsāḍī** attached to **Mēyī** and of **Payāsi** attached to **Pōṭhivāra**, as well as the kings, queens, heirs-apparent, ministers, priests, door-keepers, generals, treasurers, record-keepers, physicians, astrologers, chamberlains, messengers, and officers charged with the care of elephants, horses, towns, mines (?) *sthānas* and *gōkulas* in the following manner :—

"Be it known to you, that, having been gratified by the *Saugata-parivrājaka*, the *mahāpaṇḍita* **Śākyarakshita**, (a resident) of the **Utkala** country, and his disciple, the *Saugata-parivrājaka*, the *mahāpaṇḍita* **Vāgīśvararakshita**, (a resident) of the **Chōḍa** country, I have to-day,—on a **Monday, the pūrṇimā tithi of the month of Āshāḍha**, (the moon being) in the **Pūrvāshāḍhā** *nakshatra* in the **year comprising eleven hundred increased by eighty-six**, also **in figures Saṁvat 1186, Āshāḍha sudi 15, Monday**,— after bathing in the **Ganges**, at the holy **Vārāṇasī**; propitiating the sacred texts, divinities,[3] sages, men, beings and the group of deceased ancestors; adoring the sun, whose lustre can dispel heaps of darkness; worshipping the moon-crested (Śiva); worshipping Vāsudēva, the protector of the three worlds; and after offering to (the god of) fire an oblation rich in milk-rice, bestowed again[4] by a charter for the enhancement of the merit and fame of my parents and of myself, by (pouring) from the palm of my hand water sanctified by the *gōkarṇa* and the *kuśa*

[1] [The sign of *avagraha* is inserted in the original between the aksharas *yā* and *li*.—Ed.]

[2] [Each of these vertical strokes is preceded by a symbol which looks like the letter घ found in this inscription. —Ed.]

[3] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 10, note 55.

[4] I do not understand the force of the word "again" (*punarapi*) here. This would seem to signify that the king was only renewing an older grant of his.

grass,[1] with a great satisfaction of the heart, for enjoyment in the manner of other convents for (as long as) the moon and the sun (endure), the six villages named above, together with water and dry land, mines of iron and salt, repositories (*i.e.* ponds) of fish, *pallīkaras*, pits and deserts up to and including gardens of *madhūka* and mango (trees), parks, bushes, grass and pasture lands up to their proper limits clearly defined by their four boundaries, with the elevations and depressions, upon the most respectable community (*saṁgha*) of Buddhist friars (*Śākyabhikshu*) of whom **Buddhabhaṭṭāraka** is the chief, residing in the great convent of the **Holy Jētavana.** Bearing (this) in mind, and being ready to listen to (our) commands you should (*continue to*) give (to the donees) the *bhāgabhōgakara*, the *pravaṇikara*, the *Turushkadaṇḍa* and all the other sources of income that are due."

[Lines 22—26 contain seven imprecatory and benedictory verses.]

(L. 27.) Under the orders of the glorious king Gōvindachandra, this grant was written by the Kāyastha **Surāditya**, who is proficient in all *śāstras*. Good luck (and) great prosperity!

No. 4.—THE CHAHAMANAS OF MARWAR.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

In his paper on "The Chāhamānas of Naddūla" the late Professor Kielhorn has edited the Sūndhā hill inscription of Chāchigadēva[2] which helps to determine the order of succession and the relationship of the various princes, whose inscriptions had been published, but whose connection with one another had long remained unknown. We are now aware that they were all of the **Chāhamāna** dynasty. But there were several families of the Chāhamānas that reigned in Rājputānā. It was, therefore, necessary to distinguish the line that ruled over Mārwār from other branches ruling elsewhere. And Professor Kielhorn chose to group them together under the title "the Chāhamānas of Naddūla." But some of these Chāhamānas reigned at **Naddūla (Nāḍol)**, and some at **Jābālipura (Jālor)**. Strictly speaking, they should, therefore, have been called "the Chāhamānas of Naddūla and Jābālipura." The descendants of the former are called **Nāḍōliās**, and of the latter **Sōnagarās**. Again, at **Sānchōr,** inscriptions are found of a Chāhamāna prince who seems to be neither a Nāḍōliā nor a Sōnagarā, but rather a Sānchōrā, another subdivision of the Chōhāns. Under such circumstances, it is best to designate these Chōhāns as "the Chāhamānas of Mārwār."

The subjoined inscriptions were discovered during the two tours undertaken by me in 1907-08 and 1908-09 in the southern and south-eastern parts of Mārwār, and this paper is really a supplement to that of Professor Kielhorn, without which it would not have been possible to make my article interesting.

I AND II.—SĀDAḌĪ AND NĀḌŌL INSCRIPTIONS OF JŌJALADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-] SAṀVAT 1147.[3]

The first of these inscriptions was found at **Sādaḍī**, and the second at **Nāḍōl**, both in the **Dēsūri** District, **Gōḍvāḍ** Division, Jodhpur State. The former is engraved on a pillar in the temple of **Jāgēśvara,** but as all the materials of this temple are said to have been brought from ruins elsewhere, it is clear that the inscription did not originally belong to Sādaḍī. It contains

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 10, note 57.

[2] Above, Vol. IX. p. 70.

[3] [For short notices of these two records see above, Vol. IX. p. 158 f.—Ed.]

11 lines of writing, which cover a space of 8¼″ broad by 6¾″ high. The second inscription is incised on a pillar in the temple of Sōmēśvara, and bears 13 lines of writing which cover a space of 8¼″ broad by 9¼″ high. The letters of the first are deeply cut, and, excepting two or three *aksharas* at the beginning of lines 8-10, the record is well preserved. The second is weather-worn and has not yielded satisfactory impressions. The whole of it, however, is intact. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskṛit, and both the inscriptions are in prose. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to state that the letters *b* and *v* are both denoted by the sign for *v*. Of words unknown or rarely employed, we may note the following: (1) *yātrā*, (2) *satka*, (3) *vaḍaharaka*, (4) *śūlapāla*, and (5) *pramadākula*. *Yātrā* is a festival which is held on different days for different gods.[1] The word is frequently met with in the Bhinmāl inscriptions. *Satka* of course means "belonging to," and, though foreign to classical Sanskrit literature, is found in later inscriptions and in Jaina literature. *Vaḍaharaka*, I think, is the Sanskṛitised form of the Mārwārī word *baḍerō*, meaning "an old man." The word *śūlapāla*, which occurs only in No. II, is given in Monier-Williams' Dictionary to mean "the keeper of a brothel or frequenter of brothels," but the sense intended here seems to be that of "associates of courtezans, who accompany them on musical instruments while singing or dancing." *Pramadākula* means obviously a host of courtezans, and is used in this sense also in the Bhinmāl inscriptions.

The contents of both the inscriptions are almost identical. They are dated on Wednesday, the second of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the [Vikrama-] year 1147 and refer themselves to the reign of Jōjaladēva, who, in No. I, is styled *Mahārāja* and, in No. II, *Mahārājādhirāja*. They lay down the order of the king with regard to the management of festivals in connection with all the gods, such as Lakshmaṇasvāmin and others. The order is that when the festival of any particular god commences, the courtezans attached to the temples of the other gods must also put on their ornaments and best garments and attend with their *śūlapālas* to celebrate it by instrumental music, dancing, singing, and so forth. Jōjaladēva goes even to the extent of conjuring his descendants and other princes to keep the festivals of all the gods going in this manner, and warns them by adding that he, who, at the time of a festival, attempts to abolish this practice, be he an ascetic, an old person, or a learned man, should be prevented from doing so by the reigning ruler. The inscription ends with a curse on those princes who will not maintain this practice.

In the temple of Jāgēśvara at Sādaḍī, where No. I was engraved on a pillar, other inscriptions also are found, but incised on another pillar of exactly the same style. From them it is clear that the temple of Lakshmaṇasvāmin was at Naḍūla, *i.e.* Nāḍōl. Again, in order that the festival of one god may be celebrated by courtezans attached to other temples, all the temples must be in one and the same town, *i.e.* in Nāḍōl. The name of the god Lakshmaṇasvāmin suggests that he was so called after Lakshmaṇa, the founder of the Mārwār branch of the Chōhāns.

I.

TEXT.[2]

1 ओं[3] संवत् ११४७ वैशाखशुदि २ वुधवासरे[4] महा-

2 राजश्रीजोजलदेवेन श्रीलक्ष्मणस्वामिप्रभृति-

3 समस्तदेवानां यात्राकालव्यवहारो लेखित: ॥

4 यत्र दिने यत्र देवे यात्रा भवति तत्रापरसमस्तदे-

[1] [This word has become *jātra, jātre* or *tāttirai* in the Dravidian languages of the South.—Ed.]

[2] From the original stone.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read बुध°.

5 वानां सत्कप्रमदाकुलैः सर्व्वैः साकल्यैः सुवस्त्रैर्विद्याव-
6 द्भिश्चागत्य वाद्यनृत्यगानादिविधि[न]ा यात्रा कर्त्तव्याऽग्रे
7 च सर्व्वकालमस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वा भाविभूमिपालैरित्थं
8 [सर्व्व]देवेषु यात्रा कारयितव्या यात्राकाले तपस्वी वड-
9 — — —[1]विद्यावान्वाऽपरोपि यो भंगोपायं कुरुते तस्य
10 — —[2][नि]ग्रहः करणीयः । य[श्च] राजाऽनेन[3] क्रमेण यात्रा
11 न कारयिष्यति तस्य गर्दभोऽन्तरे ॥—

II.

TEXT.[4]

1 ओं[5] संवत् ११४७ वैशाखशुदि २ वुधवास-[6]
2 रे महाराजाधिराजश्रीजोजलदेवः सम-
3 स्तदेवानां श्रीलक्ष्मणस्वामिप्रभृतीनां यात्राव्य-
4 वहारं लिखयति यथा ॥ यत्र घस्रे यत्र [दे]वे
5 यात्रा भवति तत्र समस्तदेवानां सत्कप्रमदाकु-
6 लैराकल्पसंयुक्तैः सुवस्त्रैर्विद्यावद्भिश्च सभूल-
7 पालैरागत्य नित्यं वाद्यनृत्य[गीत]ादिविधिना यात्रा
8 करणीया । अग्रे च सर्व्वकालमस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वा भा-
9 विभूमिपालैरि[त्थं] सर्व्वदेवेषु यात्रा[7] कारयितव्या ।
10 यात्राकाले तपस्वी वडहरको विद्यावान्वाऽपरो-
11 पि यो भंगोपायं कुरुते तस्य राज्ञा निग्रह[8] कर-
12 णीयः । यश्च राजाऽनेन क्रमेण सर्व्वदेवेषु यात्रां
13 न कारयिष्यति तस्य गर्द्दभोऽन्तरे ॥०॥

III.—SĒVĀḌĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF AŚVARĀJA; [VIKRAMA-]SAṀVAT 1167.

This inscription is incised on the lintel of the door of a subsidiary shrine in the front corridor of the temple of Mahāvīra at Sēvāḍī, a village about 5 miles to the south-east of Bāli, the principal town of the district of the same name, Gōḍvāḍ Division. It contains 3 lines, and the writing covers a space of 3′ 6″ broad by $2\frac{3}{4}$″ high. The inscription is, on the whole,

[1] Restore वडहरको.
[2] Supply राज्ञा.
[3] The *akshara* न is entered below the line and is different from the other *n*'s in the inscription.
[4] From the original stone.
[5] Expressed by a symbol.
[6] Read बुध°.
[7] There is a break in the middle of the vertical line which denotes the *ā* of *trā*.
[8] Read निग्रहः

well preserved. The characters are **Nāgarī**. The sign for *ḍ* is worthy of note (*e.g.* in Padrāḍā, Chhēchhaḍiyā, and so forth), and occurs in the Nāḍōl copper-plate inscription of Kīrtipāla. Some of the letters are partially engraved. To take an instance, the left upper stroke of *ma* in *Padrāḍā-grāmē* in l. 2 is missing, and the letter looks like *na*. The language is **Sanskṛit**, and the whole record is in prose except the concluding benedictory verse. In respect of **orthography**, it is sufficient to note that the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*. As regards **lexicography**, the following words may be noticed: *jagatī* and *mahā-sāhaṇiya* in l. 1, and *java* and *hāraka* in l. 2. *Jagatī* is found in many inscriptions in the sense of "the grounds." It corresponds, in my opinion, to the Hindī word *jagah* or *jagyā* and the Marāṭhī word *jāgā*.[1] *Sāhaṇiya* most probably corresponds to the *dēśī* word *sāhaṇī*, meaning "master of stables." The same word occurs as a title of two Paramāra Rājputs in an inscription incised on a jamb of the hall door of the Nīlakaṇṭha-Mahādēva temple at Nāṇā. *Java* and *hīraka* are also found in another inscription in the same temple at Sēvāḍī. They occur as *hāraka* and *java* in No. XV below. Both are used in connection with an *arahaṭa* (*araghaṭṭa*), *i.e.* a well with a wheel attached thereto for drawing water. From this it appears that *java* or *javā* must be taken in the sense of *yava*, barley-corn. *Hāraka* seems to be the same as the Marāṭhī word *hārā*, a large basket of a particular form and of loose texture, often used in measuring corn. This receives confirmation from No. XV.

The inscription is dated on **the first of the bright half of Chaitra of the [Vikrama] year 1167**, when Aśvarāja was the *Mahārājādhirāja* and Kaṭukarāja the *yuvarāja* or heir-apparent. It then records a grant by **Uppalarāka**, son of **Uttimarāja** and grandson of **Pūavi**, the Great Master of Stables (*mahā-sāhaṇiya*), together with his family, the names of some of whose members are specified. The gift was made for the daily worship of **Śrī-Dharmanātha-dēva** in the temple of **Samīpāṭī**, and what was granted was barley-corn equal to one *hāraka* from everyone of the wells (*arahaṭa*) belonging to the villages of **Padrāḍā**, **Medraṁchā**, **Chhēchhaḍiyā** and **Maddaḍī**.

Of the localities mentioned, **Samīpāṭī** is doubtless **Sēvāḍī**, which is also pronounced as **Seṁvāḍī**. And **Dharmanāthadēva** must be unquestionably the divinity installed in the cell, above the door of which the inscription is engraved. Chhēchhaḍiyā again must be **Chhēchhlī**, about 4 miles to the north of Sēvāḍī. The rest are unidentifiable.

TEXT.[2]

1 ओं[3] ०॥ सं ११६७ चैत्र सु १ महाराजाधिराजश्रीअश्वराजराज्ये । श्री-
कटुकराजयुवरा[ज्ये[4] ।] समीपाटीयचैत्ये जगती[5] श्री[ध]र्म्मनाथदेवसां[6] नित्य-
पूजार्थं (।) महासाहणियपूअविपौत्रे[ण] [7]ऊत्तिमराजपुत्रेण उप्पलराकेन
(।) मांगट आंवल (॥[8])

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[1] Above, Vol. I. p. 277, note 18.

[2] From the original stone.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read °यौवराज्ये.

[5] Read जगत्यां.

[6] [On the impressions which Mr. Bhandarkar has kindly sent me for reference, the reading intended is °देवस्य, though the subscript *y* is not properly formed. Other instances of such careless engraving are noticed by Mr. Bhandarkar himself. There is a dot which may be taken for an *anusvāra*, but it is not quite pronounced and may be due to accident.—Ed.]

[7] [The पु of पुत्रेण looks like ऊ.—Ed.] As most of the inscriptions here published do not aim at giving grammatically correct Sanskṛit text, the places, where no attempt at observing the rules of *saṁdhi* is made, will be passed over, and only violations thereof will be noticed.

[8] [These two strokes look like रा in the impression.—Ed.]

2 वि० सलखणजोगरादि कुटुंवसमं[1] (।) पद्राडाग्रा[मे] (।) तथा मे[द्रं]चाग्रामे (।) तथा छेछडियामहडोग्रामे (॥) [अ]रहटं अरहटं प्रति [द]त्तः जवहारकः (॥) एकः १ ॥ यः कोपि लोपयि[य]ष्यति (।) स [2]गोस्त्रीव्रा[ह्म]णविनाश-पापेनात्मा[नं][3]

3 एतत् ये (।) प्रतिपालयि[ष्यं]ति (।) तेस्मदीयधर्म्म[भ]ाग्याः सदा भविष्यंति ॥ इति मत्वा प्रतिपालनीयं ॥ यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । [4]वहुभिर्वसुधा [भु]क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ॥ १ ॥ छ ॥

IV.—SĒVĀḌĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KAṬUKARĀJA; [VIKRAMA-] SAṀVAT 1172.

The inscription is incised on the lintel of the door of another cell in the front corridor of the temple of Mahāvīra at Sēvāḍī. It is highly weather-worn and cannot consequently be easily deciphered. It was again bedaubed with redlead, when I was there, I do not know for what purpose. An estampage taken of it with my own hands has, however, enabled me to read almost the whole of it with certainty. It consists of 8 lines, and covers a space of 2′ 1¼″ broad by 4½″ high. The characters are Nāgarī. The sign for *b* occurs in the inscription, *e.g.* in *vibudha-pati*° in l. 1, *bal-ādhipaḥ* in l. 4, and so forth. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the opening *Ōṁ* and the date at the end, the whole of the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered and are 15 in all. One solecism occurs in *śriy-ādhārō* in l. 2. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the occasional use of the letter *v* both for *v* and *b*, and (2) the substitution of *n* for *ṇ* in conjunct consonants, *e.g.* in *punya-vismitaḥ*, l. 3, *vitīrnnaṁ*, l. 6, and so forth. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word *khattaka* occurring in l. 7. I came across the same word in an inscription in a shrine of the Jaina temple at Pālī, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jōdhpur State. This word occurs also in the Ābū inscriptions, *e.g.* it is used in l. 40 of Inscription No. I. (above, Vol. VIII. p. 213), where the meaning of 'niche' appears to be all but certain.[5] This sense fits here exactly. In line 3 again, is the word *bhukti*, which does not here simply denote a territorial division as elsewhere, but rather a province or a group of villages enjoyed as *jāgīr*. Lastly, the curious expression *Māghē Tryaṁva(ba)ka-saṁprāptau* in l. 6 also deserves to be noticed in this connection. It literally means "in Māgha on the arrival of Tryambaka (Śiva)," and I am all but certain that it denotes what is popularly known as the Śiva-rātri, the 14th of the dark half of Māgha.

The inscription opens with an invocation of Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Tīrthaṁkara. Verse 2 gives the name of Aṇahila, and his son named Jiṁda is mentioned in the verse following as proficient in polity and as belonging to the Chāhamāna dynasty. His son was Aśvarāja, and the son of the latter was Kaṭukarāja (vv. 4-5). In verse 6 we are told that in his *bhukti*, *i.e.* the province enjoyed by him, was the town named Śamīpāṭī (Sēvāḍī), and at this place there was a temple of Vīranātha (Mahāvīra), bearing comparison with paradise. From verse 7 onwards we are introduced to a different line of descent. In this verse we are informed that there was one Yaśōdēva, leader of the army (*bal-ādhipa*), of pure soul, and foremost in the

[1] Read कुटुंब°.

[2] Read °ब्राह्मण°

[3] Supply here some such word as लेपयेत्.

[4] Read बहु°; the lines are here reversed.

[5] [See also above, Vol. VIII. p. 200, and the note on p. 200 in the 'Additions and corrections' to that volume. —Ed.]

assemblies of kings and *mahājanas* (banias). The next verse says that he, of equable mind, was never flagging in conferring favours on the relatives, friends, and virtuous people of the Shaṇḍēraka *gachchha*. His son was Bāhaḍa, who was well known amongst the learned like Viśvakarmā (verse 9), and the son of Bāhaḍa was Thallaka, who was devoted to the Jaina religion and was an object of the king's favour (verse 10). To Thallaka an annual benefaction of eight *drammas* was made by Kaṭukarāja on the Śiva-rātri day in the month of Māgha (vv. 11-12). Verse 13 expresses a wish for the continuance of the gift so long as the sun and the moon last, made for the worship of Śāntinātha in the *khattaka* of Yaśōdēva. In the next verse we are told that the image of Śāntinātha in the temple of Jina in Śamīpāṭī was caused to be made by his grandfather. The last is an imprecatory verse, threatening with punishment those who would resume the grant. The inscription ends with the mere date Saṁvat 1172, corresponding to A.D. 1115.

It will be seen from the above account that the grantor was Kaṭukarāja, son of Aśvarāja. But he does not appear to have been a ruler at the time. For in none of the verses is he spoken of as king, and in verse 6 we are informed, as we have seen, that Śamīpāṭī (Sēvāḍī) was in his *bhukti*. Here neither the word *rājya* which would have suited the metre, nor any other term synonymous with it is used. This shows that even in A.D. 1115, the date of the inscription, he was a *yuvarāja* enjoying some villages as *jāgīr*.

Shaṁḍēraka-sad-gachchha is no doubt the same as the Saṁḍēraka *gachchha* of the Nāḍōl plates of Ālhaṇadēva dated V.E. 1218, and the Saṇḍēra or Shaṇḍēraka *gachchha* of the Mount Ābū inscriptions. Saṇḍēra or Shaṇḍēraka is to be identified with the present Sāṇḍērāv, 10 miles north-west of Bālī, the principal town of the district of the same name, Gōḍvāḍ Division. The name occurs also in an inscription in the temple of Mahāvīra at that place (below No. XVI). It is one of the many instances in which the Jaina *gachchhas* are called after the names of places in Mārwār.

TEXT.[1]

1 श्रों॰[2] ॥ स्वजन्मनि जनताया जाता परतोषकारिणी शांतिः । विबुधपति-
विनुतचरणः स शांतिनामा जिनो जयति ॥१ आसीदुग्रप्रतापाढ्यः
श्रीमदणहिलभूपतिः ।
2 येन प्रचंडदोर्द्दंडपराक्रम[जि]ता मही ॥२ तत्पुत्रः [3]चाहमानानामन्वये
नीतिसद्दद्रं(द्रः) । जिंदराजाभिधो राजा सत्यसौ(शौ)र्य्यसमाश्रयः ॥३ तत्त[नू]ज-
स्ततो जातः प्रतापाक्रांतभूतलः [।*] अ[श्व]राजः श्रियाधारो[4] [भू]-
3 [प]तिर्भूभृतां वरः ॥४ ततः कटुकराजेति त[त्पु]त्रो धरणीतले । जज्ञे स त्याग-
सौभाग्यविख्यातः पुन्यविस्मितः[5] ॥५ तद्भुक्तौ[6] पत्तनं र[म्यं] शमीपाटीति-
नाम[कं] । तत्रास्ति वीरनाथस्य चैत्यं स्वर्ग्गसमोपमं ॥६
4 इतश्चासीत् वि[शु]द्धात्मा यशोदेवो बलाधिपः । राज्ञां महाजनस्यापि सभायाम-
ग्रणीस्थितः ॥७ श्रीषंडेरकसद्गच्छे बंधूनां सुहृ[दां] सतां । नित्योपकुर्व्वता
येन न श्रांतं [7]समचेतसा ॥८

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[1] From an estampage. [2] Expressed also by a symbol. [On the impressions the reading seems to be ग्रज्जन्मनि instead of स्वजन्मनि.—Ed.]

[3] Read °पुत्रश्चाह°. [4] Read श्रयाधारो ; but it will not suit the metre.

[5] Read पुण्य°. [On the impressions the first *akshara* of the word विस्मितः looks more like नि than वि.—Ed.]

[6] Read तद्भुक्तौ. [7] [On the impression the first *akshara* of this word seems to be .श्र—Ed.]

5 तत्सुतो वाहडो जातो नराधिपजन[प्रिय]: । विश्वकर्मेव सर्व्वत्र प्रसिद्धो विदुषां मत: ॥९ तत्पुत्र: [प्र]थितो लोके जैनधर्म्मपरायण: । उत्पन्न: [थ]ल्लको[1] राज्ञ: प्रसादगुणमंदिरं ॥

6 १० दयादाचिन्यगांभीर्यबुद्धिचिज्ञानसंयुत:[2] । श्रीमल्ल[टु]कराजेन तस्य दानं[3] [कृतं] शुभं ॥११ माघे च्यंवकसंप्राप्तौ[4] वितीर्न्नं[5] प्रतिवर्षकं । द्रम्माष्टकं प्रमाणेन थल्लका-

7 य प्रमोदत: ॥१२ पूजा[र्थं] शांतिनाथस्य यशोदेवस्य ख[त्त]के । प्रवर्द्धयतु चंद्रार्कं यावदादानमु[ज्व]लं[6] ॥१३ पितामहे[न] तस्येदं शमोपाध्यां जिनालये । कारितं शांतिना-

8 थस्य बिंबं जनमनोहरं ॥१४ धर्म्मेण लिप्यते राजा पृथ्वीं भुनक्ति यो यदा । ब्रह्महत्यासहस्रेण[7] पातकेन विलोपय[न्] ॥१५ संवत् ११७२

V.—BĀLĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF ĀŚVĀKA; [VIKRAMA-] SAṀVAT 1200.

This inscription was found at Bālī. It is engraved on one of the lintels resting on the pillars of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Bōlā *alias* Bahuguṇa-mātā. It contains 6 lines of writing, which cover a space of 7″ broad by 2′ 2½″ high. Excepting the greater portion of line 1 and a few letters in line 5, it is well preserved. The characters are **Nāgarī**. The language is **Sanskrit**, and the whole of the record is in prose, excepting one verse in ll. 4-5. nI respect of **orthography**, the only point that deserves to be noted is the doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding *r*. As regards **lexicography**, attention may be drawn to the word *grāsa* in l. 2, which corresponds to the modern *girās*, signifying the landed possessions of a member of one of the ruling tribes. In lines 3 and 4 occur some abbreviations such as *bho°*, *pu°*, *va°*, and so forth. I do not know what their full forms are.

The inscription opens with the date, of which all the details are lost, except the [Vikrama-] year 1200. It refers itself to the victorious and blessed reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Jayasīhadēva, of course, of the Chaulukya dynasty and speaks of the *Mahārāja* Śrī-Āśvāka as "subsisting on his lotus-like feet," *i.e.* as his feudatory. At that time the village of Vālahī was being enjoyed as *girās* by the queen Śrī-Tihuṇaka. It then records a grant of four *drammas* by Bōpaṇava-sthabhana, son of Pālhā, in connection with the festival of the goddess Bahughriṇa. Further details of the grant are given but are not quite clear, but it appears to have been laid down that at the time of the horse-fair (lit. selling of horses) one *dramma* was to be given to the goddess, two *drammas* to the *saṁgha-pati* Galapalyādiyā, son of Chōhaḍi, and resident at the village of Thāṁbhila, one *dramma* to Vālhaṇa and Gāravāṭa, sons of Mōhaṇa, one *dramma* each to the machine-wells, such as

[1] Read उत्पन्नस्थल्लको. [2] Read °दाचिण्य°.
[3] [On the impressions the reading is तस्यादानं°.—Ed.] [4] Read त्र्यंबक°.
[5] Read वितीर्णं. [6] [The *akshara* in brackets looks like ष्टा.—Ed.]
[7] Read ब्रह्म° and °सहस्रेण.

those named Sitka, Bhariyā, Bōhaḍā, Mahiyā, and so forth, one *dramma* to the *bhaṁḍārī* Būṭā, and so on. The record was written by one **Kulachaṁdra.**

The feudatory chieftain Āśvāka referred to herein is doubtless identical with the **Aśvarāja** of the two previous inscriptions. Vālahi must be the modern **Bālī**, and the goddess Bahughṛiṇa the same as Bahuguṇa or Bōlā-mātā, in whose temple the inscription is engraved.

TEXT.[1]

1 संवत् । [१२]०० . . . . [समस्त]राजा-
वलीविराजितमहाराजाधिराजश्रीज[य]-

2 सोहवेदकल्याणविजयराज्ये[2] तत्पा[द]पद्मोपजोवि[नि महा]राजश्रीत्राश्वाके[3] । एवं काले प्रवर्त्तमाने [4]राज्ञीश्रीतिहुणकग्रासाभुज्यमानवा[ल]हीग्रा[म]स्य सत्कश्री-बहु[घृ-]

3 ण[द](दे)वी[यात्रा]निवि(मि)त्तं भो० पाल्हासुत भो० बोपणवस्थभनेन वालही प्रत्ति[5] प्रदत्तं द्रां ४ तथा घोडाविक्रए द्रां १ [त]था च थांभिल[ग्र]ाम-वास्तव्यसंघपतिचोहडिपुत्रगलपल्यादिया[इ]

4 प्रति प्रदत्तं द्रां २ [पू० मो]हणसुतवाल्ह[ण]गार[वा]टं प्रति द्रां १ सोल्कभरिया-बोहडामहियाप्रभृति अरहट्टप्रत्ति प्रदत्त द्रां १ भां० बूटा प्रत्ति द्रां १ व० उदकपीहया० आ० ते० पली १ प्रदत्त ॥ यस्य यस्य

5 [य*]दा भूमि तस्य[6] तस्य तदा फलं । यस्तु एतं लोपयंति[7] तस्य ब्रह्मह-त्यादय[8] ॥१[9] श्रीकुलचंद्रेण लिखितं ॥ सद्दयणा वा० रा० कातियस . . . . . लाही प्रति द्रां १ अरठपा-

6 दणा० उ ॥ भौसै ४ धाढधरणप्रति द्रां १।

VI.—SĒVĀḌĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KAṬUDĒVA; [SIṀHA-]SAṀVAT 31.

This inscription also was found at Sēvāḍī, near a house in front of the **Jaina** temple of **Mahāvira.** It is what is called there a *surabhi* stone, *i.e.* a stone which is surmounted with

[1] From the original stone. [2] Read °सौहदेव°.

[3] [On the estampage which Mr. Bhandarkar has sent me, the reading मंत्रि instead of राज is also possible.—Ed.]

[4] [The *akshara* क of तिहुणक is not on the line. There is a letter or symbol above the line which Mr. Bhandarkar takes for क, and this is how he gets तिहुणक.—Ed.]

[5] Read वालहीं प्रति ; as the text was never intended to be grammatically correct, such inaccuracies will not be corrected unless it is absolutely necessary to do so.

[6] Read भूमिस्तस्य. [7] Read एतल्लोप°.

[8] Read ब्रह्म ; the metre of these lines is violated.

[9] [On the estampage the reading seems to be ॥ छ ॥ कुल°.—Ed.]

the sculpture of a cow and her calf and with the sun and the moon on each side. The inscription is mutilated in several places, and the letters have become very much worn out. The inscription is of no importance except for what is contained in the first three lines, about the reading of which there remains no doubt. They give the date **Sam̐ 31 Bhāda[va]dā [su]di 11**, and state that **Kaṭudēva** was at that time *Mahārājādhirāja* and reigning at **Naḍūla** (**Nāḍōl**) and that **Samīpāṭī** was being enjoyed by (his son) **Jayatasīha**, the *Yuvarāja*, or heir-apparent. This Kaṭudēva is the same as the Kaṭukarāja of Nos. III. and IV., above, and, as we know that he was the *Yuvarāja* from V.E. 1167 to 1172, the only era, to which we can refer the year 31, the date of this inscription, is that started by the **Chaulukya** sovereign **Siddharāja-Jayasiṁha**, commonly known as **Siṁha-Saṁvat**. It then becomes equivalent to V.E. 1200 or A.D. 1143. That the province of Gōḍvāḍ was included in the dominions of Siddharāja-Jayasiṁha is proved by the preceding inscription. It is, therefore, not at all improbable that the year 31 of our record belongs to the Siṁha era.

TEXT.[1]

1 सं ३१ भादद[2] [सु]दि ११ ऽद्येह श्रीन[डू]ले ।

2 [3]— [हा]राजाधिराजश्रीकटुदेवविजयोद[यो] त—

3 — — [4][ज]यतसीहयुवराजभुज्यमानसमीपाट्या[5] श्रीम-

4 — —रपा[ल]: समस्तमुद्राव्यापारान् परिप[थयन्][6] ।

5 [श्री]से[श्रा]भटसमस्तमहाजनप्रभृती[न्] । [त]-

6 — —[व]ार: सिंधुराज — — । तस्मिन् काले प्रव[र्तं]माने

7 ल्लि[ष]ति च पूर्व्वधर्म्मंशासन — — — यतु घाणक प्र-

8 [ति] सूण सर्व्वप्रमाण श्या—हलखेटलनिषे[ध:] एत-

9 — —प्रतिपालयंति [स] आत्मानं पुण्येन लिप्यते ज

10 कोपि लोप[य]स्यति स ब्रह्महत्यापापेन ग्टह्यते ॥ मंगलं

11 महाश्री ॥

VII.—NĀḌLĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA; [VIKRAMA-] SAṀVAT 1189.

This inscription was found in a **Jaina temple** at **Nāḍlāī**, 8 miles to the north-west of Dēsūrī, the principal town of the district of the same name, Gōḍvāḍ Division. The temple is now dedicated to Ādinātha, but there can be no doubt, as will be seen from other inscriptions, that it was originally dedicated to Mahāvīra. The inscription in question is engraved on a lintel standing on two pillars in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*. The lines of the inscription run parallel to one another but not to the edges of the lintel, and the tops of some of the concluding letters in the first line have been cut off, necessarily being outside the upper edge of the lintel. This points to the conclusion that the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* was rebuilt some time after the date of

[1] From the original stone. [2] Read भाद्रपद. [3] Read महा°.

[4] Restore तत्सुत.° [5] Read °पाट्यां.

[6] Read परिपंथयन ; further grammatical inaccuracies are better left uncorrected.

the inscription, and that the lintel on which it is incised is no longer preserved in its original form.

The record contains 6 lines of writing which cover a space of 1′ 5½″ broad by 4½″ high. The surface of the stone does not appear to have been dressed before engraving the inscription, and the letters also do not seem to have been carefully incised. The characters are **Nāgarī**. Of these *y* is written as if it were *p*, as is often seen in Sanskṛit manuscripts. Next, the form of the letter *ḍ* in *Nadūlaḍāgikā*, l. 2, is worthy of note and is exactly like that noted in No. III. The language is **Sanskṛit**, and the whole of the inscription is in prose, excepting a verse at the end, which, however, offends against the metre. In respect of **orthography**, it deserves to be noticed first that there is but one *b* in the inscription and it is denoted by the sign for *v*, in *vrahama(hma)*°, l. 5, and secondly, that the final consonant is represented by the addition of the suffix *u* as, *e.g.* *yad* by *yadu* in l. 5. The same orthographic peculiarity I have noticed in the later copper-plate inscriptions of the Guhilot princes, which are found in Gōḍvāḍ. As regards **lexicography**, the words *pala* and *palikā* employed in l. 3 doubtless denote some kind of liquid measure. Details of it have been set forth in Berūni, *Indica*, Vol. I. p. 164. Attention may also be drawn to the abbreviated forms herein employed, *bhaṁ*°, l. 3, and *rā*° and *vi*°, l. 4. *Bhaṁ*°, of course, stands for *bhaṁḍārī*, the name of a well-known subdivision of the Ōsvāls, and *rā*° for *rāuta*, which is supposed to be a corruption of *rājaputra*, and is the same as the modern *rāvat*, one of the designations borne by Rājput jāgirdārs. I do not know the full form of *vi*.° In l. 3 is used the word *ghāṇaka*, which corresponds to *ghāṇī* and signifies an oil-mill. It is frequently met with in inscriptions.

The inscription is dated **the 5th of the bright half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1189**, and speaks of a grant made by **Rudrapāla** and **Amṛitapāla**, sons of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Rāyapāla** of the **Chāhamāna** dynasty, in conjunction with their queen-mother **Mānaladēvī**. The gift was of two *palikās* out of those due to the royal family from each oil-machine (*ghāṇaka*) and was made for the (Jaina) saints in and outside **Nadūlaḍāgikā** (Nāḍlāi). The witnesses to this religious benefaction were the villagers (*grāmīṇaka*) Ttimaṭā, a *rāuta*, Siriyā a *vi*°, Pōsari a *bania*, and **Lakshmaṇa**, headed by **Nāgasiva**, a *bhaṇḍārī*. They apparently formed the *paṁcha* of the village.

TEXT.[1]

1 ओं०[2] ॥ संवत् ११८९ माघसुदि पंचम्यां श्रीचाहमानान्वय(।)श्रीमहाराजा-
धिराज[रायपा]ल(।)-

2 देव[3] तस्य पुत्रो[4] रुद्रपालअमृतपा[लौ] (।) ताभ्यां माता श्रीराज्ञीमा[न]ल-
देवी तया [नदू]ल[डा]गिका-

3 यां (॥) सतां परजतीनां [रा]जकुलपल[म]ध्यात् पलिकाद्वयं(।) घाण[कं] प्रति
धर्म्माय प्रदत्त[5] । भं० नागसि-

4 वप्रमुखसमस्तग्रामीणक (।) रा० त्तिमटा वि० सिरिया वणिक[6] पोसरि(।)
लक्ष्मण एते सा ।

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[1] From the original stone.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] Read °देव:.
[4] Read पुत्रौ.
[5] Read प्रदत्तं.
[6] Read वणिक.

5 खिं[1] क्षत्वा दत्तं [।] लोपकस्य यदु पापं[2] गोहत्यासहस्रेण । [3]व्रहमहत्या-
सतेन च (।) तेन

6 पापेन लिप्यते स:[4] ॥ ० ॥ श्री ॥

VIII.—NĀḌLĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1195.

This inscription also was found at **Nāḍlāī**, but in the temple of **Nēminātha**, locally known as **Jādvāji**, situated on a small hill to the south-east of the village. It is engraved on a pillar, and is, on the whole, well preserved. It consists of 26 lines of writing, and covers a space of 9¼″ broad by 1′ 11¾″ high. The characters are **Nāgarī**. The language is **Sanskrit**. As regards **orthography**, the only point that calls for notice is the use of *matu* for *mat(d)* in *matudattaṁ*, l. 22. Of unknown or rare words *bhōktāri*, l. 9, *śēka*, l. 11, and *ābhāvya*, l. 12, may be noticed. For the first I can suggest no meaning. *Śēka* is perhaps the same as the Sanskrit *śikya* meaning " a kind of loop or swing made of rope and suspended from either end of a pole or yoke to receive a load (also applied to the load so carried)." The word *ābhāvya* has, in my opinion, the sense of " income, proceeds," and occurs in no less than three different compounds in a Māngrol inscription of V.E. 1202.[5] It is also employed as a component of another compound in Bhinmāl inscriptions Nos. XII and XV.[6] Perhaps another word may also be noticed, *viz. rāuta*, which occurs in ll. 8 and 21. It is evidently a corruption of *Rājaputra* and is the same as Rājput, but is here used to denote apparently a *jāgirdār*.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the Omniscient, who is here **Nēminātha**. It then gives the date, *viz.* **Tuesday, the 15th of the dark half of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] year 1195**, and refers to the rule of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Rāyapāladēva** over **Naḍūlaḍāgikā** (Nāḍlāī). It then states that for lamp, incense, offering, flowers, worship and so forth of Śrī-Nēminātha, the *ṭhakkura* **Rājadēva**, son of the *rāuta* **Ūdharaṇa of the Gūhila family**, granted for his spiritual merit one-twentieth part of the income (*ābhāvya*) derived from the loads on bullocks going on their way or coming to Nāḍlāī. Then a request is made to future rulers for the preservation of the grant; and **Pāṁsila** is given as the name of the individual who wrote the record. Then comes the sign-manual of **Rājadēva**, who is here called a *rāuta*, which is followed by the name of the witness **Gūgi**, son of the astrologer **Dūdūpā**. The last three lines are not intelligible to me.

TEXT.[7]

1 ओं[8] नम: सर्व्वज्ञाय ॥ संवत् ११

2 ९५ आसउज[9] वदि १५ कुजे ॥

3 अद्येह श्रीन[डू]लडा[गि]कायां महा-

4 राजाधिराजश्रीराय[पा]लदेवे । विज-

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[1] Read एतान्साक्षिण:. [2] Read यत्पापं. [3] Read ब्रह्म° and °शतेन

[4] This whole verse is corrupt. It also occurs at the end of some of the following inscriptions. Perhaps it may be restored as follows :— गोहत्यानां सहस्रेण ब्रह्महत्याशतेन च । लोपकस्य तु यत्पापं तेन पापेन लिप्यते ॥

[5] *Bhavnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pp. 158-9.

[6] *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. pt. I. pp. 480 and 485.

[7] From the original stone. [8] Expressed by a symbol. [9] Read आसोज°.

5 यी[1] राज्यं कुर्व्वंतीत्येतस्मिन् काले श्री-
6 मदुर्ज्जिंततीर्थे[2] श्री[ने]मिनाथदेव-
7 स्य दीपधूपनैवे[द्य]पुष्पपूजाद्यर्थे गू-
8 हिलान्वय:[3](।) राउ० ऊधरणसूनु-
9 ना भोक्तारि(?)ठ० राजदेवेन स्वपु-
10 ण्यार्थे स्वीयादानमध्यात्[4] मार्गे [ग]-
11 च्छतानामागतानां[5] वृषभानां शेके[षु][6]
12 यदाभाव्यं भवति तन्मध्यात् विं[श]-
13 तिमो[7] भाग: चंद्रार्कं[8] यावत् देवस्य
14 प्रदत्त: ॥ अस्मद्वंशीयेनान्येन वा
15 केनापि परिपंथना न करणीया ॥
16 अस्मदत्तं[9] न केनापि लोप[नी]यं ॥
17 स्वहस्ते परहस्ते वा य: कोपि लोप-
18 यिष्यंति[10] । तस्याहं करे लग्नो
19 न लो[प्यं] मम शासनमिदं[11] ।[।*] लि०
20 [पां]सिलेन ॥० स्वहस्तोयं साभि-
21 ज्ञानपूर्व्वकं राउ० रा[ज]देवे-
22 न मतुदत्तं[12] ॥ अत्राहं[13] साक्षि[णा]
23 ज्योतिषिक[दूदू]पासूनुना गूगि-
24 न[ा]:[14] । तथा पला० [प]ाला० । पृथिं
25 वा १ मांगु[ल]ा ॥ देपसा । रा
26 पसा ॥ मंगलं महा[श्री:] ॥

IX.—NADOL STONE INSCRIPTION OF RAYAPALA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1198.

This inscription was discovered at Nāḍōl, about 10 miles north-west of Dēsūrī, and is incised on a pillar in the temple of Sōmēśvara. A transcript of the first 3 lines has been given by the late Professor Kielhorn, above Vol. IX. p. 159. The record contains 39 lines of writing, which cover a space of 9″ broad by 2′ 3″ high. The letters are so weather-worn that even a satisfactory estampage is not possible, but with a little care and patience the whole of the

[1] Read विजयि.
[2] Read °दूर्ज्जिंततीर्थ°.
[3] Read °न्वय°.
[4] The *saṁdhi* has here been disregarded. Such omissions will not be further noticed.
[5] Read गच्छतामागतानां.
[6] The letter षु is engraved between lines 10 and 11.
[7] Read विंशतितमो°.
[8] Read चन्द्रार्कौ.
[9] Read अस्मद्दत्तं.
[10] Read °यिष्यति.
[11] The word इदं is superfluous and not needed for the metre.
[12] Read मया दत्त:
[13] Probably अत्रार्थे was intended.
[14] Read गूगिना.

inscription can be read with certainty on the original stone. The characters are **Nāgarī.** The language is **Sanskrit**, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. Some of the solecisms that occur in the record are *nirgamatē*, l. 20, *nirgamaṁtān-īṁ*, l. 15, and *nirgamāpayaṁtānāṁ*, l. 19. In respect of **orthography**, it is sufficient to note (1) that *t* is (correctly) doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *pravarttamāne*, l. 3, (2) that the dental *s* is frequently substituted for the palatal *ś*, (3) that the sign for *v* is used also for *b*, and (4) that there is a curious tendency exhibited here of ending proper names with *u* or *ū*. The *dēśī* words employed are (1) *vāḍā* or *vāḍaü*, *vāsu* and *pīḍi* (ll. 4-8) which still in Mārwār have the sense of wards or localities in a town; (2) *pēṭa*, a belly, (3) *avasara*, l. 24, *i.e.* *ōsrā* or *ōsrī*, ante-chamber or porch (above, Vol. I. p. 165), and (4) *chaukaḍikā*, l. 13, of uncertain meaning, but apparently signifying a *pañchāyat*. The unusual words used in the inscription are (1) *kārpaṭika*, l. 12, a pilgrim or caravan of pilgrims, (2) *dauvārika*, doorkeepers of kings, known as *ḍūḍidārs* in Rājputānā, and (3) *kāyavrata*, l. 21, which doubtless has the same sense as that of the word *trāgā* or *chāndī*, *i.e.* a kind of privation and self-immolation so commonly practised once in Rājputānā and Gujarāt by Brāhmaṇas and Bhāṭs to force the kings to relent and grant their wishes. Two curious expressions occurring in the record also deserve to be noticed. The first is *pēṭaṁ prishṭiṁ vā darśayati*, ll. 20-21, and the second *vā(bā)lē-pi graṁthir-n-āsti*, l. 23, both of which are *dēśī* idioms unknown to Sanskrit literature. The former consists of two separate expressions: (1) *pēṭaṁ darśayati* — lit. "shows his belly" but really "asks for means of livelihood," and (2) *prishṭiṁ darśayati* — lit. "shows his back," *i.e.* "flies away and thus shirks his responsibility." The second exactly corresponds to the Hindi phrase even now in use, in Rājputānā at any rate, *viz.* *bāl par bhī gāṁṭh nahī*, which is employed for absolving a man from all blame.

The inscription opens with the date, *viz.* **Sunday, the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa in the [Vikrama] year 1198**, and refers itself to the blessed and victorious reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Rāyapālādēva. It then makes mention of sixteen Brāhmaṇas of the town of Dhālōpa, residing in eight different wards. Vīrigu and Prabhākara belonged to Mērīvāḍā, Āsadēu and Mahaḍū to Ḍīpāvāḍā, Dēu and Ghāhaḍi to Duṁḍaṇavāsu, Muhaṁkaru and Divākaru to Bhāṁgūravāḍaü, Dēvāichu and Dhāraü to Pīpalavāḍā, Nārāyaṇa and Mahāicha to Aṁbilavāḍā, Āsigu and Āsapālu to Khaïkhannalāvāḍā, and Dēvaṁgu and Āṁvigu to Bhuṁḍavāḍā. Headed by all these Brāhmaṇas, two from each of the eight wards of Dhālōpa and with Dēvāicha as the mediator, the whole people of the town tendered a document written (*i.e.* signed) with their own hands. It contains a solemn promise on their part to find out, in accordance with the custom of the country, by means of the *chaukaḍikā* or *pañchāyat* system, whatever is lost by, or snatched away from, the *bhāṭa*, *bhaṭṭaputra*, *dauvārika*, *kārpaṭika*, *Vaṇijjāraka*, and others on their way. If it was, however, lost at their own place, *i.e.* at any particular ward in Dhālōpa, the responsible individuals thereof already named were to find it out in person. Money, weapons, watchmen, and so forth were supplied by the *Mahārāja* Śrī-Rāyapāla to them for tracing things lost, and so there was no need of assigning the duties of a watchman to any one amongst them. A declaration was also made to the effect that, if any Brāhmaṇa amongst them, when being asked by chiefs (*rāṇaka*), to find out some lost property, refused to do so, asked for means of subsistence or fled away, or, if apprehended, had recourse to *kāyavrata* or self-immolation, he would die like a cur, donkey, or *chaṇḍāla*, and the chiefs (*rāṇaka*), such as Rāyapāla and others, would in no wise be open to blame. Then is given a list of the names of the individuals who bore witness to the document. They are as follow: (1) Kaṭuka and the Brāhmaṇa Sājaṇu come from, *i.e.*, representing the *bhaṭṭāraka* Īlā (residing) in the *avasara* (*ōsrī*) of the temple belonging to **Śrī-Jayasiṁhadēva**, (2) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Varuṇasiü of (the temple of) **Aṇahilēśvara**, (3) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Mahēśvarasiü of (the temple of) **Jēndrarājēśvara**, (4) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Jñānasiü of (the temple of) **Aṇupam-**

vēśvara, (5) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Īśānū attached (*pratibaddha*) to the *bhaṭṭāraka* Bhōpā of (the temple of) Pṛithvīpālēśvara, (6) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Muktidēü of (the temple of) Jōjalēśvara, (7) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Vināyaka and Sāṁtisiü of (the temple of) Tripurusha, (8) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Mūladēü of (the temple of) Āsalēśvara, (9) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Tatpurusha of (the temple of) Padmalēśvara, (10) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Kēdāru of (the temple of) [Tripālā]kēśvara, (11) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Brahmarāśi of (the temple of) Āsapālēśvara, (12) the *abōṭī* Sāgāhāri belonging to Dvāravatī and of (the temple of) Pṛithvīpālēśvara, (13) the *abōṭī* Jagadharu belonging to Dvāravatī and of (the temple of) Āsalēśvara, (14) the *abōṭī* Śrī-Vachhū belonging to Dvāravatī and of (the temple of) Tripurusha, (15) the whole class of bankers (*mahājana*), such as Dēvadhara and others, belonging to Aṇahillapura, and (16) the whole class of bankers such as Seṭh Jasadhavala Kaṭakavāla, and so forth. Then in ll. 37-39 we are informed that the record was written, *i.e.* drawn up, I think, by the *ṭhakura* Pēthaḍa, son of Vādiga, a Gauḍa Kāyastha, with the consent of the people of Dhālōpa. At the end is a line, stating that the record is approved by all the people of Dhālōpa.

Of the places mentioned, Dhālōpa is obviously the village of that name, about 4 miles to the south-south-west of Nāḍōl. Aṇahillapura is, of course, Aṇhilvāḍā near the modern Pāṭṇā, in the Kaḍī Division, Baroda State. Dvāravatī is doubtless Dvārkā on the western coast of Kaṭhiāvāḍ. Of the caste names mentioned, *bhāṭa* is the same as bhāṭ or bards. *Bhaṭṭa-putra* is most likely intended for Bārhōṭ, the higher class of professional panegyrists. *Dauvārika* is probably not a caste-name, and signifies here what are known as *ḍūḍidārs* in Rājputānā. *Vaṇijjāraka* is Vanjāris, whose hereditary calling is that of carrying grains on pack-bullocks. The name occurs under the form of *vaṇajāraka* in No. XI. below and *vaṇijyāraka* in a copper-plate grant of Tribhuvanapāladēva.[1] *Abōṭīs* are an inferior class of Brāhmaṇas, who are generally temple servants, and are still chiefly found in Dvārkā. Of the names of the *bhaṭṭārakas* of temples, many end in *siü* (Śiva), two in *dēü* (*dēva*), and only one in *rāśi*. I have elsewhere said that of the four well-known sects of the followers of Śiva, those whose names ended in Śiva were Śaivas, and those whose names ended in *rāśi* were Lakulīśa Pāśupatas. But to what sect the ascetics who bore the honorific suffix *dēü* (*dēva*) belonged, is not clear. Again, the gods, to whose temples the *bhaṭṭārakas* were attached, were, it will be seen, named after the kings. The god Jayasiṁhadēva was doubtless called after the Chaulukya sovereign Jayasiṁha; Aṇahilēśvara after Aṇahilla, great-grandson of Lakshmaṇa, the founder of the Chāhamāna family of Mārwār; Jēndrarājēśvara after Jēndrarāja or Jindurāja, son of Aṇahilla; Pṛithvīpālēśvara and Jōjalēśvara, after the first and second sons of Jēndrarāja; and Āsalēśvara, who is the same as Āsapālēśvara of l. 32, after Aśvapāla, elder brother of Aṇahilla. Aṇupamvēśvara, Padmalēśvara and [Tripālā]kēśvara must similarly have been named, but princes of these names have not yet been traced in inscriptions.

TEXT.[2]

1 ओं[3] संवत् ११९८ श्रावणवदि ८ रवावद्येह म-
2 हारा[जाधि]राजश्रीरायपालदेवः कल्याणविजय-[4]
3 राज्ये एवं काले प्रवर्त्तमाने श्रीधालोप-
4 स्थाने [5]मेरीवाडा विप्र० वीरिगु प्रभाकर । डौ[पा]-
5 वाडा आसदेउ महडू[6] । दुंडणवासु देउ वाहडि । ओं-

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 210.

[2] From the original stone.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read °देवकल्याण°.

[5] The loop of the letter मे is not entire.

[6] The reading महड° is also possible.

6 गूरवाडउ मुहंकरु दिवाकरु । पीपलवाडा देवाइ[चु]
7 धारउ । आंविलवाडा नारायण महाइच । खड्खमला-
8 वाडा आसिगु आसपालु । भुंडवाडा देवंगु आंविगु । एवं
9 पाडि ८ सत्कविप्रजन १६ आदौ कृत्वा समस्तलो-
10 को मध्यकदेवाइचसहितः स्वहस्ताक्षरपत्रं प्र-
11 यच्छति यथा ॥ मार्गे गछमानभाट[भट्ट]पुत्रदौ-[1]
12 वारिककार्पटिकवणिज्जारकादिसमस्तलोक-
13 स्य च सत्कं गतमपहृतं च देशाचारेण चौकडि-
14 काप्रवाहेणास्माभिः निर्गमनीयं[2] । तथा स्वस्थाने
15 गतं स्वांगेनापि निर्गमनोयं । एतत निर्गमंतानां[3] म[हा*]-
16 [4]राजाश्रीरायपालेनास्माकं रक्षाकारा[स्व]ाद्यं द्र[व्य]का-
17 दिकं मुक्तं नास्माकं मध्ये रक्षाकारो मोक्तव्यः ॥ एतद-
18 स्माभिः स्वयमपि लोहमयमंगीकृतं निर्गमनीयं च ॥
19 अनया[5] विधिना राणकानां निर्गमापयंतानां [6]अस्माकं मध्या-
20 त् यः[7] कोपि व्राह्मणो[8] [न] निर्गमते[9] पेटं पृष्टिं वा दर्शय-
21 ति गृह्यमाणस्तु कायव्रतं कृत्वा मृयते[10] च स च सर्व्वोपि
22 स्वानगर्दभचांडालो[11] भूत्वा मृयते[12] । राजाश्रीरायपालादी-[13]
23 नां राणकानां वालेपि[14] ग्रंथिर्नास्ति न च दू[ष]णं किमप्य-
24 स्तीति । अत्र साक्षि० श्रीजयसिंहदेवीयदेवगृह्यावसरी-
25 यभट्टारकईलासत्कसमायातकटुकविप्र०साजणु । त-
26 था [15]श्रीअणहिलेश्वरीभट्टारकवरुणसिउ । श्रीजेन्द्रराजे-
27 स्वरीयभट्टारकमहेस्वरसिउ[16] । अणुपम्वेस्वरीयभट्टारक-[17]
28 ज्ञानसिउ । [18]पृथ्वीपाले[स्व]रीयभट्टारकभोपाप्रतिवद्धभट्टार[क]-[19]
29 ईशानू । जोजलेश्वरीयभट्टारकमुक्तिदेउ । त्रिपुरुषीयभ-
30 ट्टारकविनायकसांतिसिउ । आसलेश्वरीयभट्टारकमूलदेउ ।
31 श्रीपद्मलेश्वरीयभट्टारकतत्पुरुषु । [त्रिप]ालाकेश्वरीय[भ]ट्टार-
32 ककेदारु । आसपाले[श्व]रीयभट्टारकव्र[ह्म]रासि[20] ॥ पृथ्वीपाले-

[1] Read गच्छद्भाट°.
[2] Read °स्माभिर्निर्गम°.
[3] Read एतन्निर्गमयतां.
[4] Read °राज°.
[5] Read अनेन.
[6] Read निर्गमयतामस्माकं.
[7] Read मध्याद्यः
[8] Read ब्राह्मणो.
[9] Read निर्गमयति.
[10] Read म्रियते.
[11] Read श्वान°.
[12] Read म्रियते.
[13] Read °राजश्री°.
[14] Read °बालेऽपि.
[15] Read °श्वरीय°.
[16] Read °श्वरीय° and °महेश्वर°.
[17] Read °श्वरीय°.
[18] Read °श्वरीय°.
[19] Read °प्रतिबद्ध°.
[20] Read °ब्रह्म°.

33 श्वरीयद्दार[व]तीभत्कश्चवोटीमागाद्दारि[1] । [2]श्रासलेश्वरीद्दारव-
34 तीसत्कश्चवोटीजगधरु । त्रिपुरुषीयद्दारवतीसत्कश्चवो-
35 टीश्रीवक्रू[3] ॥ श्रीश्रणहिल्लपुरीय — —देवधरादिसमस्तमहा-
36 जनं[4] । तथा कटकवालश्रे० जसधवलादिसमस्तमहाजन[स्य](स्व) ।
37 श्रीधालोपीयलोकस्य संमतेन लिखितं श्रीगौडा-
38 न्वकायस्थठकुरपेथडेन[5] वा[दि]गसुतेन ऊनाधि-
39 कं प्रमाणमिति । समस्तश्रीधालोपीयलोकस्य मते[6] ॥

X.—NĀḌLAĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1200.

This inscription was found in the temple of Ādinātha at Nāḍlāī, and is engraved on a lintel just opposite to that on which No. VII is incised. It contains 5 lines[7] of writing which cover a space of 1′ 9″ broad by $4\frac{1}{2}$″ high. The letters were filled with plaster when I first saw the inscription. The plaster had afterwards to be scraped off for enabling us to read the inscription. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is in prose excepting the verse at the end, the last *pāda* of which sets the metre at naught. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of *jatu* for *yad* and (2) the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant. In line 3 occur the curious words *vala* and *plī*, of which the first appears to be incorrectly used for *pala* and the second apparently an abbreviated form of *palikā*. In line 2 the word *pāilā* is used, which seems to signify a certain kind of weight. The same word occurs in the same sense in No. XI. In the Sūnak grant of the Chaulukya king Karṇadēva, we have the following: *pāilāṁ* 12 *vahaṁti(tī) hala 4 iti hala-chatushṭaya-bhūmi*. Here also the word has apparently the same meaning. Local inquiries in Gōḍvāḍ have given me the following table:—

4 *pāilā*=1 *pāyalī*.	4 *māṇā*=1 *sēī*.
5 *pāyalī*=1 *māṇā*.	2 *sēī*=1 *maṇ*.

Another word that may be noted is *viṁśōpaka*, which not infrequently occurs in other inscriptions also. It is doubtless a coin, which is equivalent in value to $\frac{1}{20}$th of the rupee that was then current.

The inscription opens with the date, *viz.* Thursday, the 5th of the bright half of Jēshṭa (Jyaishṭha) in the [Vikrama] year 1200, when the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Rāyapāladēva was reigning. It then records that the *rāuta* Rājadēva, who had come on the occasion of the *rathayātrā*, *i.e.* the car festival, made, for the sake of his mother, in the presence of the bankers (*mahājanas*), villagers and the people of the province, a religious benefaction consisting of one *viṁśōpaka* coin from the value of the *pāilās* accruing to him and two *palikās* from the *palas* of oil due to him from every *ghāṇaka* or oil mill.

TEXT.[8]

1 श्रों[9] ॥ संव[त् ।] १२०० जेष्ट[10] [सु]दि ५ गुरौ श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीरायपाल-
देवराज्ये — — हास — — —

[1] Read °श्वबोटी°. [2] Read °श्वरीय° and °श्वबोटी°. [3] Read °श्वबोटी°. [4] Read °जन:

[5] Read °गौड़ान्वय°. [6] Read मतं. [7] [The number of lines in the impression is 6.—Ed.]

[8] From the original stone. [For a Nāḍōl inscription of the same king, dated in the same year, see above, Vol. IX, p. 159.—Ed.] [9] Expressed by a symbol. [10] Read °ज्येष्ठ°.

2 समए[1] रथयात्रायां आगतेन (।) रा० राजदेवेन (।) आत्म(।)पाइलामध्यात्। [सर्व्वे-साउतपुत्र[2]] विंसो-

3 पको[3] दत्तः ॥ आत्मीयघाणकतैलव[ल]मध्यात्[4] । मातानिमित्तं[5] पलिकाद्वयं (।) मी २ दत्तः(त्तं) ॥ म(॥)-

4 हाजन(।)ग्रमीण[6] । जनपदसमच्चाय[7] । धर्म्माय[8] निमित्तं विंसोपको[9] १ पलिकाद्वयं (।) दत्तं ॥ गोह(॥)-

5 त्यानां सहस्रेण[10] ब्रह्म[ह*]त्यासतेन[11] च । स्त्रीहत्याभ्रूणहत्या च[12] जतु[13] पापं (।) तेन पापेन लिप्यते सः[14] ।[।][15]

XI.—NĀḌLĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1202.

The inscription is engraved on the same lintel as No. X. It contains 5 lines of writing, covering a space of 1′ 8¼″ broad by 4½″ high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the usual imprecatory verse at the end, the whole of the record is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are that a consonant following *r* is doubled, and that in l. 5 *jatu* is used instead of *yat*. Of rare and unusual words herein employed and not previously noticed, *dēśī* occurs in l. 3, and *kirāḍaüā* and *gāḍa* in l. 4. The last is used in the sense of "cart," and *kirāḍaüā* is, I am told, the same as *kirāḍavā* or *kirāṇā*, employed to denote substances, such as gum, dry ginger, black pepper, coriander, and so forth. The meaning of the word *dēśī* is not quite certain. It seems tempting to take it in the sense of a guild, in which it occurs in the Pēhēvā inscription of the imperial Pratīhāra Bhōjadēva I. (*above*, Vol. I. p. 187, l. 8) and the Harsha inscription of the Chāhamāna Vigraharāja (*above*, Vol. II. p. 124, l. 38). And this meaning suits here excellently. The same word occurs in another inscription found in the same temple as this, and apparently in the same sense. Another expression that requires to be noted is *la(lā)ga-māna*, the meaning of which seems to be "the measure or proportion (*māna*) of cess (*lāga*)."

The inscription opens with the date, *viz.* **Friday, the 5th of the dark half of Āsōja (Āśvina) in the [Vikrama] year 1202**, when Rāyapāladēva was the *Mahārājādhirāja* and the *rāuta* Rājadēva was the *ṭhakura* of Nadūlaḍāgikā (Nāḍlāī). The object of the inscription is to record that the Vaṇajārakas (Vanjārīs) of Abhinavapurī, Badārī and Nāḍlāī having assembled together into a guild (*dēśī*), Rājadēva granted, for the sake of the pious and the ascetics in the temple of Mahāvīra, rupees two for each twenty *pāīlās* loaded on bullocks and rupee one for each cart filled with commodities, coming under the class of *kirāṇās*.

Badārī is probably Bōrlī, 8 miles north of Nāḍlāī. Abhinavapurī is unknown to me.

[1] Read समये.
[2] I am not quite certain of this reading.
[3] Read °विंशोपको°.
[4] Read °तैलपल°.
[5] Read मातृ°.
[6] Read °ग्रामीण°.
[7] Read °समक्षं.
[8] Read धर्म्मस्य.
[9] Read विंशोपकः. [The space between °को and पलिका° is too big for the numeral १ alone.—Ed.]
[10] Read °हत्यासहस्रेण.
[11] Read °शतेन.
[12] Probably °हत्याभ्यां was intended.
[13] Read यत्पापं.
[14] The letters पापेन and सः are not needed for the metre.
[15] [There are two more *aksharas* in this line and another line below the 5th which may be transcribed as follows:

(l. 5 अस्मि-

(l. 6) न् वंसे यदा चौपे(।)यः कोपि नृपति[र्भ]वेत्। तस्याहं च करे [ल]ग्नः (।) शासनं न[व्य]तिक्रमे[त्] । छ ॥ .
—Ed.]

TEXT.[1]

1 श्रीं[2] ॥ संवत् १२०२ आसोजवदि ५ शुक्रे (।) श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीराय-
पालदेवराज्ये प्रवर्त्त[माने] ।

2 श्रीनदूलडागिकायां(।) रा० राजदेवठकुरेण प्रव[र्त्त]मानेन(।) [श्री]महावीरचैत्ये(।) साधुत-

3 पोधननि[ष्ठार्थं] (।) [3]श्रीअभिनवपुरीय(।)वदार्य्यां(।) अ[त्रे]षु[4] स[म]स्तवणजारकेषु(।) देसी मिलित्वा[5] वृ-

4 [ष]भ[भ]रित(।)जतु[6] पाइलालगमाने[7](।) ततु[8] वीसं प्रति(।)रूआ २ किराडउआ(।) गाडं प्रति रू १ वण-

5 जारके [9][ध]र्म्माय प्रदत्तं ॥ लोपकस्य ज[तु][10] पापं [गो]हत्यासहस्रेण ॥ [11]ब्रह्म-
हत्यासतेन(।) पापेन(।) लिप्यते स:[12] ॥

XII.—KIRĀḌŪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF ĀLHAṆADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAṀVAT 1209.

This inscription was found in a Śaiva temple standing amidst the ruins of **Kirāḍū** near Hāthmā, about 16 miles north-north-west of Bāḍmēr, the principal town of the Mallāṇī District, Jodhpur State. A transcript and translation of it have already been published in the *Bhāvnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 172 ff. But this, like almost all the inscriptions in this book, is edited in a slovenly manner, and I, therefore, make no excuse for re-editing it here.

The inscription consists of 21 lines, covering a space of 1′ 5½″ broad by 1′ 2″ high. The middle portion of the stone as far as line 17 has peeled off. Nothing of importance, however, seems to have been destroyed, and the purport of the inscription is clear enough. The characters are **Nāgarī**. The language is **Sanskṛit**, and the whole of the record is in prose. As regards **orthography**, it is sufficient to note (1) that a consonant following *r* is doubled and (2) that the sign for *v* is employed also for *b*, except once in *labdha* in l. 2. In l. 13 occurs the word *amāri-rūḍhi*, which, though known to Jaina scriptures, is foreign to Sanskṛit literature. It means "the edict of the non-slaughter (of animals)."

The record opens with the date, *viz*. **Saturday, the 14th of the dark half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1209**, when **Kuma(mā)rapāla** was the paramount sovereign and **Mahādēva** was doing all the business of the seal, relating to the drawing up of documents, etc. Lines 4-6 speak of his feudatory, the *Mahārāja* Śrī-**Ālaṇadēva**, who obtained **Kirāṭakūpa, Lāṭarhada** and **Śivā**—through his (*i.e.* Kumārapāla's) favour. Then we are told that Ālaṇadēva, on the aforesaid date, which was the *Śivarātri* day, thinking the granting of security to animals to be the highest gift, issued injunctions, for the increase of his spiritual merit and fame, to the *mahājanas*, *tāmbūlikas*, and other subjects, forbidding the slaughter of living beings on the

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[1] From the original stone.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] From here onwards many grammatical inaccuracies occur, which need not all be corrected.
[4] Read अत्रत्येषु.
[5] देश्यां मिलितेषु would have been expected.
[6] Read यत्.
[7] Read °लागमानं.
[8] Read तद°.
[9] Read °जारकेर्ध°.
[10] Read यत्.
[11] Read ब्रह्म° and °शतेन.
[12] The verse obviously violates the metre.

8th, 11th and 14th days of both the fortnights of every month in the three towns named above and threatening with capital punishment those who killed or caused others to kill living beings. The Brāhmaṇa priests, ministers and others were also ordered to respect this edict of non-slaughter. And amongst these, he who commits the sin of taking life, should, it is stated, be fined five *drammas*, but if the sinner be one attached to the king, he should be fined one *dramma* only. Then comes the sign-manual of the personage who issued the edict, who is here called *Mahārāja* Śrī-Ālhaṇadēva, followed by the approval of the great princes (*mahā-rājaputra*) **Kēlhaṇa** and **Gajasiṁha**. The edict was written by the *ṭhakkura* **Khēlāditya**, minister for peace and war. Then we are informed, in a postscript, that this gift of safety to animals was caused to be proclaimed, with the permission of the king, by **Pūtiga** and **Śāliga**, sons of **Śubhaṁkara**, of the **Pōrvāḍ** caste and residents of **Nadūlapura** (Nāḍōl). The inscription ends with the information that it was engraved by the *sūtradhāra* **Bhāila**. Pūtiga and Śāliga are no doubt the same individuals that had a similar edict promulgated through **Girijādēvī**, queen of **Pūnapākshadēva**, a feudatory of Rāyapāla and ruling over the province of **Ratnapura**, the southernmost district of Mārwār.[1]

It is worthy of note that the edict in question is to be made applicable to two distinct classes with varying degrees of rigour. The class to which it is to be applied with the greatest rigour is, of course, that of the merchants (*mahājanas*) and betel-sellers (*tāmbulikas*), who doubtless must have, then as now, been Jainas and consequently supposed to be the greatest respecters of animal life. The class, with reference to which the rigour is relaxed, is that of the ministers and priests. Of the first of these we cannot be certain whether they were recruited from the Brāhmaṇa caste. But the priests unquestionably can be no other than Brāhmaṇas, and when they are asked to respect animal life, it is plain that some Brāhmaṇas of Mārwār at any rate were then in the habit of eating flesh, which is now looked upon with abhorrence by them—due no doubt to the influence of Jainism which has been predominant in Rājputānā for the last six centuries, if not longer.

Next, the edict was to be in force at the three places, *viz.* **Kirāṭakūpa**, **Lāṭarhada**, and Śivā, the towns which Ālhaṇadēva secured through the favour of **Kumārapāla**. Kirāṭakūpa is undoubtedly Kirāḍū, where the present inscription was found. It is mentioned twice in another inscription, in the same temple, dated V.E. 1235, and pertaining to the reign of the Chaulukya sovereign, Bhīmadēva. Lāṭarhada must doubtless be the same as **Lāṭahrada**, occurring in Bhinmāl Inscriptions Nos. XI and XII, and Rāṭahrada in the **Sūndhā** hill inscription of Chāchigadēva. Professor Kielhorn, when he edited the last inscription, was unable to identify it. But, as suggested to me by Munshi Devi Prasad of Jodhpur, it must be identified with **Rāḍdhaḍā**, which was the original name of the district round about **Nagar-Gudhā** in the Mallāṇi province, Mārwār. The third place is Śivā.—The full form of the name is unfortunately not preserved, but I have no doubt that it must have been some name corresponding to the modern Sheo, a town of antiquity and even now of some importance, and the head-quarters of a district of the same name.

TEXT.[2]

1 ओं[3] ॥ संव[त्] १२०९ माघवदि १४ शनौ अद्येह श्री[म] . . .
. . . . . . हाराजाधिराजप-[4]

2 रमेश्वरउमापतिवरलब्धप्रशा(सा)दप्रौढप्रताप . . . .
. . . . . . निर्जित[श]ाकंभरी-

[1] *Bhavnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 206.

[2] From the original stone.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read °महाराजा°.

3 भूपालश्रीमत्कुमरपालदेवकल्याणविजय[1] . . . .
. . . . पश्रीमहादेवे [श्री]-

4 श्रीकरणादौ समस्तमुद्राव्यापारान् परि[पं][2] . . . .
. . . . [प्र]भुप्रसादावा-

5 प्तश्रीकिराटकूपलाटहृदशिवा . . . .
. . . . [3]राजश्रीआलण-

6 देवः शिवरात्रिचतुर्द्दश्यां शुचिर्दे . . . .
. . . . [पु]ण्ययशोऽभि-

7 वृद्धये प्राणिनामभयप्रदानं म[4] . . . .
. . . . [हा]जनतांबूलि-[5]

8 कसमसप्रक्तीन्[6] संवोध्य[7] अभय[8] . . . .
. . . . [से][9] मासे उभ-

9 योः पक्षयोः अष्टमीएकादशीचतुर्द्द[शी] . . . .
. . . . दत्तं अतोऽनंत-

10 रं एतासु तिथिषु नगरत्रयेपि जी[व] . . . .
. . . . [जा?] च व्यतिक्रम्य जी-

11 वानां वध[10] कारयति करोति वा स व्यापा[11] . . . .
. . . . आचंद्रार्कं याव-

12 त् केनापि न लोपनीयं । अपरं पुरोहिता [अमा][12] . . . . .
. . . . सर्वैरपरैश्च ए-

13 षा अमारिरूढिः प्रमाणीकार्या । [यः को] . . . .
. . . . कालेन क्षीयते

14 फलं । एषस्याभयदानस्य[13] क्षय . . . .
. . . . स्य प्रदत्ताऽभ-

15 यदक्षिणा न तु विप्रसहस्रेभ्यो . . . .
. . . . कोपि पापिष्ठतरो जी-

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[1] Supply °राज्ये after °विजय°.
[2] Restore परिपन्थयति.
[3] Restore °महाराज°.
[4] Supply महादानं मत्वा.°
[5] Read ताम्बूलि°.
[6] Read °समस्तप्रकृतीः°.
[7] Read संबोध्य.
[8] Supply °दानशासनं प्रदत्तं after अभय°.
[9] Read मासे.
[10] Read वधं.
[11] Read व्यापादनीयः.
[12] Read अमात्याः.
[13] Read एतस्या°.

16 ववधं कुरुते तदा स पंचद्रम्मैदंड[नीय:][1] . . . . [द्व्यौं] माहराजिकस्यैको

17 द्रम्मोस्ति ॥[2] स्वहस्तोयं महारा[जश्रीआल्हणदेवस्य] ॥ श्री महा-राजपुत्रश्रीकेल्हण-

18 देवमतमेतत् ॥+ महाराजपुत्रगजसिंहस्य [म]तं ॥ सांधिविग्रहिक ठ० खेलादित्येन लि-

19 खितमिदं ॥ [3]श्रीनदूलपुरवासिप्राक्वाटवंशप्रभूतसु(शु)भंकराभिधानश्रावक: तत्पुत्रौ चि-

20 तितलधर्म्मतया[4] विख्यातौ पूवि(ति)गम्रालिगौ [।*] ताभ्यामतीवक[प]ापराभ्यां प्राणिनामभयप्रदानशा-

21 सनं[5] विज्ञप्य[6] कारापितमिति[7] ॥ ॥[8] उत्कीर्ण्णं सूत्र० भाइलेन ॥

XIII.—SĀṆḌĒRĀV STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHAṆADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAṀVAT 1221.

This inscription was found at Sāṇḍērāv, about 10 miles north-west of Bālī. It is engraved on a lintel in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Mahāvīra.

The record contains 4 lines of writing, which covers a space of 3′ 11″ broad by 3½″ high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards lexicography, *kalyāṇika* or *kalyāṇaka* occurs in ll. 1 and 3, and *yugaṁdharī* and *hāēla* in ll. 2 and 4, and *talārābhāvya* in l. 2. *Kalyāṇika* is a term peculiar to Jaina theology. *Kalyāṇikas* are the auspicious days, five in number, on which took place (1) the *chyavana* (conception), (2) *janma* (birth), (3) *dīkshā* (initiation), (4) *kēvalajñāna* (enlightenment), and (5) *nirvāṇa* (final beatitude) of each of the Tīrthaṁkaras. The expression occurs in No. II of the Mount Ābū inscriptions edited by Dr. Lüders;[9] and on the door jambs of the subsidiary cells in the temple of Tējapāla at Dēlvāḍā, the *pañcha-kalyāṇikas* are specified of all the Tīrthaṁkaras, to whom they are dedicated. The meaning of *yugaṁdharī* and of *hāēla* is unknown to me. But I surmise that *hāēla* here stands for *hala* and that *yugaṁdharī* is the name of a specific kind of corn known as *jvār*. The sense of the remaining word, *viz.* *talārābhāvya*, is also not certain. The expression no doubt occurs in a Māngrōl inscription published in the *Bhāvnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 158, where it is translated by "the revenue of Talārā" which hardly helps us. The same inscription is published in *Bhāvnagar Prāchīna-Śōdhasaṅgraha, Bhāga* I. p. 5 ff. It is translated in Gujarāti on p. 9 by *khuśakī jakātanī-ūpaja*, *i.e.* the income or revenue from tolls. In the English rendering of it in the same volume, it is stated that *talārā* is the same as the modern *talōdarā*. The same

[1] Read °द्रम्मैर्दंड्य°.

[2] This is followed by the mark of a spear.

[3] Read °प्राग्वाट°.

[4] Read चितितलधर्म्म°.

[5] Read °शासनं°.

[6] Read विज्ञाप्य.

[7] Read कारित°.

[8] [There are some symbols engraved between the two double strokes; but they are not quite clear.—Ed.]

[9] Above, Vol. VIII. p. 206.

word occurs as *talāra* or *talāraksha* in the Chīrwā inscription edited by M. Geiger in the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, 1907, pp. 143 ff. The authority of Hēmachandra and Trivikrama is quoted there to show that it is equivalent in meaning to *purādhyakshaḥ* or *nagararakshakaḥ*. This would correspond to the office of a *kotwal* or city magistrate. But *tala* is often used in inscriptions to mean the "suburbs of a town." A *talāra* would thus be to the suburbs what a *kotwāl* is to a city.

The inscription is dated on Friday, the 2nd of the dark half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1221, and refers itself to the reign of Śrī-Kelhaṇadeva. It states that Ānaladēvī, queen-mother of Kelhaṇadeva granted one *haḍa* (*i.e.* as much land as could be tilled by a single plough in one day) of *yugaṁdharī* or *jovār* corn from the king's personal property (*bhōga*), to the god Mahāvīra, *mūlanāyaka*, the primeval leader, of the Shaṁḍēraka-*gachchha*, to celebrate the *kalyāṇika* corresponding to the 13th of the dark half of Chaitra. One *dramma* was also given from the revenue of *talāra* by the Rāshṭrakūṭas Patu and Kelhaṇa and their brother's sons Uttamasīha, Sūdraga, Kālhaṇa, Āhaḍa, Āsala, Aṇatiga and others with reference to the same *kalyāṇaka*. Similarly one *haḍa* of *yugaṁdharī* was also granted by the *rathakāras* or cart-builders, Dhaṇapāla, Surapāla, Jōpāla, Sigaḍa, Amiyapāla, Jisahaḍa, Dēlhaṇa, and so forth, all residing at Shaṁḍēraka, in connection with the *kalyāṇaka* falling on the 13th of the bright half of Chaitra.

Ānaladēvī, mentioned in this inscription as the queen-mother of Kēlhaṇadēva must undoubtedly be the same as Annalladēvī spoken of in the Nāḍōl plates as the consort of Ālhaṇa, father of Kelhaṇa.[1] In this last inscription, she is represented to have been the daughter of Sahula of the Rāshtrauḍa family. Rāshṭrauḍa is obviously the same as Rāshṭrakūṭa, and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, Patu, Kelhaṇa, and so forth, referred to in our inscription, must, therefore, be taken to be her relatives on her father's side.

TEXT.[2]

1 ओं[3] ॥ संवत् १२२१ माघवदि २ शुक्रे अद्येह श्रीकेल्हणदेवविजयरा[ज्ये] । तस्य मातृराज्ञीश्रीआन[ल]देव्या[4] श्रीषंडेरकीयमूलनायकश्रीमहावीरदेवाय [चै]त्रवदि १३ कल्याणिकनि[मि]त्तं राजकीय-

2 भोगमध्यात्(।) युगंधर्याः हाएल एक[:*] प्रदत्तः । तथा राष्ट्रकूटपातूकेल्हणत[द्भ्रा]तृजउत्तमसीहसूद्रगकाल्हणआल्हडआसलअणतिगादिभिः तलाराभाव्ययस(?)गट-

3 सत्कात्(।) धर्म्मसंव कल्याणकं द्र १ प्रदत्तः ॥१ तथा श्रीषंडेरकवास्तव्यरथकारधणपालसूरपालजोपालसिगडाअमियपालजिसहडदेल्हणादिभिः [चै]त्रसुदि १३ कल्याणकं

4 युगंधर्याः [हाएल] ए[क १ प्र]— —[5]

XIV.—NĀḌLĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHAṆA; [VIKRAMA-]SAṀVAT 1228.

The subjoined inscription was found near the temple of Mahādēva, about one mile south-west of Nāḍlāī. The shrine of it is really a natural cave, and this is the reason why it is also

[1] Above, Vol. IX. p. 68 ff. and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XL. p. 144.
[2] From the original stone.
[3] Expressed by a symbol.
[4] The letter *la* of "*Ānala*" is engraved above the line.
[5] Supply °दत्तः

called *bhamyar-kā-mandar*, *i.e.* a subterranean temple. It originally had a *sabhā-maṇḍapa*, which is now well-nigh destroyed. And the stone, on which the inscription is engraved, appears to have been a lintel somewhere in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*.

As I received news of this inscription just as I was on the point of leaving Nāḍlāī, I was not able to take any impressions of it nor to take its measurements. It contains 3 lines of writing. The characters are Nāgarī. The record is in prose. The language is partly Sanskrit and partly vernacular. One curious thing in this connection is that *svasti* is twice used like *śrī*, as an honorific prefix to the names of places. Thus the forms Svasti-Sōnāṇā° and Svasti-Nāḍūlē are employed instead of Śrī-Sōnāṇā° and Śrī-Nāḍūlē. As regards orthography, it may be noted that (1) *Kuṁvara*° is used for *Kumāra*° in l. 1, (2) *iṭakā* for *ishṭakā*, and (3) the date 1228 in l. 1 is written half in ciphers and half in letters. With reference to rare or unusual words, the following may be noticed : (1) *akshasāma*, (2) *lāpanīya*, (3) *ḍamā*, and (4) *chahūṭā-pana*, the meaning of none of which is known to me.

The inscription opens with the date *viz.* **Monday the 13th of Mārgaśīrsha in the [Vikrama] year 1228**, during the victorious reign of the **Chaulukya** sovereign **Kumārapāla**, when **Kēlhaṇa** was ruler of **Nāḍūlya**, and **Rāṇā Lakhamaṇa** of **Vōripadyaka**, and **Aṇasīha** was the *ṭhākur* of Sōnāṇā. It then states that the *maṇḍapa*, *akshasāma*, and *ḍamā* of the temple of **Bhivaḍēśvara** were constructed by **Pāhiṇi**, son of the *sūtradhāra* **Mahaḍūa** and his wife **Jasadēvi**. They consisted of stones and bricks, and their construction cost 330 *drammas*. He was helped in this religious work by the *sūtradhāra* **Mahidarā** and **Iṁdarāka**.

Of the localities herein mentioned, Nāḍūlya and Sōnāṇā are, of course, **Nāḍōl** and **Sōnāṇa**. Vōripadyaka is probably to be identified with **Bōrlī**, about 8 miles north of Nāḍlāī.[1]

TEXT.[2]

1 ओं[3] संवत १२ अठा(।)वीसा वरषे[4] मागसिर सुदि १३ सोमे श्रीभिव-
डेश्वरदेवस्य । १ श्रीकुंवरपालदेवविजयराज्ये । श्रीनाडूल्यपुरात्(।) श्री-
केल्हण:राजे[5] वोरिपद्यके(।) राणा-

2 लखमण(।)राजे[6] । स्वस्तिसोनाणाग्रामे(।) ठा अणसीहस्य । स्वस्तिनाडूले
सूत्रमहडूअ (।) भार्या जसदेवि(।)सुतपाहिणी मंडप: करापनीय:[7] ।
अक्षसामलापनीय: डमा

3 । कर्त्तव्या पाषाणइटकायां घटित: चहूटापने द्र ३३० लागे । धर्मसखा
इत[8] सूत्र महिदरा तथा इंदराको घटितं कार्यं । — — —
कापाडोय ।

[1] [On p. 42 above, Bōrlī has been identified with Badāri.—Ed.]

[2] From the original stone.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] As the inscription does not aim at giving a grammatically correct Sanskṛit text, it is not desirable to correct all inaccuracies.

[5] Read °केल्हणराज्ये.

[6] Read °राज्ये.

[7] Read कारणीय:

[8] Probably भव was intended.

XV.—LALRAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHAṆADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1233.

This inscription was found amidst the scattered ruins of a Jaina temple at Lālrāi, 5 miles south-east of Bālī. It contains 18 lines of writing, covering a space of 10¼" broad by 1' 2½" high. Up to line 8, the inscription is intact, and of the two lines following only a letter or two are gone. But of ll. 11-18, the whole of the proper right half is destroyed. The characters are Nāgarī. The letter *ḍ* is here throughout denoted by the curious sign which has been noted above, and which contains a loop on the left side. The whole of the record up to line 16 appears to have been in prose, and the last two lines, occupied by a well-known imprecatory verse. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, it is worthy of note that a consonant following *r* is doubled, and that the sign for *v* is used both for *v* and *b*. As regards lexicography, the word *urahāri* and the expression *Gūjara[trī]-hāra[ka]* occurring in l. 8, and *java*, in l. 9, may be noticed. Urahāri appears to me to be the name of an *araghaṭa* or a well with a wheel to raise water up. In fact, in Gōḍvāḍ I found many such wells given strange names. Gūjara[trī], I think, is the same as Gurjaratrā. *Hāraka*, as suggested above in No. III, denotes a certain kind of measure, and *java*, of course, stands for *yava* or barley corn.

The record is dated Thursday, the 13th of the dark half of Jyaishṭha in the [Vikrama] year 1233, and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Kēlhaṇadēva, ruling at Naḍula. It then tells us that the *rājaputra* Lakhaṇapāla and the *rājaputra* Abhayapāla, proprietors (*bhoktṛi*) of Sinaṇava, and sons of Kīrtipāla, doubtless younger brother of Kēlhaṇa and donor of the Nāḍōl plates (above, Vol. IX, p. 68 ff.) made a grant conjointly with the queen Mahibaladevī in the presence of the village *pañcha* (*pañcha-kula*) for celebrating the festival of the god Śāntinātha. The grant consisted of barley corn measuring one *hāraka* as used in (the country of) Gūjaratrī, from the *araghaṭa* or machine-well called Urahāri[1] and belonging to the village of Bhaḍiyauva. The names of those who were witnesses to this benefaction are lost.

As regards the localities mentioned in this record, Sinaṇava, which is also called Saṁnāṇaka in No. XVI, is doubtless Sonāṇa, mentioned in the last epigraph. Bhaḍiyāuva also occurs in No. XVI, and is to be identified with Baḍva (Barwa), 5 miles south-west of Lālrāi. Samīpāṭī, which occurs in l. 15, has been shown to be Sevāḍī. Gūjaratrī is mentioned also in No. XVI, and is the same as Gurjaratrā of the Daulatpura charter of the imperial Pratihāra Bhōjadēva I., which comprised the modern districts of Parbatsar, Marōṭ and Ḍiḍwāṇā. Naḍūla is, of course, Nāḍōl.

TEXT.[2]

1 ओं[3] ॥ संवत् १२३३ जे(ज्ये)ष्ठवदि १३ गुरौ [।*]

2 अद्येह [श्री]नड्डूले महाराजाधिराजश्री(॥)-

3 केल्हणदेवराज्ये वर्त्तमानः[4] श्रीकी[र्त्ति](॥)-

4 पालदेवपु[त्रैं][5] सिनाणवभोक्काराजपु[6](॥)-

5 [त्र]लाषणपा[ल्ह]राजपुत्रअभयपाल[7] रा-

[1] [Perhaps the field or fields irrigated by the machine-well had to supply the barley corn required for the festival.—Ed.]

[2] From inked impressions.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read वर्त्तमाने.

[5] Read °पुत्रैः.

[6] Read °भोक्तृ°.

[7] Read °पालः

XV.—LĀLRĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHAṆADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1233.

This inscription was found amidst the scattered ruins of a **Jaina temple at Lālrāī**, 5 miles south-east of Bāli. It contains 18 lines of writing, covering a space of 10¼" broad by 1' 2½" high. Up to line 8, the inscription is intact, and of the two lines following only a letter or two are gone. But of ll. 11-18, the whole of the proper right half is destroyed. The characters are **Nāgarī**. The letter *ḍ* is here throughout denoted by the curious sign which has been noted above, and which contains a loop on the left side. The whole of the record up to line 16 appears to have been in prose, and the last two lines, occupied by a well-known imprecatory verse. The language is **Sanskrit**. As regards **orthography**, it is worthy of note that a consonant following *r* is doubled, and that the sign for *v* is used both for *v* and *b*. As regards **lexicography**, the word *urahari* and the expression *Gujara[tri]-hāra[ka]* occurring in l. 8, and *java*, in l. 9, may be noticed. Urahari appears to me to be the name of an *araghaṭa* or a well with a wheel to raise water up. In fact, in Godvād I found many such wells given strange names. Gūjara[tri], I think, is the same as Gurjaratrā. *Hāraka*, as suggested above in No. III, denotes a certain kind of measure, and *java*, of course, stands for *yava* or barley corn.

The record is dated **Thursday, the 13th of the dark half of Jyaishṭha in the [Vikrama] year** 1233, and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Śri-Kēlhaṇadēva, ruling at Naḍūla.** It then tells us that the *rājaputra* **Lākhaṇapālha** and the *rājaputra* **Abhayapāla,** proprietors (*bhoktṛi*) of **Sināṇava**, and sons of **Kirtipāla**, doubtless younger brother of Kēlhaṇa and donor of the Naḍōl plates (above, Vol. IX, p. 68 ff.) made a grant conjointly with the queen **Mahibaladēvi** in the presence of the village *pañcha* (*pañcha-kula*) for celebrating the festival of the god Śāntinātha. The grant consisted of barley corn measuring one *hāraka* as used in (the country of) Gūjaratri, from the *araghaṭa* or machine-well called Urahāri[1] and belonging to the village of **Bhaḍiyauva**. The names of those who were witnesses to this benefaction are lost.

As regards the localities mentioned in this record, Sināṇava, which is also called Saṁnāṇaka in No. XVI, is doubtless **Sōnāṇā**, mentioned in the last epigraph. Bhaḍiyāuva also occurs in No. XVI, and is to be identified with **Bāḍvā (Barwa)**, 5 miles south-west of Lālrāī. **Samīpāṭī**, which occurs in l. 13, has been shown to be **Sevāḍī**. **Gūjaratri** is mentioned also in No. XVI, and is the same as **Gurjaratrā** of the Daulatpurā charter of the imperial Pratihāra **Bhōjadēva I.**, which comprised the modern districts of Parbatsar, Mārōṭ and Ḍiḍwāṇā. **Naḍūla** is, of course, **Nāḍol.**

TEXT.[2]

1 ओं[3] ॥ संवत् १२३३ जे(ज्ये)ष्ठवदि १३ गुरौ [।*]

2 अद्येह [श्री]नडुले महाराजाधिराजश्री(॥)-

3 केल्हणदेवराज्ये वर्त्तमान:[4] श्रीकी[र्त्ति](॥)-

4 पालदेवपु[त्रै][5] सिनाणवभोक्तारराजपु[6](॥)-

5 [त्र]लाषणपा[ल्ह]राजपुत्रअभयपाल[7] रा-

---

1 [Perhaps the field or fields irrigated by the machine-well had to supply the barley corn required for the festival.—Ed.]

2 From inked impressions.

3 Expressed by a symbol.

4 Read वर्त्तमाने.

5 Read °भोक्तृ°.

6 Read °पुत्रैः.

7 Read °पालैः.

6 श्रीश्रीमह्विलदेविसहितै:[1] श्रीशांति-

7 नाथदेवयात्रानिमित्तं भडियाउव[अ]-

8 रघटउरहारिमध्यात् गूजर[तृ]हार-

9 [2].१ जवा ग्रामपंचकुलसमक्ति[3] एतत्

10 . . दानं[4] कृतं पुण्याय [।*] साक्षि[5] अत्र वास्त-

11 . . . . [ह्र]ण . . .

12 . . . . सी० देवल[ये]०

13 . . . . समीपाटीय-

14 . . . . पाजून आम-

15 . . . . [स]मक्षं आदानं

16 . . . . मितस्य २ त . .

17 . . . . हत्यापातकेन लि-

18 . . . . ॥ [११]

XVI.—LĀLRĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF LĀKHAṆAPĀLA AND ABHAYAPĀLA; [VIKRAMA-] SAṀVAT 1233.

This inscription was, like No. XV, found amidst the ruins of a Jaina temple at Lālrāī. It consists of 13 lines of writing, covering a space of $8\frac{7}{8}''$ broad by $11\frac{1}{2}''$ high. The characters are Nāgarī. From the word *tathā* in l. 10 onwards, all the lines appear to have been afterwards added and are engraved in smaller characters. The peculiar form of the letter *ḍ* noticed above also occurs here. The language is **Sanskṛit**, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards **orthography**, it may be noted that *sha* is used for *kha* three times (ll. 1, 2 and 6). In respect of **lexicography**, the following words deserve to be noticed: (1) *sīra* in ll. 5-6 and 12, which seems to have been used in the sense of, not 'a plough,' but 'a ploughman or cultivator' and (2) *sē°* in l. 7 which stands for *sēī*, a kind of weight mentioned in my remarks on No. X.

The record is dated on the **3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the [Vikrama] year 1233**, and speaks of the princes (*rājaputra*) **Lākhaṇapāla** and **Abhayapāla** as the proprietors (*bhōktṛi*) of Saṁnāṇaka (*cf.* No. XV). It then states that Bhīvaḍā, Āsadhara, and other cultivators granted for their spiritual merit, four *sēīs* of barley-corn from (the field called) *Khāḍisīra* to the god Śāṁtinātha in connection with the festival of the **Gūjaras**. The postscript (ll. 10-13) records that Āsadhara, Sirōiya and other cultivators granted for the spiritual merit of Vīlha, one *harōthu* (*hāraka*?) of barley-corn from the machine-well of **Bhaḍiyaua (Bāḍvā)**.

TEXT.[6]

1 संवत् १२३३ वैशाखसुदि ३(?)

2 [7]संनाणकभोक्ता राजपुत्रलाखण-

[1] Read °मल्हदेवी°.

[2] Read °हारक.

[3] Read °समक्षं.

[4] Supply महा° before दानं.

[5] Read साक्षी.

[6] From inked impressions.

[7] Read °भोक्तारौ.

पालराजपुत्रअभयपाल[1] तस्मि-
न् राज्ये वर्त्तमाने चा० भीवडा प-
डिदेह्व[व]ासी सू० आसधर[2] सम[स्त]-
मीरसह्नितै[3] खाडिसीरजवमध्या-
त् जवा[4] से ४ गूजरोजात्रानिमित्तं
[श्री]शांतिनाथदेवस्य दत्त[5] पूण्याय[6] [।*]
यः कोपि लुप्यतै[7] स पापोन[8] छिद्य-
ते ॥ मं[ग]ल[9] भवतू[10] ॥ तथा भडियाउअ-
अ[र]हट्टे आमधरमीरोद्दयसम[स्त]-
सीरग्ग जवा[11] ह[री]थु १ गूजरतृयात्रहि[12]
वील्ह[स्य] पुण्यार्थं ॥१

XVII.—SĀṆḌĒRĀV STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHAṆADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-] SAṀVAT 1236.

This inscription, like No. XIII, was found at Sāṇḍērāv, and is incised on a pillar in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple of Mahāvīra. The record contains 10 lines of writing, which covers a space of 1′ 3½″ broad by 8″ high. The first 4 lines are well preserved and can be easily read, the remainder being too weather-worn to be deciphered with perfect confidence. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskṛit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, the only point that requires notice is the doubling of a consonant following an *r*. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the words *drāēlā*, l. 8, and *sīrā*, l. 9. The latter occurs also in the Mount Ābū inscription No. II (above, Vol. VIII. p. 220, l. 9), where the sense of 'care, supervision' has been assigned to it by Prof. Lüders.[13]

The first line of the inscription is an independent record in itself, and speaks of a column having been presented by Rālhā and Pālhā, sons of Thāṁthā, in memory of their mother. The second line contains the date, Wednesday, the 2nd of the dark half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1236, and the inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Kēlhaṇadēva of Naḍūla. Then we are told that his own house was placed by Rālhāka, son of Thāṁthā, together with his brother Pālhā and his sons Sōḍhā, Śubhaṁkara and others at the disposal of Śrī-Pārśvanātha, the god of Shaṁḍēraka (Sāṇḍērāv) in the *bhukti* or personal property of the queen Jālhaṇadēvī. Four *drāēlas* were to be given to the god annually by people residing in Rālhā's house: Lines 9-10 are apparently connected with line 1 and inform us that the pillar was restored for the spiritual benefit of Dhāramati on Saturday, the 12th of the bright half of Jyaiṣṭha in the [Vikrama] year 1266. Dhāramati is called *mātṛi* and was probably the mother of Rālhā and Pālhā.

[1] Read °पाल्हो.
[2] Read °आसधरैः.
[3] Read °सहितैः.
[4] Read ज(य)वाः.
[5] Read दत्ताः.
[6] Read पुण्याय.
[7] Read लोपयति.
[8] Read पापेन,
[9] Read मंगलं.
[10] Read भवतु.
[11] Read ज(य)वाः.
[12] I do not understand for what °यात्रहि is intended. Does it stand for यात्रायै ?
[13] [See also above, Vol. VIII. p. 205, note 2.—Ed.]

TEXT.[1]

1 ॥ [थां]थासुतराल्हापाल्हा[भ्यां] मातृप[द]श्रीनिमि[त्ते] [स्तं]भको[2] प्रदत:[3]

2 [सं]वत् १२३६ कार्[त्ति]कवदि [२] बुधे अ[द्ये]ह श्रीनडूले महारा[जा*]धिराजश्री-

3 केल्हणदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये प्रवर्त्तमाने [राज्ञी] श्रीजाल्हणदेवि-

4 भुक्तौ[4] [5]श्रीषं[डेर]कदेवश्रीपार्श्वनाथप्रतापत: थांथासुतराल्हाके[न] भा(भ्रा)तृ-

5 पाल्हापुत्रसोढासुभकरर[म]देवधरणि[यवो]होषवर्द्धमा[न]लक्ष्मी-

6 धरसहजिगस[ह]देव[सहियग]छा(?)[रा]सांधीरणहरिचंद्रवरदेवादि-

7 भि: युतेन म — — परमश्रेयोर्थें[6] विदितनिजग्र[हं] प्रदत:[7] ॥ राल्हाश(स)-

8 [त्क]मानुषे[8] वसद्भि: व[र्षं] प्रति द्राएला ४ प्रदेया[9] [।*] शेषजनानां वस-

9 तां साधुभि: गोष्टिके:[10] सारा कार्या ॥ संवत् १२६६ वर्षे ये-

10 [11][ष्ट]सुदि १३ शनौ सो[यं][12] मातृधारमति[13] पुन: स्तंभको उधृ[त][14] [।*]

XVIII.—JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMARASIṀHADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-] SAṀVAT 1239.

This inscription was found at Jālōr, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jōdhpur State. It is incised on two lintels, one above the other and standing upon pillars near the north end of the principal cloister of an old mosque, now used as a *tōpkhānā*. The mosque is evidently constructed of materials supplied by demolishing old temples, and these two lintels appear to have been brought from an old Jaina shrine, as will be seen from the contents. Portions of these lintels have been cut off on their proper right in order to suit their new surroundings. The inscription on the upper lintel consists of 3 lines, and covers a space of 8′ 2½″ broad by 4″ high, while the lower one is composed of 4 lines, and extends over a space of 8′ 5″ broad by 5″ high. But though the inscriptions are thus engraved on two different stones, they really form one record. The portion extant is in a perfect state of preservation. The letters are here and there filled with mortar, but that does not prevent any one deciphering the record. The characters are Nāgarī. The letter *sh* is incised at least twice instead of *kh*, as in later Rājputānā inscriptions. The sign for *b* occurs, and differs from *v* only by a minute dot in the loop of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is partly in prose and partly in verse. The verses are numbered, and are seven in all. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a preceding *r*. As regards

[1] From the original stone.

[2] Read संभक:.

[3] Read प्रदत्त:.

[4] Read °भुक्तौ. The akshara क्तौ may also be read क्ये°. Between the *aksharas* सु and क्तौ there is a small circle.

[5] [The reading may also be षंडेके.—Ed.]

[6] These six letters are doubtful. [Perhaps परायणार्थें is meant.—Ed.]

[7] Read प्रदत्तं.

[8] Read सत्कमानुषै:.

[9] Read प्रदेया:.

[10] Read गोष्ठिकै:

[11] Read ज्यैष्ठ°.

[12] [The reading here may be सोढामातृ.—Ed.]

[13] Some such word as श्रेयोर्थं has probably to be supplied after °धारमति°.

[14] Read संभक उद्धृत:.

lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word (1) *krama*, l. 1, which i rare sense of "a foot," and (2) *taskara*, l. 2, which seems to have been emp "banditti" or "unsettled tribes."

The record opens with an invocation (v. 1) to Nabheya, *i.e.* Rish Tirthaṁkara. It then refers itself in prose to the reign of the *Maharaja* son of the *Maharaja* Kirtipaladeva. The latter, we are told, was a son of th who belonged to the lineage of the *Maharaja* Anahila, "the moon in the sk Chāhumāna." It further speaks of the Rajput (*rajaputra*) Jojala as apparently a person looking after the administration of the kingdom. I informed that he held in scorn the multitude of the unsettled tribes (*tas* district of Pilvahika. Then follow two verses, the first of which bestows co Samarasiṁha and the second states that Jojala was his maternal uncle. Pil Pilva in the Parbatsar District of the Jodhpur State on the frontiers of th and the *taskaras* are perhaps the Bavris, who still abound there. Then fol (ll. 4-5) which says that 'this *maṇḍapa*,' referring, of course, to the m inscription was originally engraved and which had been dedicated to the fi appears from the invocatory and also the last verse, was caused to be made by Seth Yaśovira, son of Seth Yasodeva, of the Srimala family. He had bee by all the members of the *goshṭhi* and apparently also by his brothers Yaśor Yaśovira is spoken of as waiting upon Purnabhadrasuri, pupil of Chaṁdra the Chandragachchha. The date of the erection of the *maṇḍapa* was Thu the bright half of Vaisakha of the [Vikrama] year 1239. Three verses incised in praise of the *maṇḍapa*, and verse 7 expresses a wish for its perman told that the inscription was a composition of Purnabhadrasūri, and the r benediction in favour of the *saṅgha* or Jaina community.

TEXT.[1]

1 . . . [।] — — [2]त्रैंलोक्यलक्ष्मीविपुलकुलगृहं धर्मद्रुमा
मेयनाथक्रमकमलयुगं मंगलं वस्तनोतु । यन्ये मंगल्य
सिद्दिसौधप्रवेशे यस्य स्कंधप्रदेशे विलसति गवलश्यामला
श्रीचाहुमानकुलांबरमृगांकश्रीमहाराजश्रीअणहिलान्वयोद्भवश्रीमहा
2 . . . . र्यावल्गोद्दलितदलितरिपुबल
पालदेवहृदयानंदिनंदनमहाराजश्रीसमरसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयरा
जीविनि निजप्रौढिमातिरेकतिरस्कृतसकलपील्वाहिकामंडलत
राज्यचिंतके जोजलराजपुत्रे इत्येवं[3] काले प्रवर्त्तमाने [।*
3 . . . . . . [f]रपुकुलकमलेंदुः पृथ्वलावण्यपात्रं
धाम सौंदर्यलक्ष्म्याः । भरणितरुणनारीलोचनानंदकारी ज
क्ष्मापतिः सिंहवृत्तिः ॥२ तथा ॥ औत्पत्तिकीप्रमुखबुद्धिचतु
भवनोचितकार्यवृत्तिः । यस्मातुलः समभवत् किल जोजल

[1] From the original stone. [2] Restore त्रैलोक्य. [3] Read

4 — — ⏑ [1]खंडितदुरंतविपक्षलक्षः ॥३ श्रीचंद्रगच्छमुखमंडनसुविहितयतिति-
लकसुगुरुश्रीश्रीचंद्रसूरिचरणनलिनयुगलदुर्ललितराजहंसश्रीपूर्णभद्रसूरिचरणकमल-
परिचरणचतुरमधुकरेण समस्तगोष्ठिकसमुदायसमन्वितेन श्रीश्रीमालवंशविभूषणश्रे-
ष्ठियशोदेवसुतेन सदाज्ञाकारिनिज-

5 —[2]तृयशोराजजगधरविधीयमाननिखिलमनोरथेन [3]श्रेष्ठियशोवीरपरमश्रावकेण सं-
वत् १२३८ वैशाखसुदि ५ गुरौ सकलत्रिलोकीतलाभोगभ्रमणपरिश्रां[त]-
कमलाविलासिनीविश्रामविलासमंदिरं अयं मंडपो निर्मापितः ॥ तथा हि ॥
नानादेशसमागतैर्नवनवैः स्त्रीपुंसवर्गैर्मु[हु]र्यस्ये-

6 — ⏑ ⏑ षावलोकनपरैर्नो तृप्तिरासाद्यते । स्फारं स्फारमयो यदीयरचना-
वैचित्र्यविस्फूर्जितं तैः स्वस्थानगतैरपि प्रतिदिनं सोत्कंठमावर्ण्यते ॥४ वि[श्वं]-
भरावरवधूतिलकं किमेतल्लीलारविंदमथ किं दुहितुः पयोधेः । दत्तं सुरैरमृत-
कुंडमिदं किमत्र यस्यावलोकनविधौ विविधा विकल्पाः ॥५ गर्त्तापूरेण पातालं

7 . . . [ण][4] महीतलं । तुंगत्वेन नभो येन व्यानशे भुवनत्रयं ॥६ किं च ॥
स्फूर्जद्व्योमसरः समीनमकरं कन्यालिकुंभा[कु]लं मेषाढ्यं सकुलीरसिंहमिथुनं प्रो-
द्यद्वृषालंकृतं । ताराकैरवमिंदुधामसलिलं सद्राजहंसास्पदं यावत्तावदिहादिना-
थभवने नंद्यादसौ मंडपः ॥७ कृतिरियं श्रीपूर्णभद्रसूरीणां ॥ भद्रमस्तु
श्रीसंघाय ॥

XIX.—JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMARASIMHADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1242.

The inscription is incised on a lintel in the second storey over the *mihrab* of the mosque referred to in No. XVIII. It consists of 6 lines of writing, and covers a space of 2′ 8⅜″ broad by 5½″ high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to notice (1) that the sign for *v* is used both for *v* and *b*, and (2) that *n* is doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r*.

The record contains four different statements, but all pertaining to one and the same temple. The first part speaks of a certain temple as having been built and consigned in the [Vikrama] year 1221 to the care of Dēvāchārya for the dissemination of the true Jaina law (*sad-vidhi*). The temple was known as Kuvara-vihāra and contained the principal image (*mūla-bimba*) of Pārśvanātha. The temple, we are told, had been constructed by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Chaulukya Kumārapāla, the devout worshipper of the Arhats (*param-ārhata*), the lord of the Gūrjara country, after being enlightened by *prabhu* Hēmasūri, upon the fort of Kāṁchanagiri belonging to Jābālipura, *i.e.* Jālōr. It will thus be seen that it was called Kuvara-vihāra after the Sōlaṅkī king Kumārapāla who built it. The second part says that it was rebuilt in V.E. 1242 by the *bhaṁḍārī* Yaśōvīra, son of the *bhaṁḍārī* Pāsū, in accordance with the orders of the *Mahārāja* Samarasiṁhadēva, the ornament of the Chāhamāna family and lord of "this

[1] Some such word as दोर्दण्ड° might be supplied here.
[2] Restore °भ्रातृ°.
[3] Read श्रेष्ठि°.
[4] Restore विस्तारेण.

country," *i.e.* apparently southern Mārwār. The third part informs us that on the 11th of the bright half of Jyaistha in the [Vikrama] year 1256, the work of installation was done, according to the behests of the royal family, by Pūrṇadēvāchārya, pupil of Dēvāchārya, in the case of the *tōraṇa*, etc. of (the image of) the god Pārśvanātha and also of the hoisting of the flag on the golden flag-staff on the original spire. The fourth or last part states that in V.E. 1268, on the day of the lamps festival (*dīp-ōtsava*), the ceremony of placing a golden cupola on the newly made central hall, intended for dramatic performances was carried out by Rāmachaṁdrāchārya, pupil of Pūrṇadēvasuri.

TEXT.[1]

1 [2]ओं ॥ संवत् १२२१ श्रीजावालिपुरीयकांचनगि[रि]गढस्योपरि[3] प्रभुश्रीहेमसूरिप्र-
वोधितगूर्जरधराधीश्वरपरमार्हतचौलुक्य(॥)[4]

2 महारा[ज]धिराजश्री[कु]मारपालदेवकारिते श्रीपा[र्श्व]नाथसत्कमू[ल]बिंबसहितश्रीकु-
वरविहाराभिधाने[5] जैनचैत्ये(।) सद्विधिप्रव[र्त्त]नाय [6]वृहद्गच्छीयवा-

3 दींद्रश्रीदेवाचार्याणां पक्षे [7]आचंद्रार्कं समर्पिते ॥ सं० १२४२ वर्षे एतद्देसा(शा)धिप-
चाहमानकुलतिलकमहाराजश्रीसमरसिंहदेवादेशेन भां० पासूपुत्र भां० यशो-

4 वीरेण स[मु]द्धृते । श्रीमद्राजकुलादेशेन श्रीदेचार्यशिष्यैः[8] श्रीपूर्णदेवाचार्यैः(।)
सं० १२५६ वर्षे ज्येष्ठसु० ११ श्रीपार्श्वनाथदेवे तोरणादीनां प्रतिष्ठा-
कार्ये कृते । मूलशिख-

5 रे व[9] कनकमयध्वजादंडस्य ध्वजारोपणप्रतिष्ठायां कृतायां ॥ सं० १२६८ वर्षे
दीपोत्सवदिने अभिनवनिष्पंनप्रेक्षामध्यमंडपे[10] श्रीपूर्णदेवसूरिशिष्यैः श्रीरामः[11]

6 चंद्राचार्यै सुवर्णमयकलसारोपणप्रतिष्ठा[12] कृता ॥ सुभं[13] भवतु ॥ छ ॥

XX.—BHINMAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF UDAYASIMHADEVA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1306.

This inscription was found in the walled enclosure of the temple of Nilakantha-Mahādēva, about a mile from the city of Bhinmal, in the Jaswantpurā District of the Jōdhpur State. It seems to have escaped the notice of the late Sir James Campbell when he visited the place, and has not, so far as I know, yet been published. It contains 25 lines of writing, which covers a space of 1' 4½" broad by 1' 9¼" high. The inscription is somewhat weather-worn, and its proper right side is a little mutilated. Nothing of importance, however, seems to have been lost, and, with the help of the other Bhinmāl inscriptions which have been published, nearly the whole of the record can be read with certainty. The characters are Nagarī. It is worthy of note that in lines 12 and 19 occurs the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$, and in l. 18 the fraction $\frac{1}{4}$, which are both denoted, according to the *rēkhā* system, the first by two and the second by one vertical stroke. Of these, the fraction $\frac{1}{4}$ occurs along with an integer, whereas the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ stands by itself, and hence the two strokes denoting $\frac{1}{2}$ are preceded by a zero, represented by a small circle. Excepting the

[1] From the original stone.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] Read आवलि.
[4] Read 'प्रतिबोधित'.
[5] Read 'क्यं'.
[6] Read 'द्वृहद्'.
[7] The *avagraha* is omitted here; such omissions need not be further noticed.
[8] Read देवाचार्य.
[9] Read च.
[10] Read 'निष्पन्न'.
[11] Read राम.
[12] Read 'चार्यैः सुवर्णमयकलश'.
[13] Read शुभं.

verse in lines 1-3, the record is in prose. The language is Sanskṛit, interspersed with solecisms and provincialisms. With regard to orthography, it is sufficient to say that a consonant is but occasionally doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r* and that in l. 17 *dimvasa* is used instead of *divasa*. As regards lexicography, the following words may be noticed: (1) *gōdhūma pakva*, l. 11, which seems, I think, to mean a crop of wheat ready for being reaped; (2) *muga* in ll. 11 and 19, obviously the well-known *mūṅg* pulse; (3) *chōshā*, i.e. *chōkhā*, ll. 11 and 19, a *dēśī* word meaning 'rice'; (4) *vyāsa*, ll. 12 and 22, a Brāhmaṇa, who recites the Purāṇas in public; (5) *nirvāpa*, ll. 12 and 19, a dole; and (6) *aṁga-bhōga*, unguents to be applied to the body immediately after bathing. Again, abbreviated forms of some words are used. Thus, *dra* stands for *dramma*, *ka* for *kalaśa*, *mā* for *māṇā*, *pā* for *pāyalā* or *pāyalī*, and *sē* for *sēī*. For the table of weights still observed in Gōḍvāḍ, see my remarks on No. X. *Kalaśa* is of course a measure of capacity.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Sūrya, and then follows a verse in praise of the same deity. The date is afterwards given, which is the 14th of the dark half of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] year 1306. The *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Udayasiṁhadēva was the king and the *pañcha* consisting of the *mahaṁta* Gajasiṁha and others appointed by him was exercising local authority at Śrīmāla (Bhinmāl). The object of the inscription is to record two benefactions. One was made by two brothers, the name of the first of whom is gone but that of the second is Mahaṇasīha. They were both sons of the *ṭhakura* Udayasīha, and were Māthura Kāyasthas by caste. Forty *dramma* coins were deposited in the treasury of the god Jagatsvāmin, which was the name of the Sūrya divinity of Bhinmāl, as is proved by other inscriptions and the *Śrīmālapurāṇa*. Out of it were to be defrayed the expenses of the *divasa-bali* and so forth on the 14th of the dark half during the *yātrā* festival of Āśvina. As regards the fixed allowance of provisions for the *bali*, there was to be wheat 2 *sēī*, and boiled ghee 8 *kalaśas*. For *naivēdya* or offering to the god, *mūṅg* pulse 1 *māṇā*, rice (*chōkhā*) 2 *pāyalīs*, and ghee ½ *kalaśa* were to be taken. The *vyāsa* and the *abōṭī* were to be given each a dole of 1 *dramma*. For the *aṁgabhōga* or application of unguents, aloe-wood, camphor and saffron were to be used each worth 2 *drammas*. Flowers were to be bought worth 2 *drammas*, and betel-leaves and betel-nut each worth 1 *dramma*. As regards the bevy of courtezans, each was to be paid 1 *dramma*. All this arrangement was to be carried out every year.

The second benefaction was made on the same day for his spiritual merit by one Tathāka, who deposited 15 *drammas* in the treasury of the god Jagatsvāmin. Out of it, the expenses of the *bali* on the 5th of the dark half of Māgha were to be borne. The allowance fixed for the *bali* was: wheat 1¼ *sēī* and boiled ghee (?) *kalaśa*. The *naivēdya* was to consist of *mūṅg* pulse 3 *pāyalī*, rice 2 *pāyalī*, and ghee ½ *kalaśa*. The dole for the *abōṭṭī* was 1 *dramma*. As to the *aṁgabhōga* or unguents, the ingredients were to be each worth 1 *dramma*. The *vyāsas*, *abōṭṭīs*, *seṭhs*, and members of the *gōshṭhī* are then conjured to look after this arrangement. The *praśasti* was written by Dhruva Nāgula, son of Bāhaḍa. This Nāgula is no doubt the same as Nāgvala, father of Dēdāka, who wrote some of the other published Bhinmāl inscriptions.

TEXT.[1]

1 . . . . . नमः [सू]र्या[य] ॥ यस्योदयास्तसमये सुरमुकु[ट][नि-
2 घृष्टचर*]णकमलोपि । कुरुतेऽजलिं त्रिनेत्रः स जयि[त]
3 [धाम्नां नि*][धिः] सूर्यः[2] ॥ संवतु(त्) १३०६(।)वर्षे अश्विन[3]वदि १४ श्रद्ये-
4 [ह श्रीश्री*]माले महाराजाधिराजश्री[उद]यसिंहदेवकल्या-

[1] From the original stone.

[2] The *Laghu Jātaka of* Varāhamihira commences with this verse.

[3] Read आश्विन.

5 [णविज*]यराज्ये तन्नियुक्तमहं०[गजसीहप्र]भृतिपं[चकु]लप्र-
6 [तिपत्तौ*] माथुरान्वय[क]ायस्थजातीयठकु[रउद]यसीहपु[त्र]
7 — — — सोह [तथा] भा(भ्रा)तृ० मल्हणसीहाभ्यां [श्री]भान[वे] योत्त
8 — — [ज*][ग]त्स्वामिदेवीयभांडागारे [क्षेपित] द्र४० चत्वारिं[श]-
9 — — [।] अश्विने[1] या[त्र]ायां [1]अश्विनवदि १४ दिने दिवसव-
10 [लि*]— —मालयो देवेन स्वकीयभांडागारात् कारापनी(कारणी)या [।*] व-
11 [लिनि*]बंधे गोधूम से२ पक्के घृत क८ नैवेद्ये मुग मा१ [च]ो-
12 [षां*] पा२ घृत क०॥ तथा व्यासनिवाप १ अक्षोटीनिवाप १ तथा [अं]ग-
13 भोगे अगरुकर्पूर[कुं]कुमप्रत्यं द्र२ तथा [2]पुफप्रत्यं द्र १ तथा पत्र-
14 पुगप्रत्यं द्र १ तथा प्रमदाकुलप्रत्यं द्र १ एतत् स[र्व्वं] प्रतिवर्षं [दे]-
15 वेन कारापनीयं[3] । तथा दिने तथावेन श्रीजगत्स्वामिदेवीय-
16 भांडागारे आत्मन[4] [श्रे]यार्थं[5] क्षेपित[6] द्र १५ पंचादश द्रमा[7] । [म]-
17 [8][हा]मासि माघवदि ५ दिने दिस्वसवली[9] देवेन स्वकीयभां[डा*]-
18 गारात् कारापनीया[10] । वलिनिबंधे गोधूम से १। पक्के घृत क.
19 [नै]वद्ये[11] मुग पा १ चोषां पा२ घृत क० ॥ तथा अक्षोटीनिवाप १ [त*]
20 [था] अंगभोगप्रत्यं द्र१ एतत् सर्व्वं द्वौ वली [पाल्ह ए]कामल्ल-
21 — भांडागारात् देवेन वर्षं वर्षं प्रति आचंद्रार्ककालं याव[त्का]-
22 [रा]पनीयं[12] । व्यासअक्षोटीश्रेष्टिगोष्टिकतथासमस्तप्रमदा[कु*]-[13]
23 [ले]न वर्त्तापनीयं[14] । वरिपंथा केनापि न करणीया । लिखि[तं*]
24 [15]— ०वाल्हसुत० ध्रुव० नागुलेन श्रीनाथरमधिकाच[रं*]
25 [16][प्र*]स्माणमिति ॥

XXI.—SĀNCHŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIMHA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1345.

The stone on which the subjoined inscription is engraved was found at Sānchōr, the principal town of the district of the same name in the Jodhpur State. It was lying loose in the prison-room attached to the local *kachērī*.

The inscription contains 16 lines of writing, which cover a space of $10\frac{1}{2}''$ broad by 1', $2\frac{1}{4}''$ high. Though a few letters are weather-worn, and some are here and there mutilated,

[1] Read आश्विने.
[2] Read पुष्प°.
[3] Read कारणीयं.
[4] Read आत्मनः.
[5] Read श्रेयार्थं.
[6] Read क्षिपिता:
[7] Read द्रम्मा:
[8] [What is preserved of the first letter of this line looks like य.—Ed.]
[9] Read दिवसवलि:. [I think the reading is दिवस°.—Ed.]
[10] Read कारणीयः.
[11] Read नैवेद्यं.
[12] Read कारणीयं.
[13] Read °श्रेष्ठिगोष्ठिक°.
[14] Read वर्त्तनीयं. [The reading may also be च ज्ञापनीयं.—Ed.]
[15] Supply ध्रुव.
[16] Read प्रमाण°.

nearly the whole of the inscription can be read with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of a consonant following an *r*, and (2) the use of the form *sāmvata°* for *sāmanta°*. As to lexicography, the following words may be noticed: (1) *sthitaka* in ll. 5, 7, 8 and 11, and (2) *sēlahāthā* or *sēlahasta* together with their abbreviated forms in ll. 10, 12, 13 and 15. The first word seems to have been used in the sense of "a grant in perpetuity," and occurs in other inscriptions also, *e.g.* the Cintra *praśasti* of Sāraṅgadēva,[1] verses 53, 60, 61 and 66. The meaning of *sēlahasta* is not certain. And I know of only two records, *viz.* the Bhinmāl inscriptions Nos. XII and XV[2] where the word occurs. In the first of these, line 12 has *Śrīkaraṇīya-pañchakula-sēlahatha-Ḍābhīnarapālaṁ cha.* Here it is worthy of note that *sēlahatha* occupies a position between *pañchakula, i.e.* the modern *pañcha* and Ḍābhi-*narapāla, i.e.* a king of the Ḍābhī race. And it seems tempting, therefore, to suppose that *sēlahasta* was an officer of high rank, higher at any rate than the village *śrīkaraṇa,* which was held by one of the *pañchakula.* Again, the expression *sēlahath-ābhāvya* occurs in both the Bhinmāl inscriptions just referred to. It must be taken to mean "the income collected by a *sēlahatha.*" Probably he was connected with the revenue department. Some of the abbreviations are worth noticing. Thus in l. 8 we have *Visa° dra,* which, I think, stands for *Vīsalapriya-dramma,* a kind of coin, mentioned in Bhinmāl Inscription No. XVI, ll. 23-24. Again, in l. 12 *ka* is used in connection with *muga, i.e.* Phaseolus mungo. Here *ka* cannot be taken to denote *karsha,* as 1½ *karshas* of *muga* would be a ridiculously small quantity, but *kalaśa* which had till lately been employed for measuring corn.

The inscription commences by specifying the date, *viz.* Monday, the 14th of the bright half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1345. The *Mahārājakula* Sāmvatasiṁhadēva was the king, and at the holy place (*mahāsthāna*) of Satyapura (Sānchōr), the *pañcha*, consisting of the *mahaṁta* Hīrā and others appointed by him, was exercising local authority. The epigraph then records a grant in perpetuity of 8 *Vīsalapriya drammas* by the Mēharas[3] Prabhā, Padama and Āsapāla. All the Mēharas are requested to see to the continuance of this grant. According to this endowment, 1½ *kalaśas* of *mūga* were to be given annually, and the *sēlahasta* was requested to look after this matter. The *sēlahasta* is also desired to supervise personally the *yātrā* festival of the god Vāēśvara. Then follow, in token of approval, the sign-manuals of at least four Mēharas, of whom three were the donors named above and the fourth was the *sēlahasta* Pātala.

TEXT.[4]

1 ओं[5] संवत् १३४५ वर्षे कार्त्तिकशुदि १४ सोमे
2 अद्येह श्रीसत्यपुरमहास्थ[ाने] महा[रा]जकुल-
3 श्रीसाम्वतसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तन्नि-
4 युक्त [म]हं० हीराप्रभृतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ [।*] एवं
5 काले प्रवर्त्तमाने f[स्थ]तकअक्षराणि प्रयच्छति [य*]-
6 था । मे० प्र[भ]ा मे० पदम मे० [आं]सपाले[न] (॥).
7 थांगुआरहाहुलकस्य[6] वर्षं प्रति स्थितके क-

[1] Above. Vol. I. p. 280 ff.

[2] *History of Gujarat* in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency,* Vol. I. pt. I., pp. 480 and 485.

[3] For the tribe Mēhara or Mēr, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 360.

[4] From the original stone.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] The meaning of this is not apparent to me.

8 [त] वीस० द्र ८ अष्ट [द्रम्मा][:*] स्थितके कृता[1] । एतत् [स्थि]-
9 तकं वर्षानुवर्षं[2] मेहरै[3] पालनीयं । केनापि न
10 लोपनीयं ॥ अन्यत[4] यः [कोपि से]ल[हाथा][5] अस्य
11 [6]था[न]के भवि [।*] सांप्रतं सैल० सोधुराकेन स्थित[कै]
12 कृत[7] वर्षं प्रति सुग क १॥ सेलह[स्ते]न पालनीयः ।
13 सेलहस्तेन उपविश्य देवश्रीवाएस्व(श्व)रे यात्रा का[रा]-
14 पनीया[8] ॥ अस्य विधि[9] मे० प्र[भ]ाम[तं] । मे० पदमम[तं ।]
15 मे० आसपालमतं ॥ सेल० पातलमतं . . . . .
16 जामतं । मे० आम्बडमतं । . . . .

XXII.—JUNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIṀHADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-] SAṀVAT 1352.

This inscription was found at **Junā** or **Junā Bāḍmēr**, as the full name goes, in the Mallāṇī District, Jōdhpur State, about 12 miles south-west of Bāḍmēr, the principal town. It is engraved on a pillar in the porch of a dilapidated **Jaina temple** and contains 10 lines of writing which cover a space of $11\frac{1}{4}''$ broad by $7\frac{3}{4}''$ high. The characters are **Nāgarī**. The language is **Sanskṛit**, and the whole of the inscription is in prose, excepting the benedictory verse at the end. In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the employment of the sign of *v* for both *v* and *b*, and (2) the use of the number 2 after *Śrī* in l. 3 to mark the repetition. As regards rare or unusual words, those that deserve to be noted are *pāilā* and *Bhīmapriya vi(ṁ)śōpaka* in l. 7. *Pāila* and *viṁśōpaka* have been already explained. *Bhīmapriya* appears to have been the name of a kind of *viṁśōpaka* coin. Attention may also be drawn to the word *lāga* in l. 8, which means a cess, as previously explained (No. XI above.)

The record opens with the date, **the 4th of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the [Vikrama] year 1352.** On the aforesaid day, during the victorious reign of the *Mahārājakula* **Śrī-Sāmantasiṁhadēva**, the *mahaṁta* **Chīrāsēla**, **Vēlāula**, the *bhaṁḍārī* **Migala**, and others appointed by the king to draw up documents, made a religious grant at **Bāhaḍamēru** to the gods **Vighnamardana-Kshētrapāla** and **Chāuṁḍarāja**, in the temple of **Ādinātha.** The grant consisted of a *pāilā* from every incoming or outgoing caravan exceeding ten camels and twenty bullocks In default of this payment in kind, ten *Bhīmapriya viṁśōpakas* were to be charged. The grant was to be distributed equally between the two gods. In l. 8 is recorded the approval of this cess (*lāga*) by the *mahājanas* or local bankers.

Bāhaḍamēru is, of course, **Bāḍmēr**, not the place now known by that name which is comparatively a modern city, but **Junā Bāḍmēr**, the old Bāḍmēr where the inscription was found.

TEXT.[10]

1 ओं[11] ॥ संवत् १३५२ वैशाखसुदि ४ श्रीवाहडमेरौ[12] महारा-
2 [ज]कुलश्रीसामंतसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तन्नियु-

[1] Read कृता:
[2] Read वर्षानुवर्षं.
[3] Read मेहरै:.
[4] Read अन्यतो.
[5] Read सेलहार्थोऽस्य.
[6] Read स्थानके भविष्यति.
[7] Read कृतो.
[8] Read कारणीया.
[9] Read विधि:.
[10] From the original stone.
[11] Expressed apparently by two symbols.
[12] Read °बाहड°.

3 [क्त]श्रीश्करणे [मं०] चीरासिलवेलाउल भां० f[म]ग[लप्रभृत]यो

4 ध[र्मा]च्चराणि प्रयच्छति[1] यथा । श्रीआदिना[थ]मध्ये संति-

5 ष्ठमानश्रीवि[घ्न]मर्दनक्षेत्रपालश्रीचउंडराजदेवयो[:]

6 [2]उभयमार्गीयसमायातसार्थउष्ट्र १० वृष २० उभयादपि ऊर्द्धं[3]

7 सार्थं प्रति द्वयोर्देवयोः पाइला [।*] पद्मे [भीम]प्रिय दशविंशोपक [१०]

8 अर्द्धार्द्धेन[4] ग्रहीतव्याः । असौ[5] लागो महाजनेन मनित[6] ॥। यथोक्तं [।*]

9 [7]वहुभि[र्व]सुधा युक्ता[8] राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भू०

10 मी तस्य[9] तस्य तदा फलं ॥१॥ छ ॥

XXIII.—JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIṀHADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-] SAṀVAT 1353.

The inscription is engraved on a pillar in the *tōpkhānā* at **Jālōr** in the main or western cloister near the south end. It consists of 27 lines of writing, and covers a space of 4¾″ broad by 1′ 8″ high. The characters are **Nāgari**. The sign for *sh* is used to denote *kh*. The language is **Sanskrit**, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the occasional use of *v* for *b* and (2) the doubling of *ṇ* in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *Suvarṇṇa-girau*, l. 3. In respect of **lexicography**, attention may be drawn to the expression *niśrā-nikshēpa-haṭṭa*, in ll. 22-23, the meaning of which is uncertain, and to the word *bhāṭaka*, in l. 24, which seems to have been used in the sense of *bhāḍā* or rent. The following sense of the phrase *niśrā-nikshēpa-haṭṭa* may, however, be suggested as probable. *Haṭṭa* is, of course, a bazar. *Niśrā* is probably the same as *nisār*, which, in Mārwār at any rate, seems to mean an export in contradistinction with *pasār* which signifies an import. The expression might, therefore, mean a place in, or a portion of, the bazar for storing goods to be exported.

The record opens with the date, *viz.* **Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1353.** It then speaks of the *Mahārājakula* **Sāma(n)tasiṁha** as reigning at **Suvarṇagiri** and **Kānhaḍadēva** as "subsisting on his lotus-like feet and bearing the burden of administration (*rājya-dhurā*)."[10] Suvarṇagiri is the same as Kāñchanagiri of No. XIX., and is the name of the hill on which the fort of Jālōr stands. **Kānhaḍadēva**, as we shall see further on, was a son of Sāmantasiṁha. The object of the inscription is to state that a certain **Narapati** made, for the spiritual welfare of his wife **Nāyakadēvi**, the grant of a bazar building or warehouse for storing goods to be exported. Out of the rent accruing therefrom was to be offered the *paṁchamī-bali* every year in the temple of the god **Pārśvanātha** by the members of the *gōshṭhi.* Narapati, in making this donation, had been joined by the members of his family and

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[1] Read प्रयच्छन्ति.

[2] Read °मार्गीय°.

[3] Read ऊर्द्धं.

[4] Read अर्द्धार्द्धेन.

[5] [On the impression the reading seems to be श्रीसौ.—Ed.]

[6] Read मानितः.

[7] Read बहु°.

[8] Read भुक्ता.

[9] Read भूमिस्तस्य.

[10] This shows that Kānhaḍadēva was the *yuvarāja* or heir-apparent and had been given an actual share in the administration of the kingdom. This is quite clear from a short inscription found at Chōhṭaṇ, 30 miles south-west of Bāḍmēr, the transcript of which is as follows:—

1 श्रीं सं १३५५ वर्षे फागुण

2 [व]दि ११ [श्र]वेह महाराज-

3 कुल[श्री]साम्वतसिंघदेव-

4 राजश्रीकान्हडदेवराज्ये

by a certain Guṇadhara, who is called a *saṁghapati* and was a resident of Suvarṇagiri itself A list of the members of his family is also given, as well as a genealogy of them. The father of Narapati was the *sonī* Mahaṇasīha, who was a son of the *ṭhakura* Jasa, who again was a son of the *ṭhakura* Āṁbaḍa. Mahaṇasīha had two wives, named Mālhaṇi and Tihuṇā. From the first he had the sons Ratanasīha, Nākhī, Mālhaṇa and Gajasīha, who are called *sōnīs* and from the second, Narapati, Jayatā and Vijayapāla, who are also called *sōnīs*. Narapati had two wives named Nāyakadēvī and Jālhaṇadēvī. His sons from the former only are mentioned, *viz.* Lakhamīdhara, Bhuvaṇapāla, and Suhaḍapāla. This and the mention of the spiritual benefit (*śrēyas*) of Nāyakadēvī as the object of the record perhaps show that, at the time of the donation, the latter was dead and the second wife had but recently been married and that he had no children from her. Of the members of his family, Narapati thus appears to have been joined, in making the gift, by his second wife and his sons from the first wife.

It is worthy of note that Narapati himself, his brothers and his father are called *sōnīs*. *Sōnī* cannot possibly mean a goldsmith here, as both the grandfather and the great-grandfather of Narapati are styled *ṭhakura*. Now, Sōnī is a well-known clan amongst the three Bania classes of Mārwār, *viz.* Ōsvāl, Sarāvgī, and Mahēsarī. The last may be left out of account, because they are not Jainas. Sarāvgīs, though they are Jainas, are, however, not found in the southern parts of Mārwār. Narapati and others were consequently, in all likelihood, Ōsvāl Sōnīs. Of the Mahēsarī Sōnīs it is stated that their *nakh* or original tribe was Sōnigarā. What is true of the Mahēsarī Sōnīs is, in all probability, true of other Sōnīs also. It is a well-known fact that many Rājpūt tribes, for avoiding Muhammadan oppression and so forth, became Jainas, and merged themselves into the Bania classes. Sōnigarā appears to be the name of one of such tribes. It is the name of a celebrated clan of the Chōhāns, and is commonly but correctly derived from Sōngar, *i.e.* Suvarṇagiri, the hill of the Jālor fort itself. Narapati's inscription was doubtless engraved in some temple on this fort, though the pillar, on which it is incised, seems to have been taken away to serve as material for the construction of the mosque, now called *tōpkhānā*, in the city of Jālōr. When Narapati, his father, and brothers are called Sōnīs, what is meant is that they were Ōsvāl Sōnīs, but that they were perhaps originally Sōnigarās, and that amongst them Mahaṇasīha first became a Jaina, as he is called a Sōnī and his father and grandfather, *ṭhakuras*.

TEXT.[1]

1 ओं[2] ॥ [सं]वत् १३५३ [वर्षे]
2 वै[शा]खवदि ५ [सोमे] श्री-
3 सुवर्णगिरौ [3]अद्येह महा-
4 राजकुलश्रीसामतसिंह[4]-
5 कल्याणविजयराज्ये[5] त-
6 त्पादपद्मोपजीविनि (॥)
7 [रा]जश्रीकान्हडदेवरा-
8 ज्यधुरा[मु]द्वहमाने इहै-
9 व वास्तव्यसंघपतिगुणध-
10 रठकुरआंबडपुत्रठकुर[6]-

[1] From the original stone.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] The *sandhi* is here omitted; such omissions need not be further noticed.
[4] Read °सामन्त°.
[5] Read °विजय°.
[6] Read °ठक्कुर°.

11 जसपु[त्र]सोनीमहणसीह-
12 भार्यामाल्हणिपुत्र[सोनी]रत-
13 न[सि]हणाखीमाल्हणगजसीह-
14 तिहुणापुत्र[सो]नीनरपतिज-
15 यताविजयपाल[न]रपतिभा-
16 र्यानायकदेवि[1]पुत्रलखमीध-
17 रभुवणपाल[सु]हडपालद्वि-
18 तीय[भ]ार्याजाल्हणदेवि(वी)इ-
19 त्यादिकुटंवसहितेन[न][2] भा-
20 र्यानायकदेवि[श्रे]योर्थं[3]
21 देवश्रीपार्श्वनाथचैत्ये पंच-
22 मीबलिनिमित्त[4] निश्रा[नि]त्ते-
23 प[ह]ट्टमेकं नरपतिना दत्त[5]
24 तत् भाटकेन[6] देवश्रीपा[र्श्व]-
25 नाथगोष्टि[कैः प्रतिव]र्षं[7]
26 आचांद्रार्क[8] पंचमीवलिः [9]
27 कार्या[10] ॥ [शुभं] भव[तु] ॥ छ[॥]

XXIV.—KOṬ-SŌLAṄKIYĀ INSCRIPTION OF VAṆAVĪRA; [VIKRAMA-] SAṀVAT 1394.

This inscription was found at Kōṭ-Sōlaṅkiyā, about 15 miles north-east of Dēsūrī. It is engraved on a pillar of a Jaina temple now in ruins. I edit the inscription from two excellent estampages, kindly supplied to me by Munshi Devi Prasad, Munsiff of Jōdhpur.

The record contains 8 lines of writing, which cover a space of 11″ broad by $5\frac{1}{8}$″ high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskṛit, and the whole of the record is in prose except one verse in ll. 7-8 at the end. In respect of orthography, the only point that deserves to be noted is the doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding *r*, in *ā-chaṁdrārkkaṁ*, l. 6.

The inscription is dated Friday, the 13th of the bright half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1394 elapsed, and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Vaṇavīradēva. It then states that at Āsalapura, the *rāuta* Mūlarāja, of the family of the *rāuta* Mālhaṇa, grandson of the *rāuta* Sōma and son of the *rāuta* Bāṁbī and his wife Jākhaladevi, granted, for the spiritual merit of his parents, Ḍhikuyaū together with a *vāḍī* or orchard, on the occasion of hoisting the flag of the temple of Pārśvanāthadēva, in the presence of the *rāuta* Bālā, Lumbhā and Nīṁvā.

[1] Read °देवी°.
[2] Read °कुटुंब°.
[3] Read °देवी°.
[4] Read °निमित्तं.
[5] Read दत्तं.
[6] Read तद्भाटकेन.
[7] Read °गोष्ठिकैः and °वर्षं.
[8] Read आचन्द्रार्कं.
[9] Read °बलिः.
[10] Read कार्यः.

Ḍhikuyaü seems to be the name of a machine-well. Āsalapura occurs also in another inscription at Kōṭ-Sōlaṅkiyā, and appears to have been the old name of that place.

TEXT.[1]

1[2] श्रों[3] स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमकालातीतसंवत[4] १[३]८४ व[र्षे चै]त्रशुदि १३ शुक्रे

2 श्रीआसलपुरे(।) महाराजाधिराजश्रीवणवीरदेवराज्ये [।*] राउत-

3 माल्हणान्वये राउतसोमपुत्रराउतबांबीभार्याजाखलदेवि-

4 पुत्रेण राउतमूलराजेन [श्री]पार्श्वनाथदेवस्य ध्वजारोपणसमये

5 राउतबालाराउतहा[या]कुमरलूंभानींवासमचं मातृपित्रो:[5] पु-

6 ण्यार्थं ढिकुयउ वा[ड]ीसहित: प्रदत्त: । आचंद्रार्कं[6] यावदियं व्य-

7 वस्था प्रमाणा[7] ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि: सगरादिभि: । य-

8 स्य यस्य यदा [8]भूमी(।) तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥१ शुभं भवतु ॥ श्री: ॥

XXV.—NĀḌLĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF RAṆAVĪRADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1443.

This inscription was found at Nāḍlāī, and is, like No. VIII., engraved on a pillar in the temple of Nēminātha called Jādvājī, situated on a hillock to the south-east of the village. It contains 16 lines of writing, which cover a space of 8″ broad by 1′ 2″ high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskṛit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. It is worthy of note that each line begins with two vertical strokes. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to note that consonants following *r* are, as a rule, doubled, and that the final *d* is twice represented as if it were *da*, *Śrīmada*°, l. 7, for *Śrīmad*° and °*jagada*°, l. 15, for °*jagad*°.[9]

The record commences by specifying the date, which is Friday, the 14th of the dark half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1443 elapsed. It speaks of the Rāja Raṇavīradēva, son of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vaṇavīra of the Chāhamāna lineage as then reigning. It then records the rebuilding of the structure (*prāsāda*) of Śrī-Nēmīśvara, the ornament of the Yadu race. by Vinayachaṁdrasūri, the occupant of the *paṭṭa* or pontifical seat (*i.e.* the successor) of Dharmachaṁdrasūri. The latter, we are told, belonged to the line of Mānatuṅgasūri, the sun in the sky of the Bṛihadgachchha.

TEXT.[10]

1 श्रों[11] ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसम-

2 यातीत सं [१]४४३ वर्षे कार्त्ति-

3 कवदि १४ शुक्रे श्रीनडूलाई-

[1] From estampages kindly supplied by Munshi Devi Prasad of Jōdhpur.

[2] Above the commencement of this line, the first eight syllables thereof are engraved.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read °संवत्.

[5] Read मातापित्रो:.

[6] Read °चंद्रार्कं.

[7] Read प्रमाणं.

[8] Read भूमिस्तस्य.

[9] [In both of these cases as well as in the case of the त of नंदतात (l. 16) the impression seems to show a stroke at the bottom of the letter which may be meant for the *virāma*.—Ed.]

[10] From the original stone.

[11] Expressed by two symbols.

4 नगरे चाहुमानान्वयमहा-

5 राजाधिराजश्रीवणवीरदे-

6 वसुतराजश्री[र]णवीरदेववि-

7 जयराज्ये [1]श्र[वस्थ]स्वच्छश्रीमद-

8 वृहद्ग[च्छ]नभस्तलदिनकरो-

9 पमश्रीमानतुंगसूरिवंशोद्भ[व]-[2]

10 श्रीधर्म्मचंद्रसूरिपट्टलक्ष्मीश्र-

11 वणोत्पलायमानैः[3] श्रीविन-

12 यचंद्रसूरिभिरल्पगुणमाणि[4]-

13 क्यरत्नाकरस्य यदुवंशशृंगा-

14 रहारस्य श्रीनेमीश्वरस्य निरा-

15 कृतजगदविषादः[5] प्रासाद[6] स-

16 मुद्दधे[7] आचंद्रार्कं नंदतात[8] ॥श्री॥[9]

XXVI. AND XXVII.—SĀNCHŌR STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF PRATĀPASIṀHA; [VIKRAMA-] SAṀVAT 1444.

These inscriptions are engraved on two pillars, which now form part of the stables attached to the *kachērī* at **Sānchōr**. Doubtless they originally belonged, as will be seen in the sequel, to an ancient temple, not a trace of which now remains. The first record contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space of 10⅓″ broad by 1′ 9¼″ high, and the second 17 lines of writing which cover a space of 10″ broad by 1′ ¾″ high. The latter is in good preservation, but the former has about the middle of it a few letters here and there mutilated. The two together really form one record. This is evident from the fact that the last verse which occurs at the end of the first part is numbered 3, and the verse with which the second part opens is marked 4, instead of 1 as it would have been if the latter had really been intended to be a separate record. We shall, therefore, speak of the whole as one inscription. The characters are **Nāgarī**. The language is **Sanskrit**. Excepting the initial words *Ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya*, the inscription is in verse up to l. 32, and the rest in prose. As regards **orthography**, it is sufficient to note that a consonant is but twice doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r*, and that *y* is substituted for *j* once in Yyēshṭa(ṭha)°, l. 33. In respect of **lexicography**, the following words may be noticed: (1) *grāsa*, l. 10, and (2) *pāilā*, l. 11. *Grāsa* here seems to be used in the sense of "gift," and not in its usual sense noted above in my remarks on No. V. *Pāilā* has already been explained (above No. X).

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Śiva, and then, curiously enough, is cited a verse which forms the well-known benedictory stanza of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*. This is followed by a verse (2) which invokes the protection of Nīlakaṇṭha for the then reigning **Chāhamāna** prince **Pratāpasiṁha**, and of Pārvatī for his queen **Kāmalladēvī**, daughter of **Subhaṭa**. In the

[1] Read श्वस्य° and °श्रीमद्बृ°.

[2] Read °श्रीमत्तुंग°. [The necessity for this correction is not apparent.—Ed.]

[3] Read °श्रवणोत्पलाय°.

[4] Read °णिक्य°.

[5] Read °जगद्विषादः.

[6] Read प्रासादः.

[7] Read समुद्दधे.

[8] Read नंदतात्.

[9] [There seem to be two more indistinct *aksharas* at the end of the line.—Ed.]

next verse we are told that in the family of **Lakshmaṇasiṁha**, the best of Chāhamānas and king of **Naḍūla**, which had many branches, there was one **Sālha**, son of **Sōbhita**. Verse 4 informs us that he liberated the people of **Śrīmāla (Bhinmāl)** from the **Turushkas** (Muhammadans). The verse following states that his son was **Vikramasiṁha**. The eldest son of the latter was **Saṁgrāmasiṁha**, who had at least one elder brother, *viz.* **Bhīma** (v. 6). The son of Saṁgrāmasiṁha was **Pratāpasiṁha**, reigning at **Satyapura (Sānchōr)**. We are then introduced to a different family, the family to which Pratāpasiṁha's queen belonged. And the verses descriptive of her family are separately numbered. Of these, verse 1 says that there was one **Vīrasiha of Karpūradhārā**, that his son was a king named **Mākaḍa**, and that the son of the latter was **Vairiśalya**. The son of Vairiśalya was **Suhaḍaśalya** and his daughter was **Kāmaladēvī**, who was the wife of Pratāpasiṁha; and it was she who renovated the temple of **Vāēśvara** together with the *liṅga* inside (vv. 2-3). The second part begins with a verse, which says that the fruit accruing from restoring is eight-fold that of merely building a temple, well or tank. This is followed by the date, *viz.* **Friday, the 8th of the dark fortnight of Jyaishṭha of the [Vikrama] year 1444.** On this date we are again told in prose that *Bāī* Kāmaladēvī, the crowned queen of **Pātā** (*i.e.* Pratāpasiṁha), the ornament of the Chāhūāṇa dynasty, and daughter of Suhaḍasala (Subhaṭa or Suhaḍaśalya), the ornament of the **Ūmaṭa family**, rebuilt the dilapidated temple of the god **Vāyēśvara**. We are further informed that, for the daily offering to the god, a gift was made of (1) a field, and (2) two *pāīlās* on every maund of each commodity from the customs house. The grant was approved of by *sō°* (*i.e. sōlahasta*) Vadraḍā, a **Paramara**, Mam° Charaḍā, and *sō°* **Sāmala**, a **Pratihāra**. The *āchārya* in connection with this matter was **Rāma**, a *vyāsa* of the Satyapura *jñāti*. The composer of the *praśasti* was *vyā°* **Nārāyaṇadēva**. The person who wrote it out was *vyā°* **Kānhaka**, and the person who engraved it was the *sutradhāra* **Mādhava**.

It is worthy of note that Suhaḍaśalya, father of Kāmaladēvī, is called an ornament of the **Ūmaṭa** family. Ūmaṭ is still the name of a *śākhā* or subdivision of the Paramāras, and we have still two tracts of land named after them, one **Umaṭawāḍā** in Mālwā and the other **Umṭāṭi** round about Bhinmāl. As Bhinmāl is not far from Sanchōr where Pratāpasiṁha was reigning, it is more reasonable to suppose that his father-in-law was a chief of Umṭāṭi than of Umaṭawāḍā. Karpūradhārā, which had been held by the great-grandfather of Suhaḍaśalya, must be located somewhere near this Umṭāṭi. Next, Sāmala, one of the persons who approved of the grant to the god Vāyēśvara, is in the inscription called a Pratihāra. Pratīhāra must here be taken, I think, to be not a Paḍihār but a **Paḍihāriyā**, as only Paḍihāriyās are found in the southernmost parts of Mārwār, *i.e.* round about Bhinmāl and Sānchōr. Satyapura *jñāti*, to which the *āchārya* Rāma belonged, is obviously what is now known as **Sānchōrā**, a caste of **Brāhmaṇas**, who abound in the districts of Mallāṇī and Sānchōr.

TEXT.

XXVI.

1 ॥ ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ या सृष्टिः स्रष्टुराद्या [व]ह-

2 ◡[2] विधिहुतं या हविर्या च होत्री ये द्वे कालं विध-

3 —[:][3] शुतिविषयगुणा[4] या स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वं । याम[ा]-

4 हुः सर्वबीजप्रकृतिरिति यया प्राणिनः प्राणवं-

5 तः प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रपन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्ताभिर-

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[1] From the original stone.

[2] Read वहति.

[3] Read विधत्तः.

[4] Read श्रुति°.

6 ष्टाभिरीशः ।[।*]१ श्रीनीलकंठोऽवतु चाहमानप्रता-
7 पसिंहं रिपुदंतिसिंहं । गिरींद्रपुत्री सुभटस्य पु-
8 त्रीं कामलदेवीं ससुतां [पु]नातु ।[।*][२] नडूलभूमीप-
9 तिचाहमानशिखामणेर्ल[क्ष्म]णसिंहनाम्नः ॥(।)
10 अनेकधाविस्तृ[त]वंश[वृद्धेः] कुले बभौ सोभि-
11 तसूनुसाल्हः ।[।*]३ यो जात[वांत]द्दिवसावदाने[1] (।)
12 दाना[ह]सूनां यशसो◡ — — । तुरष्कबंदीकृ-
13 तवि[श्व]लोकान् श्रीमाल[त]ो मोचयति स्म धीरः
14 ॥४ — — [त्मजो][2] विक्रमसिंह आसीन्नाम श्रु[तिं]-
15 — ◡ ◡ — ◡ भोगी । यः श्रीयशोविक्रम[रागभो]-
16 गैरस्मारय[द्भूपतिवि]क्रमार्कं ।[।*]५ तदंग[जः शूरवरो]-
17 तिदानि[3] भी[मा]ग्रजन्मा कुल[कैरवेन्दुः] । सं-
18 ग्रामसिंहोऽ[भव]दुग्रवैरि[सं]ग्राम[नैराजकु][4]-
19 [लै]कनेता ।[।*]६ [त]न्नंदनो नंदति सुप्रता[प]: प्र-
20 तापसिंह[: प]रचक्रमर्द्दी । यस्मिन्नृपे सत्यपुरी-
21 [य]लोका लोकाय न स्वः स्पृहयंत्यशोकाः । [७]
22 कर्पूरधाराधरवीर[सीह](।)सूनुस्तुरंगोद्भकहे-
23 [म]वर्षी । आसीन्नृपो माकडनामधेयस्तन्नंद-
24 नोऽभूद्भुवि वैरिशल्यः ।[।]१ तस्यात्म[ज]: सुहड-
25 शल्य इति प्रसिद्धः शुद्धः समर्द्दितजनोऽधिक-
26 देशभोक्ता । देवद्विजातिबहुभक्तिपरः परो-
27 पतापी मृधे नृपतिनीतिविचक्षणोऽस्ति ॥२ त-
28 स्यात्मजा सच्चरिता प्रतापसिंहप्रिया कामल-
29 देविनाम्नी । प्रासादमेनं विधिव[त्स्व]लिंगं वाए-
30 श्वरं जीर्णकमुद्दधार ॥३

XXVII.

31 ॥ प्रासादकूपसरसां यत्फलं नवनिर्मि-
32 तौ । ततोष्टगुणमाप्नोति जीर्णोद्धारे पुनः
33 कृते ।[।*]४ स्वस्ति संवत् १४४४ [व]र्षे ज्येष्ट[5]वद्दि-
34 भृगौ चाहुआणकुलतिलकराजश्रीपाता-

[1] Read जातवांस्तद्दिवसा°.
[2] Restore तस्यात्मजो.
[3] Read °दानी.
[4] I am not certain of this reading.
[5] Read ज्येष्ठ°.

varsha of Mālava, for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 974 to 993. The invasion of **Muñjarāja** here referred to is in all probability the same as that mentioned in the Hāthuṇḍī inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa princes.[1] Therein **Dhavala** is said to have checked the further progress of [illegible] attacked Mēdapāṭa (Mewār) and destroyed its capital called **Āghāṭa.**[2] Balirāja was succeeded by **Mahēndra** also called **Mahīndu,** son of **Vigrahapāla,** who was the paternal uncle of Balirāja. As was first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn, this Mahēndra is no doubt the same as his namesake, referred to in v. 11 of the Hāthuṇḍī inscription. It speaks of Dhavala as having protected Mahēndra when he was being harassed by the army of **Durlabharāja.** This Durlabharāja can be no other than the Chaulukya king Durlabharāja, the brother and successor of Vigraharāja of the Harsha inscription.[3] Mahēndra's son was **Aśvapāla.**[4] His son was **Ahila,** who, according to the Sūndhā hill inscription, defeated the **Chaulukya** king **Bhīmadēva I.** He was succeeded by his paternal uncle, **Aṇahilla,**[5] who was a son of Mahēndra. He, too, is spoken of as having vanquished Bhīmadēva I., seized Śākambharī, slain **Sāḍha,** a general (*daṇḍ-ādhīśa*) of the **Mālava** king **Bhōja,** and defeated a **Turushka,** *i.e.* a Muḥammadan king.[6] After him came to the throne his son **Bālaprasāda.** He compelled Bhīmadēva I. to liberate from prison a king named **Kṛishṇadēva.** As shown by Professor Kielhorn, the last king is the Paramāra **Kṛishṇarāja,** son of **Dhandhuka** and grandson of **Dēvarāja,** for whom we have two inscriptions at Bhinmāl dated in A.D. 1060 and 1067. It can hardly be doubted that he must have been a brother of the Paramāra prince, **Pūrṇapāla,** who was a son of Dhandhuka and grandson of **Mahipāla,** and for whom we have the dates A.D. 1042 and 1045.[7] Both the dates and the names of the father agree with one another. Kṛishṇarāja must, therefore, be taken to be a younger brother and successor of Pūrṇapāla. The discrepancy in the names of their grandfathers—that of Kṛishṇarāja's being Dēvarāja and that of Pūrṇapāla's being Mahipāla—is not of any serious importance, as we have several instances of one and the same prince bearing more than one name, not only of identical, but also of different import.

Bālaprasāda was succeeded by his brother **Jindurāja** also known as **Jindarāja** or **Jēndrarāja.**[8] He gained a victory at Saṇḍēra, which, as I have already said, is Sāṇḍērāv in the Bālī District, Gōḍvāḍ division, Jōdhpur State (No. IV above). There is an inscription in the temple of Kāmēśvara-Mahādēva at Āuwā in the Sōjat District. It is dated **Saturday, the 15th of the dark fortnight (amāvāsyā) of Aśvayuja** (*i.e.* **Āśvina) in [Vikrama-] Saṁvat 1132,** and refers itself to the reign of Jindrapāla,[9] son of Aṇahila. Jindrapāla is the same as our Jindurāja,

[1] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LXII. pt. I. p. 311 ff.; also see above, Vol. X. p. 18.

[2] Āghāṭa is the same as Āḍ or Āhaḍ now represented by the present Udaipur station. A well-known sept of the Gēhlōts called Āhaḍiyā is named after it. The place is described by Tod in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 745.

[3] The author of the *Dvyāśrayakōśa* says that, along with his brother Nāgarāja, he attended the *svayaṁvara* of Durlabhadēvī, sister of Mahēndra, king of Nāḍōl in Mārwār. The princess chose Durlabha, and Mahēndra gave his younger sister [illegible] to Durlabha's brother, Nāgarāja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 113). The hostilities between Durlabha and [illegible] ended in matrimonial alliance, as was often the case in Rājputānā in later times. [See also above, Vol. [illegible] The Durlabharāja and Vigraharāja of the Harsha inscription were Chāhamānas—*not* Chaulukya.—Ed.]

[4] The Śiva temple of [illegible] or Āsapālēśvara at Nāḍōl (No. IX above) was apparently called after him.

[5] The Śiva temple of [illegible] at Nāḍōl (No. IX above) seems to have been built during his reign and called after him.

[6] This must refer to the invasion of Maḥmūd of Ghazni. The *Tawārikh-i-Firishtāh*, according to Tod, refers to his fight with the king of Nāḍōl (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 656 and note).

[7] [For this date of Pūrṇapāla see the *Director-General's Annual* for 1907-8, Part II. p. 226.—Ed.]

[8] In No. IX a Śiva temple called Jēndrarājēśvara is mentioned. It was built apparently during the reign of Jēndrarāja and called after him.

[9] The name engraved appears, however, to be Khindrapāla and not Jindrapāla. It is again curious that no titles whatever are added to the names of Jindrapāla and Aṇahila. The probabilities, however, are that these names are of the Chāhamāna kings referred to in the text.

that reason been replaced by Rāyapāla, one of their relatives. From No. VII. it seems that this Rāyapāla had a queen named Mānaladēvī, and at least two sons, named **Rudrapāla** and **Amṛitapāla** by her. Under him was the *rāuta* Rājadēva, son of the *rāuta* Ūdharaṇa of the Guhila family. He was a *ṭhakur* of Naḍūlaḍāgikā, which, as stated above, was the Sanskṛitised form of Nāḍlāī. In an inscription found at Nāḍōl, a certain *rāṇaka* Bhūnana is mentioned as belonging to the Karṇāṭa country and as a contemporary of Rāyapāla. This prince cannot be identified, but appears to have come to Nāḍōl to pay a friendly visit to the Chāhamāna king.

From V.E. 1203 (A.D. 1146) to 1218 (A.D. 1161) not a single inscription has been traced in Gōḍvāḍ of the Chāhamāna princes of Nāḍōl, but we have found instead no less than four records of a person who is variously called **Vaijāka**, **Vaijā**, **Vaijalladēva** and **Vayajaladēva**. He is spoken of as a *daṇḍanāyaka* or general of **Kumārapāla** and as reigning at Nāḍōl, *i.e.* exactly in the capital town of the Chāhamānas described above. This change of rule over Gōḍvāḍ may perhaps be explained as follows. We know from Gujarāt accounts that Kumārapāla invaded the Sāmbhar territory and defeated Arṇōrāja.[1] This event is alluded to in a Chitōrgaḍh inscription of Kumārapāla dated V.E. 1207,[2] and is spoken of as having taken place shortly before this date. Rāyapāla perhaps sided with Arṇōrāja and brought about Kumārapāla's indignation. And Kumārapāla might have deprived him of his territory. At Pālī in the temple of Sōmēśvara there is a much abraded inscription of the reign of this Chaulukya sovereign with the date V.E. 1209. An epigraph in a dilapidated temple at Bhāṭuṇḍ in the Bālī District is dated V. E. 1210, refers itself to the reign of Kumārapāla, and mentions his *daṇḍanāyaka* Vaijāka as being in charge of the district of Naḍūla (Nāḍōl). The temple of Mahāvīra at Sēvāḍī contains a record dated in Saṁvat 1213, which speaks of *daṁḍa°* (*i.e. daṇḍanāyaka*) Vaijā as ruling at Naḍūla. Another Jaina temple at Ghāṇērāv in the Dēsūrī District has an inscription dated the same year as the last and referring itself to the reign of the *daṁḍanāyaka* Vaijalladēva. On a lintel of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple of Bōlā or Bahuguṇa *mātā* at Bālī is engraved an epigraph which specifies the date Saṁvat 1216, makes mention of the paramount sovereign Kumārapāla and speaks of *daṁḍa°* Vayajaladēva as exercising local authority at **Naddrūla** (Nāḍōl). It will thus be seen that from about V.E. 1209 to 1216 Kumārapāla deprived Rāyapāla, or some other Chāhamāna prince of his ancestral dominions, and stationed Vaijaladēva as *daṇḍanāyaka* over that province. But, though Kumārapāla wrested Gōḍvāḍ from the Chāhamāna ruler of Nāḍōl, he was well-disposed towards Ālaṇadēva or Ālhaṇadēva, son of Aśvarāja and younger brother of Kaṭukarāja. For, an inscription in a Śiva temple at Kirāḍū-Mallāṇī (No. XII above) tells us that Ālhaṇadēva was then in possession of **Kirāṭakūpa** (Kirāḍū), **Lāṭarhada** (Rāḍdhaḍā) and **Śivā** (Sheo) and that he obtained these places through the favour of his overlord (*prabhu*) Kumārapāla.[3]

When exactly Ālhaṇadēva came into possession of his paternal dominions is not known, but certain it is that the Nāḍōl province came under his sway some year between V.E. 1216 (A.D. 1159) the last date of Vaijaladēva in Gōḍvāḍ that we know of[4] and V.E. 1218 (A.D. 1161) the date of Ālhaṇa's Nāḍōl copper-plate grant which is the earliest of his inscriptions in Gōḍvāḍ. Ālhaṇa is called Āhlādana in the Sūndhā hill inscription. He is there spoken of as having assisted the Gūrjara king every now and then. The Gūrjara king at this time was Kumārapāla; and as help was constantly given to him, it explains why Ālhaṇadēva stood high in his favour and was restored to his ancestral territory. Ālhaṇadēva is also mentioned in the Sūndhā hill inscription as having built a temple of Śiva at Naddūla and as having put down disturbances

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[1] Above, Vol. I. p. 295.

[2] *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 422.

[3] No. 133 of Professor Kielhorn's Appendix to Vol. V., above.

[4] [The *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vaijalladēva of the Chāhuyāṇa family is mentioned with the date Vikrama-Saṁvat 1231, corresponding to A.D. 1175, in a copper-plate grant of the Chaulukya king Ajayapāla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 81).—Ed.]

Muhammadan invasion took place. The *Tawārikh-i-Firishtāh* tells us that in A.H. 574, *i.e.* A.D. 1178, Muhammad Ghōrī "marched to Oocha and Moultan, and from thence continued his route through the sandy desert to Guzerat. The prince Bhīmadēva (a lineal descendant from Brahma Dew of Guzerat, who opposed Mahmood Ghiznevy), advanced with an army to resist the Mahomedans, and defeated them with great slaughter."[1] Now, at **Kirāḍū** there is, in the temple of Sōmēśvara, a mutilated inscription, which is dated in Saṁvat 1235 and refers itself to the reign of the **Chaulukya king Bhīmadēva II.** It makes mention also of his feudatory chieftain **Madanabrahmadēva** and his subordinate Tējapāla. We are further told that the image of Sōmēśvara, which was in the temple, had been broken to pieces by the Turushkas, but a new one was caused to be made and installed by Tējapāla's wife, whose name is unfortunately lost. It will be seen that the image must have been broken by **Muhammad Ghōrī.** For, the date of his expedition is A.D. 1178 or V.E. 1234-35, and the date of the Kirāḍū inscription, as we have observed, is Saṁvat 1235. There is thus a correspondence of dates. Secondly, as stated in the *Tawārikh-i-Firishtāh*, the route of Muhammad Ghōrī lay through the sandy desert. This means that on his way to Gujarāt he passed through the Mallāṇī District of the Jodhpur State, which is nothing but a *thal* or desert. And, as Kirāṭakūpa or Kirāḍū was in ancient days a place of great importance in that region, it is natural to suppose that the Muhammadan emperor captured the town and destroyed the image in the principal temple there. The *Tawārikh-i-Firishtāh* further says that Bhīmadēva II. defeated the Muhammadan army with great slaughter. Kēlhaṇa, being a feudatory of the Chaulukya family, must have gone to the help of Bhīmadēva and must have been accompanied [illegible] brother Kīrtipāla. And, as is very often the case with tributary princes, who take the [illegible] of winning a [illegible] by their overlord whom they have but assisted, both Kēlhaṇa and Kīrtipāla are represented to have vanquished the Turushkas at Kāsahrada. Now three Kāsahradas are mentioned in inscriptions, and there are at least three places which may be modern equivalents of them. Thus there is a place called Kāsindra-Pālaḍi near Ahmedābād, and this may represent the Kāsahrada of the Kapaḍvanj grant of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Kṛishṇa II. and the Kāsahrada of the Baroda grant of Dhruva II. There is again in the Sirohi State a village, at the foot of Mount Ābū, of the name of Kāyadrāṁ, which is also known as Kāsadrāṁ. With this must be identified the Kāsahrada of the inscriptions in Tejapāla's temple at Dilvāḍā on Mount Ābū. There is yet a third place named Kāsindra on the road from Dhōlkā to [illegible]. This must be the Kāsahrada of [illegible]. Which one of these is the Kāsahrada of the Sūndhā hill [illegible] the route taken by Muhammad Ghōrī after leaving Kirāḍū. In the *Taj-* [illegible] that when Quṭub-ud-Dīn left Ajmēr to direct an attack on Aṇhilvāḍā, the Hindus 'had collected under their leaders Rāī Karan and Dārābars in greater numbers "at the foot of Mount Ābū and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter." The Musalmans did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sultan Muhammad Sam Ghorī had been wounded, and it was considered a bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander.'[2] From this it is evident that Muhammad Ghōrī sustained a reverse at the foot of Mount Ābū, and Karan and Dārābars mentioned here can be no other than Kēlhaṇa and Dhārāvarsha. The Kāsahrada of the Sūndhā hill inscription 'where Kēlhaṇa and Kīrtipāla defeated a Turushka army' must, therefore, be identified with **Kāyadrāṁ** (Kāsadrāṁ). The Sūndhā hill inscription describes Kēlhaṇa as having also defeated the southern king **Bhilima,** who, as recognised by Professor Kielhorn, is the **Dēvagiri-Yādava Bhillama.** There are at least two inscriptions, which belong to the reign of this last king and which bear the date A.D. 1189. This date, it is expressly stated,

[1] Briggs' *Firishtah*, Vol. I. p. 170.
[2] Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 230.

was the third year of his reign. From this it is concluded that Bhillama came to the throne in A.D. 1187. The last date we have for Kēlhaṇa is V.E. 1249=A.D. 1192, supplied by an inscription found at **Pāladī** in the Sirohi State. Kēlhaṇa and Bhillama were thus contemporaries, and the Bhilima of the Sūndhā hill inscription can only be this Bhillama. One of Kēlhaṇa's queens is named **Mahibaladēvī** (No. XV). The name of another, *viz.* **Jālhaṇadēvī**, is given in No. XVII.

Kēlhaṇa was succeeded by his son **Jayatasīha**, for whom two inscriptions have been found, —one at **Bhinmal** and the other at **Sādaḍī**. The first is dated V.E. 1239 and calls him *mahārājaputra*, indicative of his position as heir-apparent.[1] The second gives the date V.E. 1251 and styles him *mahārājādhirāja*.[2] This shows that he became king after the death of Kēlhaṇa About three years after this date, *i.e.* in A.D. 1197, we hear of the invasion of **Quṭub-ud-Dīn Ī-bak** in Marwar. The *Tawarikh-i-Firishtāh* has the following: "Kootb-ood-Deen having recovered from his wounds pursued the besieging army to Nehrwala, taking in his way the forts of Baly and Nadole."[3] Baly, of course, refers to Pālī, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jodhpur State, and Nadole is obviously Nāḍōl. The *Taju-l-Ma-Āsir* says that "when he reached the lofty forts of Pali and Nandul, he found them abandoned and the abode of the owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musulmans."[4] This means that Nāḍōl and the surrounding district were for some time at least lost to the **Chāhamāna** family called **Naḍoliya**. An inscription found at **Achalēśvara** on Mount Ābū says that **Jaitrasiṁha** of the **Guhila dynasty** destroyed **Naḍula** and defeated a **Turushka** army.[5] From epigraphic and other records it appears that Jaitrasiṁha reigned from about V.E. 1270 to 1309. He thus comes quite close to the date when Quṭub-ud-Dīn conquered eastern Mārwār. Jaitrasiṁha, therefore, seems to have destroyed Nāḍōl when it was in the possession of the Muhammadans, and the Turushka army defeated by him must have been headed, if not actually by Quṭub-ud-Dīn, at any rate by his governor at Nāḍōl.[6] From V.E. 1265 to 1283 Gōḍvāḍ was held by a prince named **Dhaṁdhaladeva**, son of **Vīsadhavaladēva**.[7] He was no doubt, as an inscription at **Nāṇa** tells us, a Chhahama, *i.e.* I think, a **Chāhamāna**, but probably not of Kēlhaṇa's lineage. From the same inscription it seems that in V.E. 1283 he was tributary to **Bhyiva(Bhima)deva**, son of **Ajaya(ya)pala**, *i.e.* the **Chaulukya** sovereign **Bhīmadēva II.** Kēlhaṇa had, as we have seen above, a brother named Kīrtipāla, who was the originator of the Sonigara branch of the Chahamanas. From his Nāḍōl copper-plate inscription we learn that twelve villages such as Nāḍlai and others in Gōḍvāḍ had been assigned to him for maintenance by his father Ālhaṇadēva, and he must have continued to enjoy the revenues of these villages during his brother's régime also. His defeat of the Turushka army at Kasahrada has already been alluded to. In addition to it he is represented in the Sūndhā hill inscription to have conquered a **Kirāṭakūpa** chief named **Āsala**. Kirāṭakūpa is undoubtedly Kirāḍu, and Āsala was perhaps the successor of **Madanabrahma** mentioned above. It is also

[1] *History of Gujarāt* in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 474.

[2] This inscription is in the temple of Jāgēśvara, Dēsūri District, Jodhpur State. It is engraved on one of its pillars, which, no doubt, originally belonged to some temple at Nāḍōl.

[3] Briggs' *Firishtāh*, Vol. I. p. 196. [4] Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II. pp. 229-30.

[5] *Bhavnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 93; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. IV. Pt. I. p. 48.

[6] From verse 16 of the Chirvā inscription (*Wiener Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXI. p. 143 ff.) it appears that **Nāgahrada** or Nāgdā, the ancient capital of the Guhilōts, was destroyed by a Muhammadan army, when Paṁarāja son of Yōgēśvara, who was appointed a *talāra* of Nāgdā by king Padmasiṁha, fell in the battle. This event must have happened in the reign of Jaitrasiṁha, for we are distinctly told in the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* that the Turushka army burnt the whole of Mēwār, which was then held by Jayatalla, *alias* Jaitrasiṁha (Professor S. R. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1904-05 and 1905-06, pp. 20 and 22). The subsequent defeat of the Turushka army by Jaitrasiṁha is also mentioned. It was at this time perhaps that Nāḍōl was seized by him.

[7] Two inscriptions of this prince have been found, one at Nāṇā and the other at Bēlār, both in the Bāli District, Jodhpur state (*Prog. Rep. Archæol. Surv. Ind., West. Circle,* for 1908, pp. 49-50).

said about him that, although he was the lord of the Naddūla (Nāḍōl) kingdom, he established himself at **Jābālipura**, *i.e.* Jālōr, the principal town of the district of the same name in the southern part of Mārwār. According to **Mūtā Nēṇsī**, he wrested it from the **Paramāras**. Certain it is that Jālōr was in the possession of the Paramāras till A.D. 1117, as an unpublished inscription found there shows.[1] One of the inscription slabs of Kumbhakarṇa originally found at the temple of Māmādēva at Kumalgaḍh[2] informs us that the **Guhilōt prince Kumārasiṁha** expelled **Kitū**, who had occupied his country. In all the Sōnigarā chronicles **Kīrtipāla** is called Kitū, and Kumārasiṁha was only two generations prior to the Guhilōt chief **Jaitrasiṁha** for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 1213-1252. Kumārasiṁha can thus very well be a contemporary of the Chāhamāna Kīrtipāla, who must, therefore, be supposed to have carried an expedition of conquest in the Guhilōt territory.

Kīrtipāla had at least three sons and one daughter. Of the three sons, one was **Samarasiṁha** who succeeded him, and the other two were **Lākhaṇapālha** (or -pāla) and **Abhayapāla** mentioned in No. XV as the *jāgirdārs* of **Sinānava** or **Saṁnāṇaka**, which, I think, has to be identified with **Sōnāṇā**. Sōnāṇā, it will be remembered, was one of the villages granted to Kīrtipāla by Âlhaṇadēva, and Kīrtipāla further seems to have made it over during his brother's regimé to two of his sons. The name of his daughter was **Rūdaladēvī**, who, according to the Sūndhā hill inscription, built two temples to Śiva at Jābālipura (Jālōr).

After Kīrtipāla, his son Samarasiṁha, as stated above, became king. Two inscriptions of this prince have been found at Jālōr (Nos. XVIII and XIX). One of these is dated in V.E. 1239 and the other V.E. 1242. The Sūndhā hill inscription says that he built extensive ramparts on the **Kanakāchala.** In the second of the Jālōr epigraphs just alluded to, the following words occur : *śrī-Jābālipurīya-Kāṁchanagiri-gaḍhasy-ōpari*, etc. From this it is plain that **Kāṁchanagiri** or Kanakāchala was the name of the hill, on which the fort of Jālōr is situated. When Kīrtipāla carved out a kingdom for himself, he established his capital at Jālōr, whose fortifications were commenced by him. But as he did not live long after it, this work had to be carried out by his son Samarasiṁha. The Sūndhā hill inscription also speaks of him as having weighed himself against gold and having afterwards founded the city of **Samarapura,** which has not yet been identified. A copper-plate charter of the **Chaulukya sovereign Bhīmadēva II.,** dated V.E. 1263, makes mention of his queen **Līlādēvī**, who is spoken of as *Chāhu° rāṇa Samarasīhasutā*,[3] *i.e.* the daughter of the Chōhān *rāṇā* Samarasīha. Professor Kielhorn was the first to identify him with the Mārwār Chāhamāna king of that name.

The Sūndhā hill inscription represents his son **Udayasiṁha** to have succeeded Samarasiṁha. But Udayasiṁha was not his eldest son, because a Mount Âbū inscription speaks of **Mānavasiṁha,** who is called a son of Samarasiṁha and the elder brother of Udayasiṁha.[4] Up to the time of Samarasiṁha, the power of the Sōnigarā family had been confined to the Jālōr District and the territory intervening between it and Kirāḍū. And it was Udayasiṁha who greatly extended these dominions, which now included the districts originally held by the Nāḍōliyā branch. For, in the Sūndhā hill inscription, amongst the places held by him, Naddūla (Nāḍōl) is distinctly mentioned. The other places named are Jāvālipura, Māṇḍavyapura, Vāgbhaṭamēru, Sūrāchaṇḍa, Rāṭahrada, Khēḍa, Rāmasainya, Śrīmāla, Ratnapura and Satyapura. Almost all these places have been identified by Professor Kielhorn. **Jāvālipura** is **Jālōr, Māṇḍavyapura Maṇḍōr,** 6 miles north of Jodhpur ; **Vāgbhaṭamēru** is Bāḍmēr, not

[1] This inscription stone is in the *tōpkhānā* at Jālōr and is put up upside down. This inscription will shortly be published by me.

[2] These slabs have now been deposited in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 195, pl. II., l. 1.

[4] Above, Vol. IX. p. 80.

however the place which at present goes by the name, but **Junā Bāḍmēr** or simply Junā, as it is also called, about 12 miles south-west of the modern Bāḍmēr.[1] **Sūrāchaṁda** is, of course, **Surāchand** in the Sānchor District. **Rāṭahrada** has its name still surviving in **Rāddhaḍā,** by which the district round about Nagar-Guḍhā in Mallāṇī is still popularly known.[2] **Khēḍa** is obviously the place of the same name in Mallāṇī, the ancient capital of that province. **Rāmasainya** is **Rāmson, Śrīmāla Bhinmāl,** and **Ratnapura Ratanpur,** all in the **Jaswantpurā** District. And, lastly, **Satyapura** is **Sānchor.** The Sūndhā hill inscription also speaks of Udayasiṁha as having put an end to **Sindhurāja** and as not having been conquered by the Gurjara kings. Sindhurāja may either be a ruler of Sindh, as Professor Kielhorn takes it, or an individual prince of that name. In the case of the latter supposition, he may be identified with the prince of that name, whose son **Śaṅkha** was defeated near **Cambay** by **Vastupāla** during the Vāghēlā **king Lavaṇaprasāda's** reign. Udayasiṁha is also described in a general way as having curbed the pride of the Turushka. This must simply be taken to mean that he had come into hostilities with the Muḥammadans, and not necessarily that he obtained any decisive victories over them. The *Tawārikh-i-Firishtah* refers to it as follows: "Soon after this event, Oodye-Sa, the tributary raja of Jalwar, having refused to make the usual payments, the king was induced to march and reduce him to obedience."[3] The king here alluded to is **Shams-ud-Din Altamash,** and **Oodye-Sa of Jalwar** is unquestionably **Udayasiṁha of Jalōr.** The same event is described in greater detail in the *Tāju-l Ma-Āsir* as follows: 'After some time, they represented to his Majesty that the inhabitants of the fort of Jālewar (Jālor) had determined to revenge the blood which had been shed, "and once or twice mention of the evil deeds and improprieties of that people was made before the sublime throne. Shams-ud-din accordingly assembled a large army, and headed by "a number of the pillars of the state, such as Ruknu-d-din Hamza', Izzu-d-din Bakhtiyār Nasiru-d-din Mardān Shāh, Nasiru-d-din 'Ali and Badru-d-din Saukartigin," valiant men and skilful archers, "who could in a dark night hit with their arrows the mirror on the forehead of an elephant." "The king took his way towards Jālewar by the aid of God," "and by reason of the scantiness of water and food it was a matter of danger to traverse that desert, where one might have thought that nothing but the face of demons and sprites could be seen, and the means of escape from it were not even written on the tablet of providential design."

"Udi Sah, the accursed, took to the four walls of Jālewar, an exceedingly strong fortress, the gates of which had never been opened by any conqueror." When the place was invested by Shams-ud-din, Udi Sah requested some of the chiefs of the royal army to intercede for his forgiveness. While the terms of his surrender were under consideration, two or three of the bastions of his fort were demolished. He came, "with his head and feet naked, and placed his forehead on the earth" and was received with favour. The Sultān granted him his life, and restored his fortress, and in return the Rāi presented respectfully a hundred camels and twenty horses, in the name of tribute and after the custom of service. "The Sultān then returned to Dehli. . . . . ."[4] This event came to pass between A.D. 1210 and 1216.

We have seen above that **Udayasiṁha** is spoken of in the Sūndhā hill inscription as not having been defeated by the Gūrjara kings. This no doubt refers to the fact mentioned in the *Kīrtikaumudī* that four kings from Mārwar conspired to advance against **Lavaṇaprasāda** while from the south the **Yādava** sovereign **Siṁghaṇa** was marching against him. The *Kīrtikaumudī* further says that the **Vaghēlā** prince succeeded in driving back the Mārwār chiefs, of whom **Udayasiṁha** must undoubtedly have been one. A few years later, Lavaṇaprasāda's son, Vīra-

[1] [On page 69 above, Bāhaḍamēru is identified with this Bāḍmēr.—Ed.]

[2] See page 44 above.

[3] Briggs' *Firishtāh*, Vol. I. p. 207.

[4] Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 238.

dhavala, had been placed in almost the same predicament, as we learn from the *Hammīra-mada-mardana*, when Siṁhaṇa again marched against him on one side, the **Turushka** called **Mīla-chchhīkāra** on another, and **Dēvapāla, king of Mālwā**, on the third. The kings of **Marudēśa** were on the point of joining the Turushka army, when Vīradhavala at once marched and won them over to his side. The names of these kings are **Sōmasiṁha, Udayasiṁha**, and **Dhārāvarsha**.[1] Of these, Udayasiṁha is doubtless the Chāhamāna chief of Jālōr.

A manuscript of Rāmachandra's *Nirbhayabhīmavyāyōga* has the following:

Saṁvat 1306 varshē Bhādravā-vadi 6 Ravāv=ady=ēha Śrī-mahārājakula-Śrī-Udayasiṁha-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē.[2]

It will be perceived at a glance that the Udayasiṁha here referred to is the Chāhamāna prince Udayasiṁha, for whom we have inscriptions with dates ranging from V.E. 1262 to 1306. Similarly, at the end of his work entitled *Vivēkavilāsa*, Jinadatta tells us that he wrote it for the gratification of **Dhanapāla of the Vāyaḍa family, who was looked upon as son by** Dēvapāla, the treasury minister of **Udayasiṁha of the Chāhvāna dynasty and the lord of** Javālipura.[3] It can hardly be doubted that the prince here alluded to is the Chāhamāna Udayasiṁha of Jābālipura (Jalōr).

Udayasiṁha's queen was **Prahlādanadēvī**, who bore to him two sons, **Chāchigadēva** and **Chāmuṇḍarāja**. From Bhinmāl Inscription No. XIII, we learn that Udayasiṁha had one more son at least, *viz*. **Vāhaḍasīha**.[4] From other accounts it appears that he had also a daughter. For, it is stated by **Rājaśēkhara** in his *Prabandhachaturviṁśati* and by **Harshagaṇi** in *Vastupālacharitra* that the **Vāghēlā king Vīradhavala** had two sons, *viz*. **Vīrama** and **Vīsala**. The cause of the latter was espoused by **Vastupāla**, and the former had to flee for refuge to his father-in-law Udayasiṁha, chief of Jābāli, but was treacherously murdered at the instigation of Vastupāla.[5]

Udayasiṁha was succeeded by his son Chāchigadēva. In the Sūndhā hill inscription he is described as "destroying the roaring **Gūrjara lord Vīrama**, hating the enemy **Śalya**, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking **Pātuka**, depriving **Saṅga** of his colour, and a thunder-bolt to the mountain, *viz*. the furious **Nahara**." Vīrama, as pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, is doubtless the son of Vīradhavala just mentioned. Perhaps he was assassinated by Chāchiga at the instigation of Vastupāla during his father Udayasiṁha's reign. Śalya may be, as suggested by the learned doctor, the prince of the same name mentioned in verse 19 of the Ḍabhōī inscription as an enemy of Lavaṇaprasāda.[6] Pātuka is perhaps a *dēśī* form of the Sanskritised name **Pratāpa**. The only Pratāpa, who, I think, can be a contemporary of Chāchiga, is his cousin, who was the son of Mānavasiṁha, the eldest brother of Udayasiṁha. Saṅga is perhaps **Saṅgaṇa, a ruler of Vanthalī** near Junāgaḍh, who was a brother-in-law of Vīradhavala and was slain by him.[7]

Of the reign of Chāchigadēva five inscriptions have been found. The earliest is engraved in the temple of *mātā* on the Sūndhā hill in the Jaswantpurā District. It is dated in the **akshaya-tṛitiyā of the month of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319**. The second is dated

[1] Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1904-05 and 1905-06, p. 16 ff; Dhārāvarsha and Sōmasiṁha were, of course, Paramāra kings and were father and son. Sōmasiṁha was, in all likelihood, the *yuvarāja* at that time and had some share in the administration.

[2] Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 81.

[3] Dr. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1883-84, p. 156.

[4] *History of Gujarat* in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 482; here Chāmuṇḍarāja is also referred to.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 190; Dr. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1883-84, p. 156.

[6] Above Vol. I, page 23.

[7] *History of Gujarat* in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Pt. I. p. 200.

V.E. 1326. It was found by me at Sēvāḍī, but was originally lying at Karēḍā in Mewār, doubtless Karahēḍā mentioned therein. No less than three of his records have been discovered at Bhinmāl, with the dates V.E. 1328, 1333 and 1334. In the last inscription are mentioned his brothers Vāhaḍasīha and Chāmuṇḍarāja, the last of whom has, as we have already seen, been referred to in the Sūndhā hill inscription.

From an inscription originally found at Buḍhatrā but now deposited at the Ajmēr museum it appears that Chāchigadēva or **Chācha**, as he is there called, had a queen named **Lakshmīdēvī** from whom he had a daughter called **Rūpādēvī**.[1] The latest date we have for Chāchigadēva is V.E. 1334, and after it we find inscriptions of a king who is named **Sāmaṁtasiṁha**, **Sāmvatasiṁha** or **Sāmyantasiṁha** with dates ranging from V.E. 1339 to 1353. Unfortunately no epigraph has been found which tells us how he was related to his predecessor Chāchigadēva. But all the bardic chronicles that I have seen in Mārwār are unanimous in saying that Sāmaṁtasiṁha was a son of Chāchigadēva. He was thus a brother of Rūpādēvī, to whose reign her inscription belongs. The last of Sāmaṁtasiṁha's records dated V.E. 1353 is interesting (No. XXIII). It expressly refers itself to the conjoint reign of **Sāmaṁtasiṁhadēva** and **Kānhaḍadēva.** The same thing is done in another inscription found at **Chōhṭaṇ** and noted in connection with No. XXIII. Bardic chronicles tell us that the latter was a son of the former. Kānhaḍadēva must, therefore, have been *yuvarāja* or heir-apparent since V.E. 1353, the date of the latter inscription. No inscription has as yet come to light of this prince when he was on the throne. But he is twice referred to in the *Tawārikh-i-Firishtāh.* While speaking of the conquests, in A.D. 1304, of **Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany**, a chieftain of **Alā-ud-Dīn**, it says: "Nehr Dew, Raja of Jalwar, panic-struck at the rapid progress of Ein-ool-Moolk, surrendered that place without opposition."[2] I am informed by Munshi Devi Prasad that for "Nehr Dew" the published Persian text of the *Tawārikh-i-Firishtāh* has Gātar Dev, which, with a slight change of diacritical marks, can be read Kānir Dēv. **Kanir Dev of Jalwar** can be no other than **Kānhaḍadēva**, son of Sāmaṁtasiṁha, of Jālōr. For about four years he remained a feudatory of Alā-ud-Din. The account of his death and the capture of Jālōr are given in the same work as follows: 'It is related that the Raja of Jalwar, Nehr Dew (Kanir Dev), as has been stated above, resided at the court of Dehly. One day the king was boasting, that at the present day no raja of Hindoostan dared to oppose his arms; on which Nehr Dew, in the plenitude of folly, replied, "I will suffer death, if I do not myself raise an army that shall defeat any attempt of the king's troops to take the fort of Jalwar." The king directed him to quit the court, and finding he was collecting troops, ordered a division of the army to besiege Jalwar; and the more to show his contempt for **Nehr Dew**, placed the troops under the command of one of the slave girls of the palace, called **Gool Behisht** "the Rose of Heaven." She evinced great bravery and nearly succeeded in taking the fort, but she fell sick and died. The siege was then conducted by her son **Shaheen.** Nehr Dew quitted the fort and attacking the royal army, slew Shaheen, with his own hand, and the Mahomedans retreated four days successively towards Dehly. Alla-ood-Deen, vexed at this repulse, sent strong reinforcements under **Kumal-ood-Deen,** a general of distinction, who succeeded at last in taking Jalwar by storm, and made a dreadful slaughter of the garrison, putting Nehr Dew and his family to the sword, and plundering all his treasures. The news of this event created great joy at the capital."[3] The exact date of this event is not specified in the *Tawārikh-i-Firishtāh*, but the latter implies that it must have come to pass shortly before A.D. 1309.

According to the **chronicle of Mūtā Nēṇsī**, which is looked upon as of the highest authority throughout Mārwār, **Chāchigadē** had three sons, *viz.* **Sāṁvatasī Rāval, Chāhaḍadē,** and **Chaṁdra.** Sāṁvatasī's son was **Kānhaḍadē, who** was the lord of Jālōr and was also

[1] Above, Vol. IV. p. 313. [2] Briggs' *Firishtāh,* Vol. I. p. 362. [3] *Ibid.* p. 370.

styled the tenth Salagarāma (Śāligrāma) and Gugulinātha. He and his son Virama died three days after fighting with the Pātasāha (*i.e.* Alā-ud-Dīn), who then captured Jālōr. This event happened in V.E. 1368. Jinaprabhasūri, author of the *Tīrthakalpa*, tells us that the temple of Mahāvīra at Satyapura (Sāñchōr) was polluted by Alā-ud-Dīn's army and the image carried off in V.E. 1367. As Sāñchōr is not far off from Jālōr, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the army, which captured Jālōr, polluted the temple of Sāñchōr also. And as the sack of this Jaina fane occurred in the lifetime of Jinaprabhasūri, the date given by him must be accepted as correct. Between this and the date of the capture of Jālōr given by Mūtā Nēṇsī, the difference is but one year, which is of no consequence, for, as we learn from the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishtāh*, the siege of Jālōr lasted for a long time, and it is possible that, while the siege continued, a detachment of the army proceeded to Sāñchōr for pillaging the temple whose fame must have spread all over southern Mārwār. The date 1368 V.E.=1311 A.D. may thus be taken to be the year when the fort of Jālōr fell into the hands of Alā-ud-Dīn.

Mūtā Nēṇsī says that, when Jālōr was on the point of being taken, Kānhaḍadēva managed to send off his brother Māladēva from the fort in order that the Sōnigarā family might not be completely destroyed. Māladēva continued to live a migratory life for some time, but soon succeeded in winning the favour of the Muḥammadan emperor, who was pleased to assign to him the fort of Chitōr which remained in his possession for seven years. After describing the flight of the Guhilōt prince Ratnasiṁha from Delhi, the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishtāh* says as follows: "At length, finding it of no use to retain Chittoor, the king ordered the Prince Khizr Khan to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew (sister's son) of the Raja. The Hindu prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chittoor as tributary to Alla-ood-Deen during the rest of his reign. He sent annually large sums of money, besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot."[1] Abool Fazal, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, gives the same account, but mentions Māldēva as the name of the Hindu prince. Māladēva is mentioned by Tod also in connection with the fall of Chitōrgaḍh, with regard to which he says that Alā-ud-Dīn "delivered the city in charge to Maldeo, the chief of Jhalor, whom he had conquered and enrolled amongst his vassals."[2] Mūtā Nēṇsī tells us that Māladēva had three sons, *viz.* Jēsō, Kītapāla and Vaṇavīra. Of Jēsō we know absolutely nothing. As regards Kītapāla, he may perhaps be the same as the Chāhumāna Śrī-Kītuka, whom together with Alā-ud-Dīn, Rāṇā Bhuvanasiṁha is represented to have conquered in the Rāṇpur inscription.[3] Vaṇavīra, the third son of Māladēva is no doubt the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Vaṇavīradēva of the Kōṭ-Sōlaṅkiyā inscription (No. XXIV), dated V.E. 1394 (A.D. 1338). Both Māladēva and Vaṇavīra are referred to by Tod while speaking about the marriage of the widowed daughter of the former with Rāṇā Hammīra. Tod has also described how, with the help of his wife and a scribe whom he had obtained as part of the dower, Hammīra succeeded in making himself master of his ancestral fort, Chitōr. He further says that "Bunbeer, the son of Maldeo, offered to serve Hamir, who assigned the districts of Neemutch, Jeerun, Ruttunpur, and the Kairar, to maintain the family of his wife in becoming dignity. . . . . Bunbeer shortly after carried Bhynsrore by assault, and this ancient possession guarding the Chumbul was again added to Mewār." It is impossible to say how far this account, based solely on bardic chronicles, is true. It is indeed curious how Gōḍvāḍ, which comprises Kōṭ-Sōlaṅkiyā where Vaṇavīra's inscription was found, is not mentioned amongst the provinces assigned to him by Hammīra. It is also

[1] Briggs' *Firishtāh*, Vol. II. p. 363.

[2] *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 248. I do not know what authority is forthcoming in support of Tod's statement that Maldeo (Māladēva) was the Chief of Jhalore (Jālōr), though this is by no means impossible.

[3] *Bhavnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 114.

Lakshmaṇa (son of Vākpatirāja of Śākambhari).
V. S. 1024-1039.

Sōbhita.
Balirāja.

Vigrahapāla.
Mahēndra.

Aśvapāla.
Ahila

Bālaprasāda.

Anahi

Prithvipāla.
Ratnapāla.
V. S. 1176.
Rāyapāla.
V. S. 1189-1202.

By Padmalladēvī.
Sahajapāla.

Rudrapāla.

By Mānalad...

A

DĒVDĀ BRANCH.

Mānavasiṁha (Mahaṇasi...
Pratāpa.
Vijaḍa-Daśasyandana
m. Nāmalladēvī.

Lāvaṇyakarṇa (Lūṇiga).
Tējasiṁha.
V. S. 1387-1392.
Kānhaḍadēva.
V. S. 1394.

Tihuṇāka.

Luṇṭiga (Luṇḍha).

Lakshmaṇa.

Kānhaḍad...
Viramade...

* In the
† These a

inexplicable how the Kōṭ-Sōlaṅkiyā inscription referred itself to the reign of Vaṇavīradēva alone, if the latter was subordinate to Hammīra.

Mūtā Nēṇsī's chronicle informs us that Vaṇavīra's son was **Raṇavīra** or **Raṇadhīra**. Of the latter an inscription (No. XXV), has been found at Nāḍlāī in the temple of Jādvājī on a hillock close by. It specifies the date V.E. 1443 (A.D. 1387), and speaks of **Raṇavīradēva**, son of **Vaṇavīradēva** of the **Chāhamāna** lineage as then reigning. According to **Mūtā Nēṇsī**, Raṇavīra had two sons, *viz.* **Kelaṇa** and **Rājadhara**. The latter is represented to have been killed in V.E. 1482 while fighting with **Rāva Raṇamalla**. The same event appears to be alluded to in the following words of Tod about this prince, whom he calls **Rinmul**: "With the forces of Mewar added to his own, under pretence of conveying a daughter to the Viceroy of Ajmer, he introduced his adherents into that renowned fortress, the ancient capital of the Chohans, putting the garrison to the sword, and thus restored it to Mewar."[1]

Here closes my account of the **Sonigarā** dynasty. Sōnigarā is a *śākhā* or division of the Chōhans, and derives its name from **Songar**, *i.e.* **Suvarṇagiri**, by which the fort hill of Jālōr was known. We have seen above that Kīrtipāla, son of Ālhaṇa, established himself at Jālōr. And consequently all the Sōnigaras trace their descent from **Kīrtipāla**, who is known by the abbreviated form Kītu in their records. The descendants of Chōhān kings who preceded Kīrtipāla are called **Naḍoliyas**, very few of whom are now found in Mārwār. They are now settled, I am told, in the Palanpur Agency at such places as Thirād and others. A third *śākhā* of the Mārwār Chahamānas was the **Dēvḍā**, to which the present prince of Sirohi belongs. It sprang from **Manavasiṁha**, *alias* **Mahaṇasiṁha**, the eldest son of **Samarasiṁha** and the grandson of Kīrtipāla. All the Chāhamāna inscriptions found on and round about Ābū belong to this dynasty. There is yet a fourth sub-division of the Mārwār Chōhāns, which is known as **Sāñchōra**. They were unquestionably connected with Sānchōr, in which district they are still found in large numbers. And it cannot be seriously doubted that Nos. XXVI. and XXVII. are records of this dynasty. They are dated in V.E. 1444 and belong to the reign of Chahuana **Pratapasiṁha**, also called **Pātā**. A history of five generations is here given, and we are even told that they belonged to the family of **Lakshmaṇasiṁha, king of Naḍūla**. But beyond saying that it was one of the branches sprung from Lakshmaṇa, we are not informed how exactly they were connected with the Sōnigarā *śākhā* and whence they branched off. Mūtā Nēṇsī, however, gives the following genealogy of the **Sāñchōrā Chōhāns**: (1) **Rāva** Lakhaṇa, (2) Bali, (3) Sōhi, (4) **Mahanda Rāva**, (5) **Aṇahala**, (6) **Jinda Rāva**, (7) **Āsa Rāva**, (8) Māṇaka-Rāva, (9) Alhaṇa, (10) **Vijaisī**, who captured Sāñchōr, (11) his son Padama-sī, (12) his son Sōbhrama, (13) his son Salō, (14) his son Vīkāma-sī, and (15) his son Pātō. It will be seen from this account that it was Vijaisī, who first made himself master of Sāñchōr. And amongst the names that follow his may be recognised those given in Nos. XXVI. and XXVII. Thus Sōbhrama, Salō, Vīkama-sī and Pātō of Mūtā Nēṇsī's list are **Sōbhita, Sālha, Vikramasiṁha**, and **Pratapasiṁha**. The order of succession also is correct except for the omission of the name of Saṅgrāmasiṁha, father of Pratāpasiṁha. Mūtā Nēṇsī's account again agrees with the inscription in deriving the descent of these princes from Lakshmaṇa, but further gives the additional information that the founder of the Sāñchōrā branch of the Chōhāns as such was Vijaisī, apparently son of **Ālhaṇa**. There appears to be a little confusion in the order of succession between **Lakshmaṇa** and Vijaisī as given by Mūtā Nēṇsī, but there is no difficulty in recognising Ālhaṇa to be the name of that Chōhān prince, who was father of Kēlhaṇa and Kīrtipāla. Just as his son Kītipāla seized Jālōr, established himself there, and became the founder of a Chohān branch called Sōnigarā, so another son, named Vijaya-sī, appears to have captured Sāñchōr, where he reigned and originated the Sāñchōrā line.

[1] *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II. p. 15.

No. 5.—PALITANA PLATES OF DHARASENA II.; [GUPTA-]SAMVAT 252.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These plates are one of seven sets of copper-plates which were discovered some 40 years ago in an underground chamber at **Palitānā** in Kāṭhiāvār, and which now belong to the **State** of Palitānā. Like the plates of Siṁhāditya (No. 2 above), they were first described by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXXIX. p. 130, No. V, and I edit the inscription on them from two sets of ink-impressions, prepared by Dr. Vogel's clerk and placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, to whom Mr. W. C. Tudor Owen, I.C.S., Administrator of Palitānā, had kindly lent the original plates.

These are **two copper-plates**, measuring, according to Mr. Venkayya, 11⅛ inches in breadth and 7⅞ inches in height. Each plate bears 18 lines of writing on its inner side. There are two ring-holes at the bottom of the first plate and at the top of the second, but it is impossible to say whether the existing seal belongs to this or to one of the other five Maitraka grants discovered along with it.[1]

The writing on the plates is well preserved, and the **alphabet** is of the usual Valabhī type. The letter *ē* occurs in *ēta* (l. 29) and *Ēkalika* (l. 24). The sign of *jihvāmūlīya* is employed once (l. 21). The date (l. 36) is expressed in **numerical symbols.**

The **language** is Sanskṛit prose; two verses from the *Mahābhārata* are quoted near the end (l. 35 f.). The rules of *sandhi* are frequently disregarded, especially in the grant portion, and the whole inscription teems with orthographical mistakes of every description. The *anusvāra* is replaced by guttural *ṅ* in *siṅha* (twice in l. 7), *i* by *yi* in *yiva* (l. 5), the vowel *ṛi* by *ru* in *pitru* (l. 23) and by *ri* in *krita* (ll. 3, 36), etc. The doubling of *chh* after short vowels or the preposition *ā* is disregarded throughout (ll. 3, 29, 33, 34 (twice), 35), and *ttva* is replaced by *tva* in *tatva* (l. 8) and *svatva* (for *sattva,* l. 12). The following **Prākṛit** forms deserve to be noted:—*panti* for *paṅkti* (l. 4), *Māhēśara* for *Māhēśvara* (l. 16), *viśadhika* for *viṁśatyadhika* (l. 26), *triśadhika* for *triṁśadadhika* (l. 27), *dvātriśa* for *dvātriṁśat* (l. 26), *varisha* for *varsha* (l. 35), *dariśayitā* for *darśayitā* (l. 20), *prāpiya* (l. 28) or *prāpīya* (ll. 24, 26) for *prāpya*, and *sapariyyā* for *saparyyā* (l. 11).

The inscription records a grant of land by the **Maitraka** king **Dharasēna II. of Valabhī** and is dated on the very same *tithi* of the same year as four other grants of the same king.[2] The panegyrical introduction is practically identical with that of all other published grants of Dharasēna II. The only point worth mentioning is that the name of his grandfather is spelt **Dharapaḍa** (l. 11), while his remaining grants read either Dharapaṭṭa or Dharapaḍḍa.[3]

The grant portion runs as follows:—

(Line 1.) From **Valabhī,**—

(L. 21.) the fervent worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the glorious *Mahārāja* **Dharasēna (II.),** being in good health, commands all (*officials*), (*viz.*) *āyuktakas*, *viniyuktakas*, *draṅgikas*, *mahattaras*, irregular and regular soldiers, *dhruvādhikaraṇikas*, *dāṇḍapāśikas*, *chōrod-dharaṇikas*, *rājasthānīyas*, *kumārāmātyas*, etc. and others according as they are concerned:—

(L. 23.) "Be it known to you that, in order to increase the spiritual merit of (*My*) mother and father, and in order to attain rewards in this (*world*) and in the next, I have granted:—

(L. 24.) "180 *pādāvartas*,[4] (*held by*) Chari (?), on the north-eastern boundary of the village

[1] See Mr. Jackson's remarks, *loc. cit.*, bottom of page.

[2] Nos. 469-472 of Prof. Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions.*

[3] *Gupta Inscr.* plate xxiv. l. 10; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 72, plate, l. 11.

[4] On this term see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 305, note 21, and above, Vol. III. p. 323, note 3.

Nāṭyōṭaka belonging to[1] the [Baṁvū]vānaka district (*sthalī*),[2] and in the west of the field of Dāraka in the village **Ēkalika**, and in the north of the field of Āditya; 120 *pādāvartas*, and the Nimba pond (*vāpī*) containing[3] 32 *pādāvartas*, in the east of the road on the north-western boundary (*of Nāṭyōṭaka*); 130 *pādāvartas*, held by[4] Gōksha, on both banks of the (*river*) **Vatsa-vahaka**[5] and within the upper part of the Khaṇḍabhēdaka tank (*taṭāka*) on the south-western boundary of **Dē[va]rakshitapāṭaka** belonging to the **Nimbakūpa** district (*sthalī*); 100 *pādāvartas*, held by Dhārmika, on the northern boundary of the village **Chitrakasthalya** belonging to the **Kadambapadra** district (*sthalī*); and the Avatara pond (*vāpī*), held by Kōdhaka, on the eastern boundary of the ground[6] of **Kadambapadra**;—

(L. 29.) "this (*land*), with the *udraṅga*, with the *uparikara*, with the *vāta-bhūta-dhānya-hiraṇyādēya*, with (*the right to*) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, according to the maxim of *bhūmichchhidra*, to the two Brāhmaṇas Rōgha and Śyēna of the Vājasanēya-Mādhyandina (*school*) and of the Kauśika *gōtra*, for the performance of the rites of the five great sacrifices, (*viz.*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, and *atithi*, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, and the earth shall exist, to be enjoyed by (*his*) sons, grandsons, and (*further*) descendants, with libations of water, as a *brahmadēya*."

Then there follow the usual admonitions, and two verses of Vyāsa. The last line runs:—

"(*This is*) the signature of Myself, the *Mahārāja Śrī*-**Dharasēna**. (*This edict was*) written by the *sandhivigrahādhikṛita* **Skandabhaṭa**. The *dū[taka]* (*was*) **Chirbira**. **The year 252, the 15th (tithi) of the dark (fortnight) of Vaiśākha.**"

The date has to be referred to the Gupta-Valabhī era of A.D. 319, and the specified month places the record in **A.D. 571**. The *dūtaka*, Chirbira, is mentioned in five other grants of Dharasēna II.[7] The writer, Skandabhaṭa, served both **Dharasēna II.**[8] and his father and predecessor **Guhasēna**.[9] I am unable to identify the geographical names mentioned in the grant.

TEXT.[10]

First Plate.

1 [ओं][11] स्वस्त[12] [॥*] वलभीत[:*] प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां [13]मैत्रकाणांमतुलबलस-
पत्नमण्डल[ा]भोगसं(स)क्तसंप्रह[ा*]रशतलब्धप्रता-
2 प[:*] [प्र]तापोपनतदानम[ा*]नार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जिता[नु*]रागोनुरक्तमौलभृतमित्रश्रोणी-
बलावास(॥)राज्यश्री[:*][14] परममाहेश्वर:

[1] The gerundive *prāpya* (spelt *prāpiya* or *prāpīya* in this grant) is synonymous with *antargata*; it occurs again in ll. 26 and 28. Compare above, Vol. III. p. 323, note 2.

[2] The same term is found in other Valabhī grants. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 212, text line 23; Vol. VI. p. 13, text l. 5; Vol. XIV. p. 330, text l. 23; Vol. XV. p. 187 f.; *Bhavnagar Inscr.* p. 37, text l. 6.

[3] For *parisara*, 'extent or area of a pond,' see *Gupta Inscr.* p. 166, text l. 25; above, Vol. IV. p. 80, text l. 53; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 239, text l. 6; *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 299, text l. 20 f.

[4] For *pratyaya*, 'holding,' see *Gupta Inscr.* p. 170, note 5; above, Vol. IV. p. 80, text ll. 55 and 61; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 205, text l. 16, and Vol. XIV. p. 330, text ll. 23-25; *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 299, text ll. 17 and 19.

[5] Compare Plūchhakūpikā-vaha, above, Vol. IV. p. 80, text ll. 55 and 59.

[6] For *vatala* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 15, text l. 11; Vol. IX. p. 239, text l. 4; Vol. XIV. p. 330, text l. 25; Vol. XV. p. 187, note 9.

[7] *Gupta Inscr.* p. 167; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 70; Vol. VIII. p. 303; Vol. XV. p. 188; *Bhavnagar Inscr.* p. 37.

[8] *Gupta Inscr.* p. 167; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 12; Vol. VII. pp. 70 and 73; Vol. VIII. p. 303; Vol. XV. p. 188; *Bhavnagar Inscr.* p. 37.

[9] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 175, and Vol. V. p. 207.

[10] From ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.

[11] Expressed by a symbol.

[12] Read स्वस्ति.

[13] Read मैत्रकाणाम°.

[14] Read °श्रेणी°.

3 श्रीसेनापेतिभटार्क्कस्तस्य[1] सुतस्तत्पादरजोरुणावनतपवित्रिक्रितशिरा[:*][2] शिरावनत-
शत्रुचूडामणिप्रभाविछु-[3]

4 रितपदन्खपन्तिदिधितिदीनानाथक्रिपणजनोपजीव्यमानविभव[:*][4] पर[म*]माहेश्वर:
श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनस्तस्यानु-

5 जस्त[त्*]पादाभिप्रणामप्रस्ततस्ततरविमलमौलिमणिर्म्म(ा)न्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानध-
र्म्मा[5] धर्म्मराज यिव[6] वि[हि]तविन-

6 यव्यवस्थापद्धतरखिलभुवनमण्डलाभगैकस्वामिना[7] परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहितराज्या-
भिषकमहा[8] विश्राणनाव-

7 पूतराजश्री[:*] परममाहेश्वर[9] महाराजश्रीद्रोणसिह्[:*] सिह्[10] इव तस्यानुज[:*]
स्वभुजबलपराक्रमेण परगजघ-

8 टानीकानामकविजयि[11] शरणेषिणां[12] शरणमवबोद्धा शास्त्रार्त्थतत्वाना[13] कल्प-
तररिव[14] सुहृ[त्*]प्रणयिना[15] यथाभि-

9 लषितकामफलोपभोगद[:*] परमभागवत[:*] श्रीमहाराजध्रुवसेनस्तस्यानुजस्त-
च्चरणार[वि]न्दप्रणतिप्रविधता-[16]

10 शेषकल्मष: सुविशुद्धस्वचरितोदकक्षालित(ा)सकलकलिकलंक: प्रसभनिर्ज्जितारति-
पक्षप्रथितमहिमां[17] पर-

11 मादित्यभक्त[:*] श्रीमहाराजधरपडस्तस्य[ा*]त्मजस्तत्पाद(ा)सपरिय्याधाप्तपुण्योद-
य[:*][18] शैशवा[त्*] प्रभृत[19] खड्गद्वितिय-[20]

12 बाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितस्वत्वनिकष:[21] तत्प्रभाव(ा)प्रणताराति-
चूड[ा]रत्नप्रभासंस-

13 क्तसव्यपादनखरश्मिसंहति[:*] सकलस्मृतिप्रणितमार्गसम्यत्परिपालनप्रजाहृदय-
र[ञ्ज]नादन्वर्त्थराजशब्दो[22] [रू]-

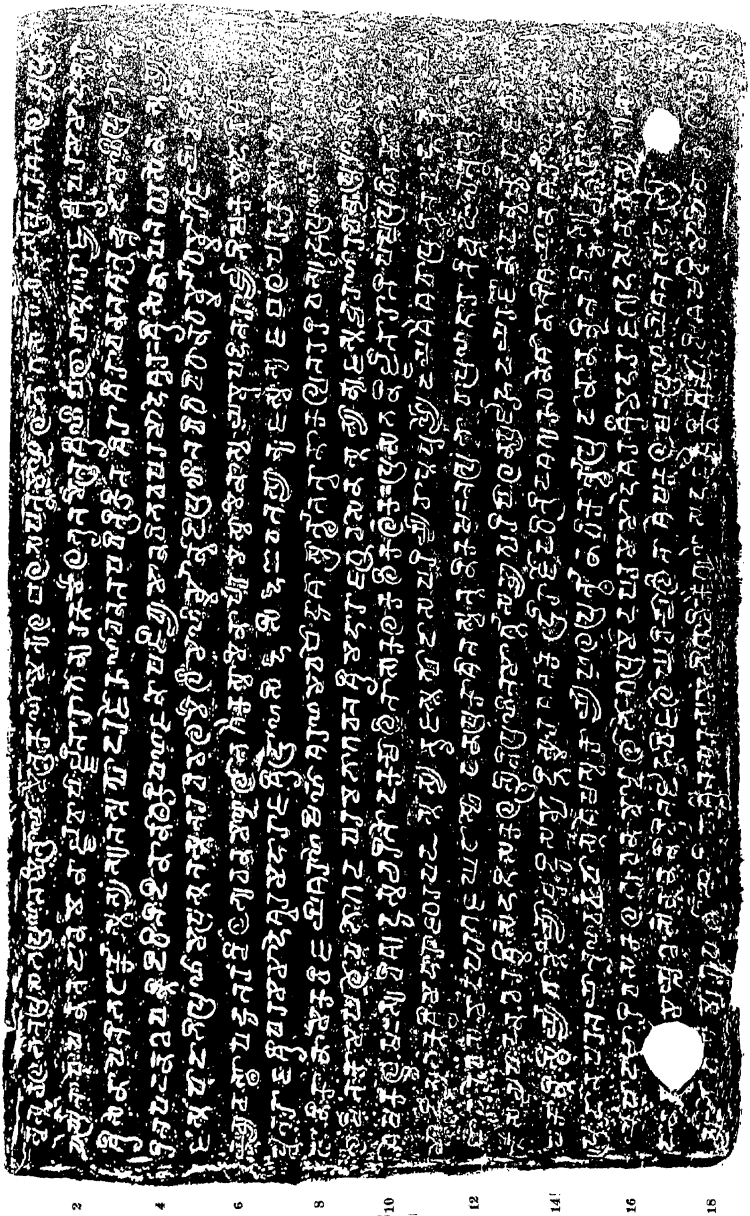
14 पकान्तिस्थिर्य्यगाम्भिर्य्य(ा)बुद्धिसम्पद्भि[:*][23] स्मरशश[ा*]ङ्क[ा*]द्रिराजोदधित्रिदशगुरु-
धनेशान(ा)तिशयान[:*][24] शरणागताभय-

15 प्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्त[ा*]शेषस्वकार्य्यफल[:*][25] प्र[ा*]र्त्थन[ा*]धिकार्त्थप्रदा-
नानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृ[त्*]प्रणयिहृद-

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1 Read °सेनापति°.
2 Read °पवित्रीकृत°.
3 Read शिरो° and °विच्छु°.
4 Read °पादनखपङ्क्तिदीधितिर्दीनानाथकृपण°.
5 Read °प्रशस्ततर°.
6 Read इव.
7 Read °पद्धति° and °लाभोगैक°.
8 Read °भिषेक°.
9 Read °श्वरो.
10 Read °सिंह: सिंह.
11 Read °नामेकविजयी.
12 Read शरणै°.
13 Read °तत्त्वानां.
14 Read °तरुरिव.
15 Read °नां.
16 Read °विधौता°.
17 Read °मा.
18 Read °सपर्य्या°.
19 Read प्रभृति.
20 Read °द्वितीय°.
21 Read °सत्त्व°.
22 Read °स्मृतिप्रणीत° and °सम्यक्परि°.
23 Read °स्थैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्य°.
24 Read °शशाङ्काद्रि°.
25 The तृ of तृणवद° was corrected by the engraver from त्र.

Palitana plates of Dharasena II. — [Gupta-]Samvat 252.

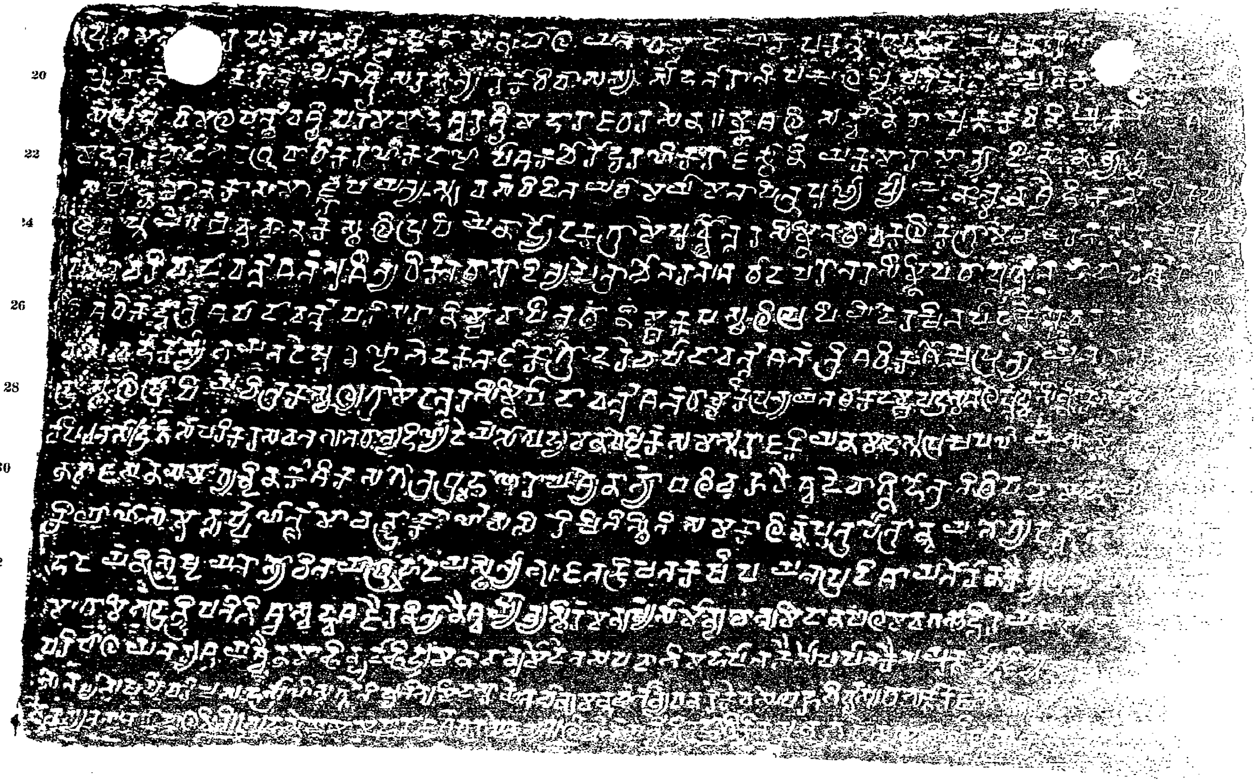


E. Hultzsch.

Scale 8·25

Gebr. Plettner, Halle a. S.

ii.



16 यं[;*] पादचारिव[1] सकलभूवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोद[:*][2] परममाहेश्वर[:*][3] श्रीमह[ा*]राजगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पा-

17 दन[ख]मयूखसंन्त[ा]ननिव्रितजाह्नविजलोघविच्चालिताशेषकल्मष[4] प्रणयिशतसहस्रो-पजी-

18 व्य(:)भोगसम्प[द्*][रू]पलोभा[दि]वाश्रीत[:*][5] सरसम[ा*]भिगामिकैगुणै[6] सहज-शक्तिशीच्चाविशेषविमापिताखिलधनु[र्द्धर][:*][7]

Second Plate.

19 प्रथम[न]रपतिस[मतिसृ]ष्ट[ा]नांमनुपालयता[8] धर्म्मदायाना[म*]पकर्त्ता प्रजोपघ[ा*]-तकारिणां(न)मु[प]-[9]

20 प्लवानं[ा] दरिशयिता[10] श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य संहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मिपरिच्चोभ-दक्षविक्रम[:*][11] क्रमो[प]-

21 संप्र[ा]प्तविमलपार्त्थिवश्री[:*] परममाहेश्वर[:*] श्रीमहाराजधरसेन(॥)कुशली सर्व्वानेवायुक्तकविनियुक्तकद्रांगिक-

22 महत्तरचाटभटध्रुवाधिकरणिकदाण्डपाशकचोरोद्धरणिकराजस्थानीयकुमारामात्यादी-(नां)नन्यांश्च[12] य[था]-

23 सवध्नमानका[न्*][13] समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु व[:*] संविदित[14] यथा मया म[ा*]-तापित्रुपुण्याप्यायना[या*]त्मनश्चैहिक[ा]मुष्मिकफ-[15]

24 ल[ा*]वाप्तये ॥ [वंवू]वानकस्थलिप्र[ा*]पीये[16] नाव्योठकग्रामे पुर्व्वोत्तरसिम्नि[17] तथा एकलिकग्रामे च [द]ारकसत्कक्षेत्राद-

25 परत[:*] [च]रिपादावर्त्तशतं अशीत्यधिक[18] तथा आदित्यक्षेत्राचोतरत[:*][19] ॥ तथा(द)परोतरसीम्नि[20] पथा[21] पूर्व्वत[:*] पादावर्त्तशत[22]

26 विंशधिकं[23] द्वात्रिंशपादावर्त्तपरिसरा[24] निम्बवापी [।*] तथा निम्बकुपस्थलिप्र[ा*]-पीये[25] दे[व*]रक्षितपाटके अवरदक्षणसीम्नि[26]

27 वत्सवद्दकस्योभयतटेषु[27] खण्डभेदकतटाकाशोदरे च पादावर्त्तशतं त्रिंशधिक[28] गोत्र-प्रत्ययं [।*] तथा कदम्बप-

---

[1] Read °चारीव.

[2] Read °भुवन°.

[3] Read °ईश्वरः.

[4] Read °संतानविसृतजाह्नवीजलौघ°.

[5] Read °वाप्नितः.

[6] Read °कैगुण्यैः.

[7] Read °शिक्षा°. and °विस्मापित°

[8] Read °नामनुपालयिता.

[9] Read °कारिणामुप°.

[10] Read दर्शयिता.

[11] Read °लक्ष्मीपरिक्षोभ°.

[12] Read °पार्थिव°.

[13] Read °संबध्यमान°.

[14] Read °तं.

[15] Read °पितृ°.

[16] Read °स्थलीप्राप्ये.

[17] Read पूर्व्वोत्तरसीम्नि.

[18] Read °शतमशीत्यधिकं.

[19] Read °क्षेत्रात्तथोत्तरतः.

[20] Read °रोत्तर°.

[21] Read पथः.

[22] Read °शतं.

[23] Read विंशत्यधिकं.

[24] Read द्वात्रिंशत्पादा°.

[25] Read °कूपस्थलीप्राप्ये.

[26] Read °अपरदक्षिण°.

[27] Read °तटयोः.

[28] Read त्रिंशदधिकं.

28 द्रस्थलिप्रापिये[1] चित्रकस्थल्यग्रामे उत्तरसीम्नि पादावर्त्तशतं धार्म्मिकप्रत्ययं [।*] तथा कदम्बपद्रस्थतले पूर्व्वसीम्नि कोधकप्रत्यया [अवतर]-

29 वापी [।*] एत[त्*] सोद्रङ्गं सोपरिकर[2] सव[ा*]तभूतधान्यहि[र*]ण्यादेयं सोत्पद्यम[ा*]नवेष्टिकं समस्तराजकिय[ा*]न[ा*]महस्तप्रक्षेपणियं[3] भूमि-च्छिद्रन्याये[न][4]

30 (न) वाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनकौशिकसगोत्रब्र[ा*]ह्मणरोघश्येनाभ्यां बलिचरुवैश्वदेवा-ग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायाज्ञिकानं[ा*]

31 क्रियाणां समुत्सर्प्पणार्थमाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्ण[व]सिरिच्छितिस्थितिसमकालिनं[5] पुत्रपौत्रा-न्वयभोग्यं उ[द*]कातिस[र्ग्गे]ण ब्र-

32 ह्मदेयं निस्रिष्ट[6] [।*] यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भूजत[:*] क्रिषत[:*] कर्षियत[:*][7] प्रदिश(ाय)तो वा न कैश्चि[त्*] प्रति-षेधे वर्त्तित[व्य]-

33 मागामिभद्रन्रिपतिभिश्चास्मद्वशजैरनित्यानैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं[8] म[ा*]नुष्यं सामा-न्यञ्च भुमिदानफलमवगछद्भिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य[:*][9]

34 परिपालयतव्यश्च[10] [।*] यश्चैनमाच्छिन्द्य[ा*]दाच्छिद्यम[ा*]नं(ा)[11] वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिमहापातकै[:*][12] सोपपातकै[:*] सयुक्त[:*][13] स्यादित्युक्त[14] च भगवता वैदव्या-[15]

35 सेन व्य[ा*]से[न ॥*] षष्टिवरिषसहस्राणि[16] स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भुमिद[:[17] ।*] चाछेत[18] चानुमन्त[ा*] च तान्येव नरेके[19] वसि[त्*] । [१*] बहु-भिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[:*] सगरादिभि[: ।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भु-

36 मि[त]स्य[20] तस्य तदा [फ]लमिति ॥ [२*] स्वहस्तो मम महाराज-[श्री]धरसेनस्य ॥ लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतस्कन्दभटेन[21] ॥ दू[22] चिर्व्विर[:*] ॥ स २०० ५० २ वैश[ा*]ख ब १० ५ [॥*]

[1] Read °स्थलीप्राप्ये.

[2] Read °करं.

[3] Read °राजकीया° and °प्रक्षेपणीयं.

[4] Read भूमिच्छिद्र°,

[5] Read °सरित्स्थिति° and °कालीनं.

[6] Read निसृष्टं.

[7] Read भुंजतः कृषतः कर्षयतः.

[8] Read °नृपतिभिश्चास्मद्वंशजैरनित्यान्यैश्वर्याण्यस्थिरं.

[9] Read भूमि°, °गच्छ°, and °स्मद्दायो°.

[10] Read °पालयित°.

[11] Read °माच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्य°.

[12] Read °भिर्महा°.

[13] Read संयुक्तः.

[14] Read °क्तं.

[15] Read वेद°.

[16] Read °वर्ष°,

[17] Read भूमि°.

[18] Read चाच्छेत्ता.

[19] Read नरके.

[20] Read भूमिस्तस्य.

[21] Read °विग्रह°.

[22] This is an abbreviation of दूतकः. Compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 167, note 8; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 70, text line 18, and Vol. VIII. p. 303, note 12; *Bhavnagar Inscr.* p. 37, text l. 18.

POSTSCRIPT.

I avail myself of this opportunity for correcting certain mistakes which I have committed in two former articles on Valabhī grants.

1. In Vol. III. p. 323, l. 11, read: "**Hariyānaka**, which belongs to **Akshasaraka**, (*a sub-division*) of the Hastavaprāharaṇī." On *prāpīya* (for *prāpya*) see now above, p. 81, note 1.

2. When reading with me the Nōgāwā plates (Vol. VIII. No. 20), Mr. T. K. Laddu justly observed that *uchyamāna* cannot mean 'said,' but means 'being said, about to be mentioned.' Consequently, the expressions *uchyamāna-bhuktau* and *uchyamāna-vishayē* (Vol. VIII. p. 189) are intended for *Navagrāmaka-bhuktau* and *Chandraputraka-vishayē*. Likewise, on p. 193, text lines 38 f. and 40, *uchyamāna-chāturvvidya-sāmānya* stands for *Navagrāmaka-chāturvvidya-sāmānya*; and on p. 198, text line 43, the same term represents *Chandraputraka-chāturvvidya-sāmānya*. In the Index to Vol. VIII the two districts **Navagrāmaka-bhukti** and **Chandraputraka-vishaya** have to be entered accordingly.

No. 6.—JANKHAT INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIRASENA.

BY F. E. PARGITER, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.)

This inscription was found by Mr. R. Burn in the village of Jānkhaṭ in the Tirwa tahsil of the Farukhabad District, United Provinces, and he gave a brief notice of it in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1900, p. 553. It is engraved on the back of a carved stone, which was among the collection of carved stones called the *Gaωān dēvi* or "village gods." Mr. Marshall sent Dr. Fleet an ink-impression and an estampage of it, together with a photograph of the collection of village gods, which shows the stone amid a quantity of carved stones and fragments of all kinds; and at Dr. Fleet's request I have edited the record.[1] The front of the stone appears to present in bold relief the head and open mouth of some animal.

Above the inscription are three emblems occupying a triangular space 2¼″ high and 3″ wide. The middle and highest emblem represents a tree, and on each side is that of a "chaitya."—The inscription occupies a space 7¼″ high and 4½″ wide, and is arranged in seven lines: there seem to be some traces of an eighth line, but the tops of the letters do not always maintain a level. The letters are in good preservation except at the beginning of the lines. The first letter is partially obliterated in each of the first four lines. The last three lines have suffered most, for the first letter in each has disappeared, the final letter is blurred, and most unfortunately the middle letters have gone entirely. From the appearance of this middle portion of the lower half of the inscription Mr. Burn inferred that it had been used to sharpen chisels on. This defacement extends also into the fourth line where one or two letters have been obliterated. The only lines therefore that are fairly complete are the first three.—The characters are Brāhmī, well made and clearly cut, most of which are about ½″ high. I will consider their form when discussing the age of the inscription: here I need only say that they include the numeral symbols for 3, 4 and 10, and that the short superscript *i* is made to do duty for the long vowel.—The language may be either mixed dialect or Prākṛit; perhaps rather the latter. We have the genitive singular in *sa* twice, and the genitive plural in *naṁ*. The genitive plural *gishmīnaṁ* is peculiar; we should expect the genitive singular. The same genitive plural, however, is found in the form *gimhāṇa* in inscriptions at Nāsik, above, Vol. VIII, p. 60, line 1, and p. 73, line 12; and we have also *hēma(ṁ)tāṇa*, p. 94, line 1, where, again, we should expect the genitive singular. These genitives were perhaps devised on the analogy of the quite correct *vasāna* = *varshāṇām*, ibid., p. 73, line 12.

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[1] I have to thank him for various corrections and emendations.

The inscription has suffered so much damage that we can form no opinion as to what its purport was after the opening part of it. Its interest lies in the point that it is a lithic record of a king, the Svāmin Vīrasēna, who may be identified with practical certainty with a king Vīrasēna of whom we have coins. Professor Rapson has described and figured one of the coins in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1900, p. 115, and notes there certain symbols on it which have some general resemblance (but nothing specific except the tree) with the symbols on this stone. And Mr. V. Smith has described fourteen of them, and figured two, in his Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, p. 197, and conjectures there (p. 191 f.) from the provenance of them that Vīrasēna was a king in the Gangetic Doab about A.D. 300.

The record is dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Vīrasēna,[1] and on the eighth day in the fourth fortnight of the hot season. As no year of an era is given and the date of Vīrasēna is not known, we can only fix on palæographic grounds the period to which the record may be referred; and the following remarks are offered towards elucidating this point. The letters that occur clearly are *k*, *g*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *m*, *y*, *r*, *v*, *sh* and *s*, and they may be compared with the Brāhmī forms in Tables II and III in Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*. The facts to be ascertained must be, not what are the earliest records with which letters found in this inscription tally, for particular forms, such for instance as those of *k* and *n*, persisted with little or no modification for several centuries, but rather what was the period when any later or new forms found in this inscription came into use.[2] The forms of certain of these letters, namely, *m*, *y*, *v*, and *sh* do not occur in Table II and are first found in Table III; hence these letters deserve most notice and attention may be confined to Table III. The form of *m* resembles most those in columns VI and VIII of that table; that of *y* those in columns I, II, IX and XIII; that of *v* those in columns I and VIII; and that of *sh* the form in column XIV. The forms of *y* and *v* are therefore found in inscriptions varying in date from the 1st century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.; that of *m* in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.; and that of *sh* not until the second century A.D. The most significant therefore of these letters is *sh*, and its form shews that the inscription cannot be earlier than the 2nd century A.D. There are two other features which point to a somewhat later period. First, the mark for the long vowel *ā*, in the letters portrayed in Table III, is formed by a short horizontal bar drawn to the right from the head of a consonant, but here the bar always shows a slight curve upwards—a tendency that became more pronounced in one form of this vowel in the later Gupta alphabet. Secondly, the heads of the letters in this inscription are slightly, yet quite distinctly, wedge-shaped, and this feature also became well developed in the Gupta alphabet. It would therefore appear that this record should be assigned to a time later than the second century, that is, to the 3rd century A.D., and very possibly to the latter part of it; and this agrees with Mr. V. Smith's conjecture regarding Vīrasēna's age, mentioned above.

TEXT.

1 Svamisa[3] Vīrasēnasa
2 saṁvatsarē 10 3 gishmā-
3 naṁ pākshē[4] 4 divasē[5] 8

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[1] Mr. Burn read the year rightly, as 13, in his account mentioned above. Mr. V. Smith read it as 113; but the character before that for 10 is clearly *rē*, the last syllable of *saṁvatsarē*.

[2] [This principle, however, must be applied with caution: any particular record may easily give the first available instances of types found in it, and so may carry them back to earlier times than had been previously established for them.—J. F. F.]

[3] Read *svāmisa*. There is a dot above the *sva*, which looks like an *anusvāra*, but may be only a flaw in the stone.

[4] Read *pakshē*.

[5] There is a dot above the *sē*, which looks like an *anusvāra*, but may be only a flaw in the stone.

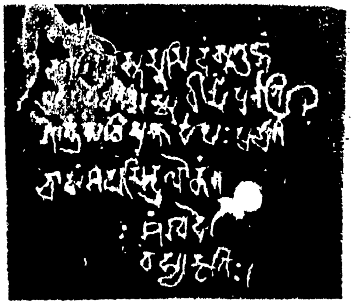
Jankhat Brahmi inscription and Kosaṁ pillar inscriptions.

Jankhat inscription of Virasena.



SCALE ONE-HALF.

Kosam pillar inscription.—A.



SCALE ONE-EIGHTH.

Kosam pillar inscription.—B.



SCALE ONE-SIXTH.

J. F. FLEET.

W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., PHOTO-LITHO.

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS RECEIVED FROM MR. MARSHALL AND DR. KONOW.

4	..[1]	mi mē	..	..		[y]ikā	[vā]-
5	..	ya	..	..	..	tata	..
6	..	vi ..	..	..	..	n[ā]ya	
7	..	epru[sa]	..	..	..	ni[ma]	

TRANSLATION.

In the year 10 (*and*) 3 of **Svāmin Vīrasēna**, in the fortnight 4 of the hot season,[2] on the day 8 . . . .

No. 7.—TWO RECORDS ON THE PILLAR AT KOSAM.

By F. E. Pargiter, M.A., I.C.S. (Retd.)

The two following inscriptions were noticed by General Sir A. Cunningham in his description of the pillar at Kosam in his Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I, p. 310. Ink-impressions of them were sent me by Dr. Fleet which he received from Dr. Konow, and at his request I have written this paper on them.

A.—A verse of the 7th or 8th century, A.D.

This is described by General Cunningham thus:—" The next inscription in point of time consists of six lines in characters of the 6th or 7th century. As this record is placed on the lower part of the shaft, from 3 to 4 feet beneath the present ground level, and as the lines are perpendicular to the sides of the shaft, I infer that at the time when it was inscribed, the pillar was still standing upright in its original position, and that the surrounding buildings were still in perfect order. This inference is fully borne out by Hwen Thsang's account, etc."

It is written in the Gupta character of the latter part of the 7th century. The letters are large and somewhat irregularly formed, varying from $1\frac{1}{8}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height. The language is Sanskṛit, and the composition is a verse in the *upēndravajrā* metre written in four lines with the author's name added in the fifth and sixth lines. But the engraver has marred the appearance of the verse by the manner in which he has inscribed it. The first line contains the first *pāda* of the verse, but in consequence of his making the first 8 *aksharas* of the second line somewhat small and close he got into it not only the second *pāda* but also the first 3 *aksharas* of the third *pāda*. The third line then contains the remainder of the third *pāda* and the first 3 *aksharas* of the fourth *pāda*; and the fourth line, receiving only the remaining 8 *aksharas* of that *pāda*, looks not only incomplete but also erroneous in beginning with the word *cha*. Consequently also the metre appears faulty and the meaning is obscured. When properly adjusted the *pādas* read aright and the metre is correct. The end of the second line is ornamented with a peculiar scroll, in which the symbol for the vowel *i* in the final *ti* has been continued in a line which bends around beneath the letter *t*, ascends on its right and finishes in a right-handed curve further to the right. The incorrect structure of the lines suggests an explanation of this scroll. The portion of the scroll along the right side of the letter *t* is an upright line. The first half of the verse ends with *su-dhīryaṁ*, but the engraver, thinking that it ended with

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[1] This *akshara*, judging from what remains of it and from the space which it occupies, would seem to be a double consonant, of which *kh*, *ch* or *v* is the second member. It may perhaps be *sva* or *svā*.

[2] The fourth fortnight of the hot season would be the last fortnight of it, if we should reckon six seasons in the year, and would be (for the time of our record) about the first half of June; with the year of three seasons this fortnight would be about the first half of April.

the second line, put the usual bar there, and the mistake was rectified by turning the bar into a meaningless scroll, continuing its lower portion backward beneath the *t* into the vowel *i* and its upper portion forward in the curve to the right. There was not sufficient room to insert the single bar after *su-dhīryaṁ*, but the double bar at the close of the verse occurs correctly at the end of the fourth line.

The letters are of the Gupta character and resemble most closely those of the Aphsaḍ inscription of about A.D. 675, portrayed by Bühler in his *Indische Palæographie*, Table IV, cols. XVIII and XIX (especially the former), with a tendency in some cases towards the shapes in the Multāī inscription of A.D. 708-9, and of the Dīghwā-Dubaulī inscription of A.D. 761-2, cols. XX and XXI in that Table, such as the *dh* (l. 2). At the same time some of the letters have the earlier forms found in the Kahāuṁ inscription of A.D. 459, col. V in that Table, such as *ī* and *bh* (l. 1), *v* (l. 3), *ś* (ll. 4 and 5) and *k* (l. 6), though *k* also appears in its form in col. XVIII in the fourth line. The *n* has a peculiar shape, an upright line with a horizontal bar attached to its left side, as in *punāti* (l. 2), and *Indra* (l. 4), thus approximating to its modern form. The inscription may therefore be assigned to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century, A.D.

Cunningham inferred from Hiuen Tsang's account of this spot that this pillar was standing erect at that traveller's visit there during the early part of the 7th century in Harsha's reign, and the manner in which he says this verse is engraved (quoted above) shows that the pillar was also erect when it was engraved, which appears to have been at the end of that century or the beginning of the 8th century. He says the pillar is a Buddhist structure, and the earliest inscription which it bears is an incomplete record which he ascribes to the 4th or 5th century.[1] Buddhism must have retained its possession of this spot during Harsha's reign, for Mr. V. Smith says "Harsha himself distributed his devotions among the three deities of the family, Śiva, the Sun and Buddha; .... But, in his later years, the Buddhist doctrines held the chief place in his affections; and the eloquence of the Chinese Master of the Law induced him to prefer the advanced teaching of the Mahāyāna sect to the more primitive Hīnayāna doctrine of the Sammitīya school with which he had been familiar previously."[2] The question arises whether this verse half a century or more later is a Buddhist or brāhmaṇical inscription. I am not sure whether the reference to Indra's world could be a Buddhist beatitude. It seems more like a brāhmaṇic benediction, and this is supported by the facts that the verse is in Sanskṛit and that the author's name is Śaṅkha-dēva, which might be a synonym for Vishṇu. If then this verse be a brāhmaṇical inscription, may we infer that it marks the time when Brāhmaṇism ousted Buddhism from this spot?

TEXT.

1 Ōm[3] Ya [īkshat]ē stambham=idaṁ su-tuṅgaṁ
2 [grah-ārucau] pāti[4] naras=su-dhīrmaṁ[5] punāti
3 gōttraṁ sa vimukta-pāpaḥ[6] prayāti
4 ch=āsaṁśayam=Indra-lōkaṁ ||
5 Śaṁkha-dē-
6 vasya kṛitiḥ |

[1] A. S. I. Vol. I. pp. 309-10.

[2] *Early History of India*, p. 291.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] These two words and the following *na* are so much blurred that they are far from clear, but what remains of the letters viewed according to the requirements of the metre suggests the reading given.

[5] Read *dhīryaṁ*.

[6] The first of these two *p*'s differs considerably from the normal shape, but there can be no doubt that it is a *p* badly formed.

TRANSLATION.

The man, who fixes his look on this very tall pillar, preserves great fortitude when the planets are adverse:[1] delivered from sin, he purifies his kindred and proceeds without doubt to Indra's world.

The composition of Śaṅkha-dēva.

B.—An inscription of A.D. 1565.

This is described as two inscriptions by General Sir A. Cunningham in the following words[2]:—"This [that is, a brief record of Akbar's time] is followed by a short record of a *soni*, or goldsmith, in three lines, below which is a long inscription dated in Samvat 1621, or A.D. 1564, in the early part of Akbar's reign, detailing the genealogy of a whole family of goldsmiths. It is in this inscription that the name *Kōsâmbipura* occurs, the founder of the family, named Anand Râm Dâs, having died at Kosam." He thus pronounced the first three lines of this record to be one inscription and the remainder a separate inscription, but they appear to me to be one, for the following reasons. First, the style of the writing is exactly the same throughout. Secondly, the space between *Srī-Gaṇēsaḥ* in line 1 and *Saṁbat* 1621 in line 4 is merely the size of a single row of letters and is just about the interval that would ordinarily be left between the invocation to a deity and the body of the composition. The remainder of line 1 and lines 2 and 3 have been inserted by curving the writing upwards to the right so as to widen out the space to the right between lines 1 and 4: thus there is just room for the word *mukha* between *bānān* in line 1 and *samaai* in line 4, and as lines 1 and 2 curve away upwards, room is found to insert *dēv Bhairav* beneath *darpan sōnīnha* and above the end of line 4. The whole inscription looks as if it had been written at first thus—*Srī-Gaṇēsaḥ* as the heading and then *Saṁbat 1621*, etc., to the end; and as if the words *bānān* to *dēv Bhairav* had been added afterwards, the writing being curved upwards so as to make room for these latter words in the manner described above. Thirdly, if lines 1-3 constituted a separate inscription, there was no reason to curve the writing, whether it were written before or after lines 4-18; because, if written before, there would have been a clear space and the inscription would naturally have been written compactly in two or three straight lines conformably to its invocation; and if written afterwards, it would have been placed higher (for there is sufficient unused space above) and then written straight similarly. Fourthly, if lines 1-3 constituted a separate composition, it contains no personal name but merely refers vaguely to the "city goldsmiths"; whereas, if the whole is one inscription, the addition in lines 1-3 would be a natural after-thought as a preface to the subsequent names and in order to record a prayer to Bhairava on behalf of them collectively. No argument can be based on the fact that the prayer to Bhairava follows the invocation to Gaṇēśa, because the invocation and the prayer are in one and the same inscription according to either theory. Lastly, the inscription seems, when read as a whole, to give a better sense than when treated as two separate compositions—a point referred to more particularly at the end of this article.

The inscription is written in characters, well-made and about ¾ inch high, which (that is, such of them as occur) have a close resemblance to ordinary Nāgarī. The chief puzzle occurs in the letter *sh*, which, if read as such, produces meaningless words. The key to explain this difficulty lies in the fact that in the modern vernacular of Upper India this letter, when non-initial and uncompounded, is very commonly pronounced *kh*; thus, *purush*, 'a man', appears as *purukh*, *rishi*, 'a rishi', as *rikhi* and *rikh*, *tushār*, 'mist, frost', as *tukhār*, and so on. This modification of the letter *sh* appears to have been so generally established, that the character

[1] This is a possible Sanskṛit expression, though certainly peculiar. It is not, however, stranger than various compound words found in the Kāvya literature, and the author was limited in his choice of words by the metre.

[2] A. S. I. Vol. I. pp. 310-11.

for it is used here uniformly to express *kh*.[1] The proper character for *kh* seems to be that which is used only once, namely, in the word *Lakhimī* (=Lakshmī) in line 7, and which approximates to the form of *kh* in Bengali.[2] Everywhere else *kh* is expressed by the character for *sh*; and this is done whether *kh* represents an original *sh* as in the word *purukh* (l. 9), or whether it is a genuine *kh* as in the words *mukha* (l. 2) and *likhītē* (l. 5), or whether it represents an original *ksh* as in the words *Lakhimanu* (l. 5), *khēma* (l. 8), and *Lakhimī* (l. 17). When this peculiarity is observed, the inscription becomes intelligible.

The inscription is in the vernacular. No distinction is made between the sibilants *ś* and *s*, and both are written as *s*, thus, *Mahēśa* appears as *Mahēsa* (l. 11) and *Kauśāmbī* as *Kausambi* (l. 7), and *Śrī-Gaṇēśaḥ* as *Srī-Gaṇēsaḥ* (l. 1). Similarly *sh* when compounded is written *s*, as in *Baisnav* for *Baishṇava* (l. 6, and 15-18). Nor is any distinction made between cerebral and dental nasals (with one exception), thus, *darpaṇa* appears as *darpan* (l. 2), *kṛipaṇa* as *krapan* (l. 8) and *Baishṇava* as *Baisnav*. The one exception occurs in the invocation *Srī-Gaṇēsaḥ*, and the scribe's knowledge was so faulty that, though he has written the *ṇ* right, he has turned the *ś* twice into *s*. It seems possible further that he did not distinguish between the other cerebral and dental letters, for *Chamanda* (l. 13) looks as if obtained from *Chāmuṇḍā*.

The character for *v* appears in its ordinary Nāgarī form and also with a dot beneath it. The latter form occurs only at the end of words, as in *dēv Bhairav* (l. 3) and *Baisnav* (ll. 6, and 15—18). In words ending in *va*, the *v* in the present vernaculars drops its inherent *a* and is commonly pronounced with a vowel sound like *w* or *o*, thus, *dēva* becomes *dēw* or *dēo*. The dotted form therefore appears to represent *v* (with that sound), and the undotted form no doubt represents *b*, as seems clear from its use in the name *Kausaṁbi* (l. 7), the ancient form of which is always Kauśāmbī in Sanskṛit writings, and also in the word *bānān* (l. 1), which is obviously a verb corresponding to the existing verb *banā-nā* (Hindi) and *bānā-itē* (Bengali), 'to make, fabricate,' and in which the initial *b* is so well established that no form with an initial *v* ever appears, so far as I am aware. In a similar way final *ya* drops its inherent *a*, and the *y* is then often pronounced as *ē*, and this no doubt explains why the character for *ē* appears instead of *y* in *samaai* (l. 4).

As the language is the vernacular and the vernaculars have generally dropped the *a* inherent in the last consonant (if uncompounded) of a word, the presumption is that the words here must be read without the final *a*, and this is corroborated by the words *bānān* (l. 1) and *darsān* (l. 2) which, as discussed later, cannot have a final *a*. The nominative is the same in the plural as in the singular, as in *sōnī* (l. 1) and *purukh* (l. 9); and the plural base for the oblique cases is formed by adding *nha* to the singular base, as in *sōnīnha* (l. 2) and somewhat similarly in the pronoun *tēnha* (l. 9). The accusative-dative is formed with the suffix *kau* (l. 2) and the genitive with *kē* (l. 9, 15). The *kē* appears to undergo no modification, for it is the same with the nominative plural *purukh* (l. 9) and the apparently nominative singular *put* (l. 15). *Samaai* (l. 4; probably for *samayē*) appears to be the locative singular of *samay* or *samaē*. *Bānān* (l. 1) apparently = Hindi *banāēṅ*,[3] the 3rd person plural of the aorist tense. This verbal base appears with *ā* in Bengali *bānā-itē*. The second *darpan* in line 2 should, it seems to me, be *darsān*, that is, *darśān*, because there must be a verb in this sentence and the second *darpan* is meaningless; and *darsān* is so much like *darpan*, that the engraver might easily have confused the two by oversight and so have written *darpan* twice. *Darśān* would = Hindi *darśāēṅ*,[3] the 3rd person plural of the imperative, used honorifically for the singular. This causal verbal base appears in Hindi *darśā-nā* and Bengali *darśā-itē*. *Likhītē* (l. 5) seemingly = Hindi *likhtē*, the plural of the tense *likhtā*, which though called by some a conditional is very often used as a present tense. The pronoun *ya* (l. 1) = Hindi *yah*, and *pachhīlē* (l. 9) = Hindi *pichhlā*.

[1] [Compare Mr. Bhandarkar's remarks on pp. 50, 52 and 60 above.—Ed.]

[2] It cannot be the character for *ksh*, because Sanskṛit *ksh* is modified into *kh* uniformly in this inscription.

[3] According to the method of transliteration generally adopted in Hindi grammars.

The words sōnarā (l. 5) and sōnī (l. 1, 10—15) deserve notice as they appear to be distinguished. Though the signatories are mentioned collectively as *sōnīs* (l. 1), yet those who sign as *sōnīs* are definitely stated to be the *purukh*, 'men,' that is workmen, of Lakshmaṇ sōnarā and of four other persons to whose names no description is added. *Sōnarā* therefore seems to be a higher term than *sōnī*, and if *sōnī* designates the workman, *sōnarā* must obviously mean the master or employer; so that, if the former is translated 'goldsmith,' the latter should be rendered 'master goldsmith.' *Sōniyā* in Hindi means 'one who separates gold from ashes, etc., in the mint,' but there appears to be no word in Hindi corresponding to *sōnarā*, unless it be *sōnār* or *sunār*, the ordinary term for a goldsmith.

As regards the personal names, the inscription shows that much the same custom obtained in the sixteenth century as prevails now in using names shortly, familiarly or colloquially. The vowel *u* was often substituted for a final *a*, thus we find *Lakhimanu* (l. 5), *Nalīgu* (l. 10), *Ratanu* (l. 14) and *Anadu* (l. 16, 18).[1] *Lakhimanu* would be the colloquial form of *Lakhiman*, that is, *Lakshmaṇa*; and *Ratanu* of some name beginning with *Ratna*, such as *Ratnadatta* or *Ratnachandra*. *Anadu* may be short for *Annada*, and the full name might be *Annada-dās* or *Annada-prasād*. *Birti* (l. 6) is probably short for some name beginning with *bṛitti*, that is, *vṛitti*. *Laghu* (l. 8) may=*Raghu*, the letters *r* and *l* being frequently interchanged in the colloquial; and the full name might be *Raghu-nāth*. *Chamanda* (l. 13) seems to point to some name like *Chāmuṇḍā-dās*, and *Chaṁdilā* (l. 15) to *Chandrēśa* or *Chandirēśa*. *Dhanē* (l. 15) is no doubt short for *Dhanēśa* or *Dhanēśvara*; and *Karam* (l. 16) may be abbreviated from *Karam Chānd* (=*Karma-chandra*). I cannot resolve *Hōrīl* (l. 12) or *Manā* (l. 17), nor *Nalīgu* or its variants (l. 10); but *Hōrila-siṁha* is given as a name in Monier-Williams' Dictionary.

As regards the date of this record, Dr. Fleet observes as follows :—"It is not capable of actual verification, because the inscription does not include the weekday or some other detail necessary to that end. But, with the year taken as the expired year and the month as the *pūrṇimānta* month,— in both respects in accordance with the practice which prevailed generally at that time in the locality to which the record belongs,— the equivalent of the given details, (Vikrama)-saṁvat 1621, Chaitra vadi 5, is 20 February A.D. 1565."

It appears from this examination that the purport of the inscription differs from Sir A. Cunningham's surmise. It shews that five leading goldsmiths with thirteen of their employés put up this address to Gaṇēśa and Śiva-Bhairava for favour to the goldsmiths of Kauśāmbī town. Only three of the leading goldsmiths belonged to that town, and two were strangers apparently. The fact that these two are named first suggests that they were men of more importance than the three residents, and perhaps they were gold-merchants rather than goldsmiths. One of these two was a Vaishṇava and so were four of the employés, yet they also joined in this invocation to Gaṇēśa and Śiva-Bhairava. Surely no ordinary occasion would have caused all these men, that is, the whole local guild of goldsmiths, to join in recording such an inscription on this pillar. At that time, early in 1565, several of Akbar's chief nobles and commanders had revolted against him, hostilities were still going on, and the whole country from Delhi to Allahābād must have been in a lawless condition. Kauśāmbī was presumably a town of no great size or strength then, and its goldsmiths as men of some wealth must have been in danger of extortion or pillage at the hands of the soldiery. In such circumstances was it not natural that they should invoke Gaṇēśa as the god of wisdom, and pray that Śiva-Bhairava, the terrible god of destruction, would display to them a face calm and bright as a mirror?

Lastly, it is particularly worthy of notice that this record mentions Kōsam as Kausaṁbi, that is, Kauśāmbī, at a period long before the time when archæologists began to identify the place with the Kauśāmbī, Kōsambī, of the Sanskrit and Buddhist books.

[1] [This practice seems to have been prevalent in Rajputana already in the 12th century A.D.; see Mr. Bhandarkar's remarks on p. 38 above.—Ed.]

TEXT.

1 Sri-Gaṇēsaḥ Bānān ya nāgarīk sōnī
2 mukha-darpan darpan[1] sōninha kau
3 dēv Bhairav
4 Saṁbat 1621 samaai[2] nām Chaitra-badī[3]
5 paṁchamī[4] likhitē Lakhimanu[5] sōnarā
6 Baiisnav[6] Ananda[7]-sut Birti
7 Kausaṁbi-purī Lakhimi-dās tathā
8 Khēma-krapan[8] Laghu bhāi
9 tēnha kē purukh pachhilē
10 Nalīgu[9] sōnī
11 Mahēsa-das[10] sōnī
12 Hōrīl sōnī
13 Chamanda sōnī
14 Ratanu sōni[11]
15 Chaṁdilē sōni kē put 4 Dhanē Baisnav
16 Anadu Rām-dās Karam Baisnav
17 Lakhimī-dās Manā Baisnav
18 Basaṁta-Rām[12] Anadu Baisnav

TRANSLATION.

Śrī Gaṇēśa! The town goldsmiths make this. May the god Bhairava show a mirror-like face to the goldsmiths!

Saṁvat 1621, at the time by name[13] the fifth day of the dark fortnight of (*the month*) Chaitra, write — Lakshmaṇ the master goldsmith, the Vaishṇava Birti son of Ānanda, Lakshmī-dās of the town of Kausaṁbi,[14] (*and*) of the same town the brothers Khēma-kṛipan (*and*) Laghu.[15]

Their men (*write*) afterwards — Nalīgu the goldsmith, Mahēsa-dās the goldsmith, Hōrīl the goldsmith, Chamanda the goldsmith, Ratanu the goldsmith, the son of the goldsmith Chaṁdilē, Anadu Rām-dās, Lakshmī-dās, Basanta-Rām, (*and*) four (*others*), Dhanē Vaishṇava, Karam Vaishṇava, Manā Vaishṇava, Anadu Vaishṇava.

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1 Read probably *darsān* (for *darśān*); see remarks on the grammar.

2 Read *samayē* probably.

3 That is, Sanskṛit *vadi*.

4 Read *paṁchamī*.

5 Or perhaps *Lakhimnu*.

6 Read *Baisnav*.

7 Read *Ānanda°*.

8 That is, *kṛipaṇ*.

9 Or *Nanīgu* or *Nalīyu* or *Nanīyu*.

10 Read *°dās*.

11 Read *sōnī*.

12 The last letter looks something like *mhēṁ*, but the extra marks may be due to injury.

13 Dr. Fleet has drawn my attention to the constant occurrence of the expression "*Saṁvat — varshē*" in inscriptions, which is calculated to suggest that *samaai* is a synonym for *varshē* and should be applied to the preceding "*Saṁbat 1621*". Such a rendering however presents two difficulties to my mind; first, it would entail treating *nām* as a mere expletive, whereas the insertion of a mere expletive in this laconic inscription (for the preceding words, *bānān* to *bhairav*, were put in afterwards) would be strange; and secondly *samaya* is not ordinarily an equivalent of *varsha*, vernacular *bàras*, (which might well have been used here), but would apply quite correctly to a day, the *paṁchamī*.

14 *Kausaṁbi-purī* is an adjective formed from *Kausaṁbi-pur*.

15 *Tathā* seems to refer to the adjective *Kausaṁbi-purī*; otherwise there appears to be no reason for its insertion in l. 7. It applies obviously to both Khēmakṛipaṇ and Laghu, and so the word *bhāi* is probably plural agreeing with both, though the meaning would be the same if we translate "Khēmakṛipaṇ (*and*) Laghu (*his*) brother."

No. 8.—THREE COPPER-PLATE RECORDS OF SONPUR.

By B. C. Mazumdar, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., Sambalpur.

The three copper-plate charters which I now publish were all found in the Feudatory State of **Sonpur**, attached to the district of Sambalpur. It was in the year 1898 that I deciphered them, as well as another charter which was found at **Satalma** (called Satallamā in the inscription) in the same district. Mr. Slocock, the then Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, who gave me the Satalma charter to get deciphered, took it back from me with the transliteration and translation of its text, and forwarded it to the Museum at Nagpur.[1]

In the sequel I shall have to refer to the Satalma plates as well as the copper-plate charters of the **Sōmavaṁśi** kings of **Kaṭak** which have been edited by Dr. Fleet.[2] For convenience of reference, the subjoined three inscriptions will be denoted by the letters A, B and C, respectively; the Satalma plates by S; and the records published by Dr. Fleet by F 1, F 2, F 3, F 4, F 5 and F 6.

As regards **orthography**, there are two points to be noticed before I proceed to deal with the individual inscriptions. The vowel *ṛi* was pronounced as *ri* and not as *ru*, as it is now done, by the inhabitants of Sambalpur and Orissa; see, e.g. *pravrita* for *pravṛitta* (C, l. 15), *riśaya* for *ṛishayaḥ* (C, l. 25). A few similar cases have also been noticed in the Satalma[3] grant and in the **Kudopali** plates.[4] *Tṛikaliṅga* occurs for *Trikaliṅga* (A, l. 4; F 1, l. 3) and *Riśikēśa* for *Hṛishīkēśa* (F1, l. 15). There was only one letter current to denote both *v* and *b*. Owing to the fact that *b* is the pronunciation for both of them in Bengal and Orissa, it cannot be said that *v* is used wrongly for *b*, or *vice versâ*.

A.—Vakratentalī charter of Mahābhavagupta I.

These are three plates (of four sides), of which the first and last are written on the inner sides only. They are narrower at the margins than in the middle. The height varies from 4¼″ to 4¾″ and the breadth from 8⅞″ to 9″. The plates are strung together on a nearly circular ring, 3½″ in diameter and ½″ thick, which is passed through circular holes cut on the left margin of each plate at a distance of about ¼″ from the edge. The ends of the ring are secured into the lower portion of a lump of copper which bulges out on either side along the ring for a space of 1½″. In addition to this, a copper pin appears to have been driven through the lump of copper. In the upper portion of this lump is a deep impression, nearly circular, about 2″ in diameter. Here is the figure of a goddess in relief, squatting apparently on a lotus, flanked on each side by an elephant with its trunk uplifted. The elephant on the left side is not quite distinct. Close to it is a much defaced legend. I have read it tentatively as *Śrī-Janmējayadēva* [*rājasya* ?]. Considering that the legends on most of the seals of this family are illegible and have not been deciphered, this reading must be looked upon as a mere conjecture.

The plates belong to the time of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Śrī-Mahābhavaguptarājadēva**, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.* **Śrī-Śivaguptadēva.** The **king** is described as the most devout worshipper of Śiva (*paramamāhēśvara*), the forehead ornament of the **lunar race** and the lord of **Trikaliṅga.** The grant was issued from the camp of victory pitched at **Suvarṇapura.** In line 36, the date is given as the **third year of the victorious reign** of the *P. M. P.* **Śrī-Janamējayadēva.** This is the earliest known record of Mahābhavagupta I. as well as of the Sōmavaṁśi kings of Kaṭak, as no inscriptions of his father

[1] These have been published by Prof. Hultzsch; above, Vol. VIII, pp. 138-43.
[2] Above, Vol. III, pp. 323-59. [3] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 139. [4] Above, Vol. IV, p. 256.

Mahāśivagupta I. have been so far discovered. It records the gift of the village of Vakratentali belonging to the Lupattarā-Khaṇḍa to the *bhaṭṭaputra* Jātarūpa, who was a resident of Mēraṇḍā and an immigrant from Rāḍhāphaṁ[1]vallikandara. He belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-*gōtra* and the Chhandōga-charaṇa. His *pravaras* were Maitrāvaruṇa and Vāśishṭha.[2] Kōi Ghōsha, the writer of these plates, is identical with that of F 1, dated in the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta I.[3], and the engraver, Saṁgrāma, son of Rayaṇa Ojjhā, is the same as that of S, which belongs to the 8th year of the reign of the same king.[4]

TEXT.[5]

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[6] Svasti [||*] Suvarṇṇapura-samāvāsita[ḥ*] śrīmatō vijaya-skandhāvārāt para-
2 mabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Śrī-Śivaguptadēva-pād-ānudhyā-
3 ta-paramamāhēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Sō-
4 ma-kula-tilaka-Tṛi(tri)kaliṅgādhipati-Śrī-Mahābhavaguptarājadēvaḥ kuśalī
5 Lupattarā-Khaṇḍīya Vakrat[e]ntali-grāmē brāhmaṇān sampūjya tat-pra-
6 tinivāsi-kuṭumbinas=tad-[v]ishayiya-yathā-kālādhyāsinaḥ samāhartṛ-sa-
7 nnidhārtṛi(dhātṛi)-dāṇḍapāśika-piśuna-vētrik-āvarōdhajana-rājavallabhādīn=anyāṁś=cha chā-
8 ṭa-bhaṭa-jātiyān samājñāpayati [|*] Vidita[m=a*]stu bhavatāṁ yath=āsmābhir=ayaṁ grā-
9 maḥ sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ sarvva-bādhā-vivarjjitaḥ sa-gartōsharaḥ s-āmra-

Second Plate; First Side.

10 madhukaḥ sa-jalasthalaḥ sarvv-ōparikar-ādāna-sahitaḥ pratinishiddha-chāṭa-
11 bhaṭa-pravēśaś=[cha]tuḥ[7]=sīmā-paryantaḥ Kauṇḍinya-gōtrāya M[ai]trāvaruṇa-Vāśi-
12 shṭha-pravarāya Chchhandōga-charaṇāya Rāḍhāphaṁvallikandara-vinirgatāya Mēraṇḍā-vā-
13 stavyāya bhaṭṭaputra-Jātarūpa-nāmnē bhaṭṭaputra-Śrīvachchha-su(sū)nave salīladhārā-
14 puraḥsaram=ā-chandra-tārak-ārkka-kshiti-samakāl-ōpabhōgārthaṁ mātā-pitrō-
15 r=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē viśumati-saṁkrāntyāṁ tāmra-śāsanē-
16 n=ākarīkṛitya pratipādita ity=avagatya samuchita-bhōga-bhāgakara-hiraṇy-ā-
17 dikam=upanayadbhir=bhavadbhiḥ sukhēna prativastavyam=iti [|*] Bhāvibhiś=cha bhūpatibhir=dda-
18 ttir=iyam=asmadīyā dharmma-gauravād=asmad=atu(nu)rōdhāch=cha svadattir=iv=ānupāla-nīyā [||*]
19 Tathā ch=ōktaṁ dharmma-śāstrē [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar=ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya ya-

Second Plate; Second Side.

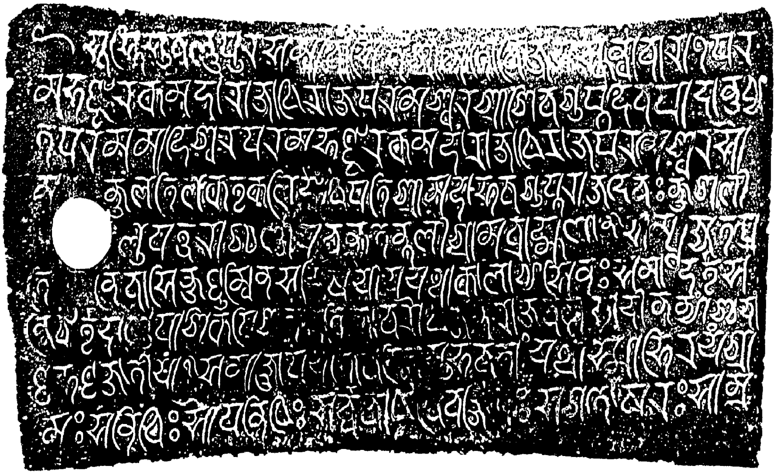
20 sya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [||*] Mā bhūd=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ paradatt=ēti
21 pārthivāḥ [|*] sva-dānāt=phalam=ān[āntya]ṁ para-datt-ānupālanē [||*] Śashṭhiṁ[8] varsha-sahasrāṇi

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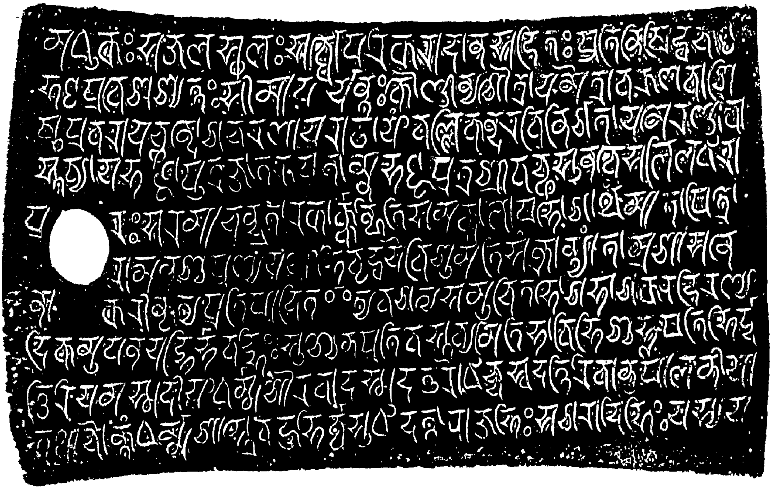
[1] The akshara *pha* is almost the same as *yā* in ll. 18, 30 and 33.
[2] See above, Vol. IV, p. 256.
[3] Above, Vol. III, p. 344.
[4] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 143.
[5] From the original plates.
[6] Expressed by a symbol.
[7] The akshara *tu* looks like *tta*.
[8] Read *shashṭiṁ*.

Vakratentali grant of Mahabhavagupta I. Janamejaya.

i.



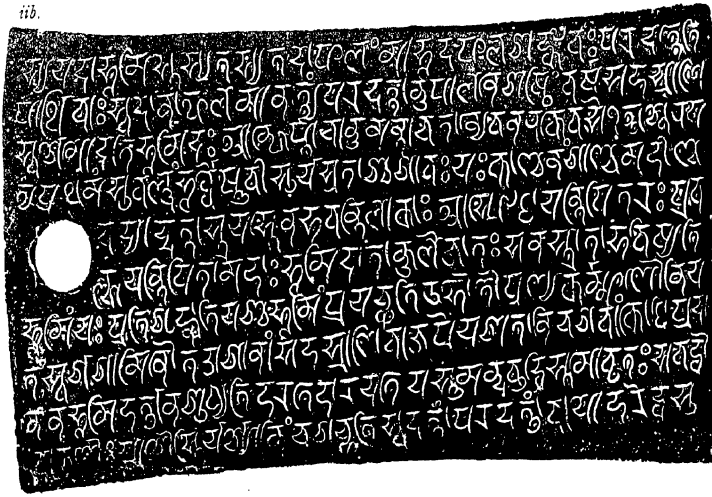
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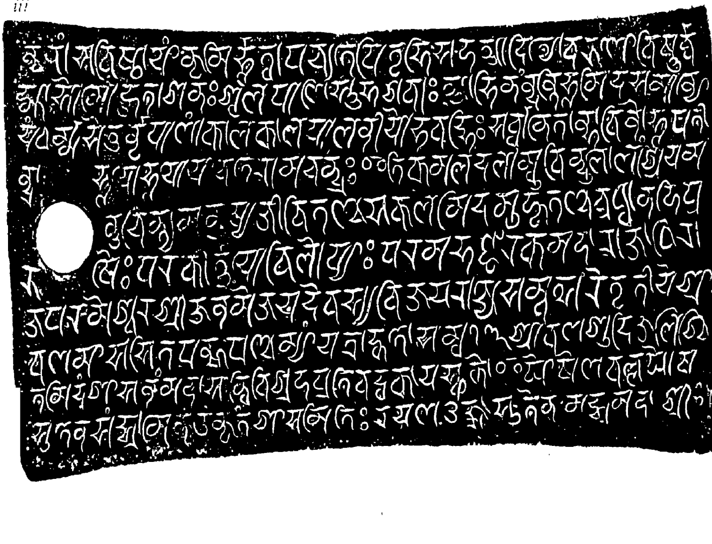
V. VENKAYYA. SCALE ·75 W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD, PHOTO-LITHO.

FROM IMPRESSIONS PREPARED BY MR. KRISHNA SASTRI.

iib.



iii



22 svargē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [||*] Agnēr=apa-

23 tyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇaṁ bhūr=Vvaishṇavī Su(Sū)rya-sutāś=cha gāvaḥ [|*] yaḥ kāñchanaṁ gāñ=cha mahīñ=cha

24 dadyād=dattās=trayas=tēna bhavanti lōkāḥ [||*] Āsphōṭayanti pitaraḥ prava-

25 lgayanti pitāmahāḥ [|*] bhūmidātā kulē jātaḥ sa nas=trātā bhavishyati [||*]

26 Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇā(hṇā)ti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati [|*] ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niya-

27 taṁ svarga-gāminau [||*] Taḍāgānāṁ sahasrāṇi vājapēya-śatāni cha [|*] gavāṁ kōṭi-pradā-

28 nēna bhūmi-harttā na śuddhyati [||*] Haratē hārayatē yas=tu manda-buddhis=tamōvṛitaḥ [|*] sa baddhō

29 Vāruṇaiḥ pāśais=tiryag-yōniṁ cha gachchhati [||*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēd[1]=vasu-

Third Plate.

30 ndharāṁ [|*] sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pachyate pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha [||*] Ādityō Varuṇō Vishṇur=Bba(Bra)-

31 hmā Sōmō Hutāśanaḥ [|*] Śūlapāṇis=tu bhagavāḥ[2] ābhi(abhi)naṁdanti(nandanti) bhūmida[m ||*] Sa(sā)mānyō=

32 yaṁ dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ kāla(lē) kāla(lē) pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [|*] sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinō bhūpati-

33 ndrā[n*] bhūyō bhūyō yāchate Rāmachandraḥ [||*] Iti kamala-dalāmbu-bindu-lōlaṁ(āṁ) śriyam=a-

34 nuchintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha [|*] sakalam=idam=u[dā*]hṛitañ=cha budhvā na hi pu-

35 rushaiḥ parakīrttayō vilōpyāḥ [||*] Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirā-

36 ja-paramēśvara-Śrī-Janamējayadēvasya vijayarājyē saṁvatsarē tṛitīyē Śrā-

37 vaṇa-māsa[3]-sitapaksha-pañchamyāṁ yatr=āṅkatō Saṁvat 3 Śrāvaṇa śudi 5 [|*] likhi-

38 tam=idaṁ śāsanaṁ mahās[ā]ndhivigraha-pratibaddha-kāyastha-Kōi-Ghōshēṇa Valla[4]-Ghōsha-

39 sutēna Saṁṅgrāmēna[5] u[t*]kṛitaṁ śāsa[na*]m=iti : Rayaṇa[6]-Ojjhā-sutēna [||*] Maṅga[lam*] mahā-śrīḥ ||

B.—Nibinnā charter of Mahāśivagupta.

These are three plates (of four sides) of which the first and last are engraved on the inner sides only. They measure about 8¼″ to 8½″ in breadth and about 5¾″ in height. The engraving is so deep that the empty side of the first and third plates show traces of the working of the chisel. They are strung on a circular ring which is passed through round holes (about ¾″ in diameter) cut on the left margin of each plate about 1″ from the edge. The ring is 4½″ in diameter and about ¾″ thick. The ends of the ring are secured into the lower portion of a lump of copper, which bulges out on either side along the ring to a space of 1½″. The upper portion of the lump of copper is fashioned into a circular seal 1½″ in diameter. On the seal is cut in relief a squatting figure. Nothing more than this is clear on the seal.

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1 Read *harēta.*

2 Is it by mistake that *bhagavāḥ* has been engraved for *bhagavān*? May it be that the form *bhagavā* current in Pāli and Prākṛit was then used in the vernacular too?

3 Read *-māsē.*

4 Read *Vallabha-* (?)

5 Read *Saṅgrāmēṇa.*

6 In the Nagpur Museum plates he is called *Rayaṇā-Ojjhā.*

The plates are dated during the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Śrī-Mahāśivaguptarājadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.* Mahābhavaguptarājadēva. The king is described as the most devout worshipper of Śiva (*paramamāhēśvara*), the forehead ornament of the **lunar race** and the lord of **Trikaliṅga.** The grant was issued from **Vinītapura.** In lines 45-46 the date is given as **the 15th year of the victorious reign of the** *P.M.P.* **Śrīmad-Yayātirājadēva.** F. 5, which belongs to the same reign, but is 6 years earlier, was also issued from Vinītapura on the bank of the river **Mahānadī.**[1]

The plates record the gift of the village of **Nibindā** (l. 5) or **Nibinnā** (l. 17) in the **Kōsala** country to the *Dīkshita* **Puṇḍarīkaśarman,** who was a resident of the village of **Maramendā** in the Kōsala country and an immigrant from **Bhaṭaparōli.** The donee was the son of **Nārāyaṇa-śarman** and grandson of **Uhlāsa-śarman.** He belonged to the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra,* had the *pravaras* Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja. The writer of the grant was the *Mahākshapaṭalaka* **Śrī-Uchchhava-Nāga,** son of **Allava-Nāga,** who was known to the *Mahāsandhivigrahika Rāṇaka* **Śrī-Chārudatta,** and the engraver was **Ṭṭhakura Panāka.**

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[3] Svasti [||*] Śrī[ma]tō **Vini(nī)tapurāt**=[4]Paparabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-pa-
2 ramēśvara **Mā(Ma)hābhavaguptarājadēva**-pādānudhyāt(ta)-paramamāhēśvara-para-
3 mabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-**Sōma-kula**-tilaka-**Trika-**
4 **liṅgādhipati-Śrī-Mahāśivaguptarājādēvaḥ** kuśalī **Kōśala-dē-**
5 sa(śa)-pratibaddha-**Ganuṭapāṭa**[5]**-maṇḍalē** ch=**Ōttara-pallīya-Nibiṇḍā-grāmē**
6 brā[hma]ṇān samp[ū]jya [ta]d-vishayīyān yathākālādhyāsinaḥ samā-
7 ha[rtṛi]-sa[ṁ]nidhātṛi-yuktādhikārika-daṇḍapāsika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pisu(śu)-
8 na-vē[tri]k-āvarōdhajana-rāṇaka-rājaputra-rājñī-rājaval[la]-
9 bha(bhā)dīn sarvān rāja-pādōpaji(jī)vinaḥ samājñāpayati [|*] Viditam=astu
10 bha[va*]tāṁ yath=ās[m*]ābhir=aya[ṁ*] grāmaḥ sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ sa-dasā(śā)parādhaḥ
11 sarvabādhā-vivarjitaḥ sa[r*]vōparikarādāna-sahi[ta]ś=chatuḥ-si(sī)mā-pa-
12 [r]yantaḥ s-āmra-madhukaḥ sa-gartōsa(sha)raḥ sa-jalasthalaḥ pratinishiddha-chāṭa-
13 bhaṭa-pravēśaḥ **Bhāradva(dvā)ja-sagōtrāya** | **Āṅgirasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāra-**
14 **dvaja-pravarāya** **Uhlāsa-śarmmaṇaḥ** pautrāya | **Na(Nā)rāyaṇa-śa[rmma]-**

Second Plate; First Side.

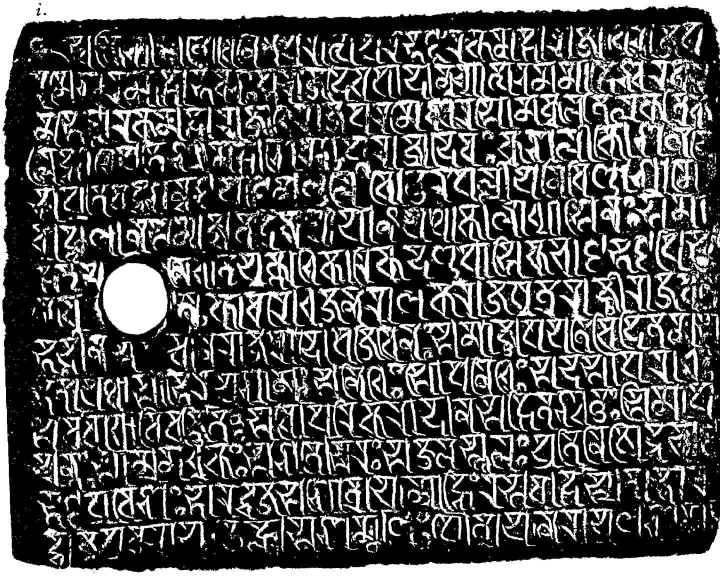
15 ṇa[ḥ*] putrāya | **Bhaṭa[pa]rōlī**[6]**-vinī(ni)rggata(tā)ya** | Kōsalīya-[7]**Maramēṇḍā-**[grā]-
16 mē(ma)-vāstavyāya **Śrī-**[8]**Puṇḍarika-sarmmaṇē** dīkshitāya | **Ganuḍapāṭī-**
17 **maṇḍalē Uttara-pallikāyā Nibinnā**[9]-grāmaḥ [saliladhārā*]pura[s]saram=ā-chandra-tāra-
18 k-ā[r]kka-kshiti-samakē(kā)l-ōpabhōgā[r]tha[ṁ*] mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puna (puṇya)-
19 yaś^(śō)vṛiddhayē tāmbra[10] tāmra-sā(śā)sanēn=ākarīkṛitya pratipādita ity=ava-

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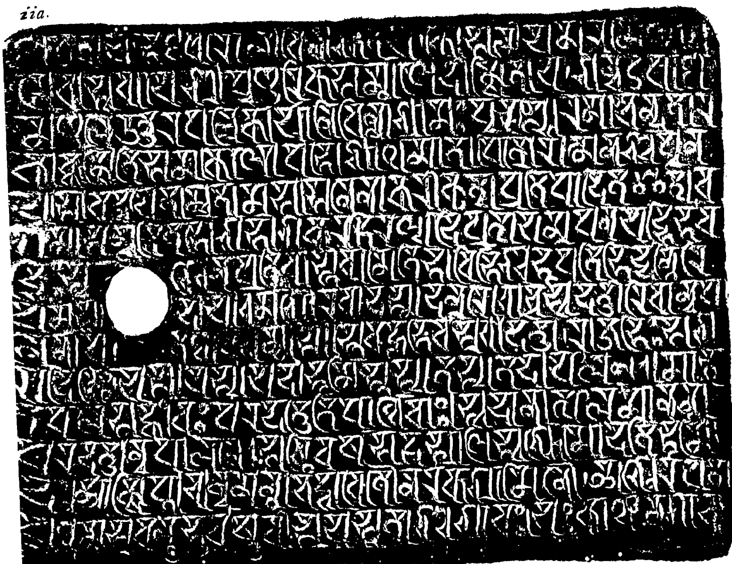
[1] Above, Vol. III, p. 351. [2] From the original plates. [3] Expressed by a symbol.
[4] Read *Parama*°.
[5] This is what I read. It occurs also in line 16. No such name is retained for any village or pargana in the Sonpur State. Ghaṇṭāpāra in the neighbourhood is however suggested.
[6] Where this Bhaṭaparōlī is could not be ascertained.
[7] The prefix *mara* perhaps distinguishes the village from other places bearing the name Meṇḍā.
[8] Read *Puṇḍarīka-śarmaṇē.* [9] In line 5 the name is spelt *Nibiṇḍā.*
[10] Cancel this word.

Nibinna grant of Mahasivagupta Yayati.

i.



iia.



VENKAYYA. SCALE ·75. W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., PHOTO-LITHO.

FROM IMPRESSIONS PREPARED BY MR. KRISHNA SASTRI.



iii.



20 gamya sam[u]chita-bhōga-bhāgakara-hiraṇy-a(ā)di-pratyayam=upanayadbhir=bhava-
21 dbhiḥ sukhēna prativā[s]tavyam=iti [|*] Bhāvibhiś=cha bhūpatibhir=ddanti(tti)r=i-
22 yam=as[ma]dīyā dha[r]ma-g[au]ravād=asmad=anurōdhāch=[cha] sva-dattir(dattir)=iv=ānupa(pā)-
23 [l]inīya[1] | Tathā [ch=ō*]kta[ṁ*] dha[r]mma-sā(śā)strē [|*] Bahubhi[r]=vasudhā dattā (|) rājabhiḥ Saga-
24 r-ādibhiḥ | yasya yas[ya] yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Mā bhū-
25 taphala-saṅkā[2] vaḥ paradatt=ēti pārthivāḥ | sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ
26 para-datt-ānupālanē | Sa(sha)shṭhi(shṭi)-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-(|)
27 daḥ | ākshi(kshē)ptā ch=ānumantā cha dvāv=ētau naraka-grā(gā)minau | Agnēr=apatya[ṁ]
28 pra[tha]ma[ṁ*] suvarṇṇa[ṁ*] bhur(bhūr)=Va(Vai)shṇavī Su(sū)rya-sutāś=cha gāvaḥ | yaḥ kāñchana[ṁ*] gāñ=cha

Second Plate; Second Side.

29 mahīñ=cha dadyā[t] (|) dattās=[tra]yas=tēna bhavanti lōkē(kāḥ) | [3]Āspō(āsphō)ṭayanti pitara[ḥ*]
30 pravalga(ya)nti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi-dātā kulē jātaḥ sa nas=trē(ā)[t]ā
31 bhavishyati | Bhūmi[ṁ*] yaḥ pratigṛih[ṇ]āti yaś=cha bhu(bhū)mi[ṁ*] prayachchhati | ubh[au]
32 tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niyatau(taṁ) svarga-gāminau | Taḍāgānā[ṁ*] sahasrē-
33 ṇa vājapēya-sa(śa)tāni(tēna) cha [|] gavā[ṁ*] kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na su(śu)dhya-
34 ti | Haratē hārayatē yas=t[u] manda-buddhis=tamō-vṛitaḥ subaddhō Vāruṇai[ḥ*]
35 pāsai(śai)s=tiryagōnṛi(gyōniṁ) sa gachchhati | Suvarṇṇam=ēka[ṁ*] gām=ēkā[ṁ*] bhūmi(mē)-
36 r=apy=arddham=aṅgula[ṁ*] [|*] haraṁ(n)=na[ra*]kam=āyāti (|) yāvad=āhuta-sa[ṁ*]-plavaḥ[4] |
37 Sva-[da]ttā[ṁ*] pasāra(para)-dattām=vā yō [5]harad=vas[u]ndharāḥ | sa vishṭhāyā[ṁ] kṛimi-
38 [r]=bhū[tvā] pitṛibhis=saha pachyatē | Ādityō Varuṇō Vishṇa(shṇu)[r=Brahmā*] Sōmō Hu-
39 tāsa(śa)naḥ Su(Śū)lapāṇiś=cha bhagavā[n=a*]bhina[nda*]nti bhūmidaḥ(daṁ) | Sāmānyō=
40 ya[ṁ*] dharmma-sētu[r*]=nṛipāṇā[ṁ*] kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [|*] sar[vā]-
41 n=ētāna(n) bhāvinaḥ pārthivēndrāna(n) bh[ū]yō [bhūyō*] yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ |[6]

Third Plate.

42 Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-binda(ndu)-lōlā[ṁ*] śrī(śri)yam=anuchi[ntya] manushya-jīvi-
43 tañ=cha sakalam=idam=udāhṛiriñ=cha buddhā[7] na hi purushai[ḥ*] para-kīrtayō
44 vilōpyā iti | Paramamāhēśvara-para[ma*]bhaṭāraka-mahārājādhirā-
45 ja-paramēśvara-Sōma-kula-tilaka-Trikaliṅgādhipati-śrīmad-Yayā-
46 t[i]rājadēvasya pādānupravarddhamāna-vijayarājyē pañchadasa(śa)mē
47 samvatsarē | Marggasi (Mārgaśira)-māsē (|) sū(śu)klapakshē trayōdas(ś)yān=tithau Samva-

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[1] Read °*pālanīyā*. [2] Read °*bhūd=aphala-śaṅkā*.

[3] The akshara *a* is different from the other initial *as* which occur in this inscription. It resembles the letter *ḍa*.

[4] Read =*ā-bhūta-samplavam*. [5] Read *harēta vasundharām*.

[6] After the mark of punctuation, there is a symbol which may be the vowel *i* erased by the engraver himself, as it is written at the beginning of the next line.

[7] Read =*udāhṛitañ=cha buddhvā*-.

48 t 15 Mārgga sudi 13 [|*] Likhi[ta*]m=idaṁ sā(śā)sana[ṁ*] mahāsāndhi-
49 vigrahika-rāṇaka-Śrī-[1]Chārudattasy=āvagatēna mahākshapa-
50 ṭa[la]ka- Śrī-Uchchhava-Ṇāgēn=Āllava-Nāga-sutēn=ē(ō)tkīrṇṇa[ṁ*] Ṭṭhakura-Panā-
51 kēn=ēti | Sampadō jalaja-parṇṇa-jalābhā | jīvitta maraṇa-santa-
52 ti-sa[ṁ*]stha[ṁ*] bhōga-bhū(u)ktir=achirāya vilōkyaḥ (?) kīrttayō nṛipatibhi[r*]=
nṛi(nna)
53 lōpyā iti |

C.—The charter of Śatrubhañja.

These are three copper-plates (four sides), the first and last of which bear writing on the inner sides only. The third plate is a little smaller than the other two. The height and breadth of the plates vary — the former being smaller about the middle than at the margins and the latter being greater in the middle than at the margins. The first two plates measure 8″ in breadth in the middle and about $7\frac{7}{8}$″ at the margin. Their height varies from $4\frac{7}{8}$″ in the middle to 5″ at the margin. The third plate varies in height from $4\frac{3}{4}$″ to $4\frac{7}{8}$″ and $7\frac{5}{8}$″ to $7\frac{3}{4}$″ in breadth. The plates are strung together on a circular ring 3″ in diameter through a hole cut on the left margin of each plate at a distance of about $\frac{7}{8}$″ from the edge. Between the margin and the proper ring-hole is a second smaller hole on the third plate, the object of which is not apparent. The ends of the ring are secured at the bottom of an oval seal whose major and minor diameters are $2\frac{1}{4}$″ and $1\frac{3}{4}$″ respectively. Across the seal is engraved in relief the legend *Śrī-Śa[tru]bhaṁ[ja]-dēvasya* in the alphabet employed in the inscription. Above the legend is a crescent enclosing within its arc a round dot which is perhaps intended to represent the Sun. Below the legend is a recumbent bull facing the proper right. A small portion of the seal is broken to the proper right of the bull.

The inscription belongs to the reign of king Śatrubhañjadēva (l. 10) or Bhañjabhūpati (l. 14), who is described as belonging to the Bhañja race (l. 16 f.) and to the Aṇḍaja-vaṁśa (l. 16). He was apparently the ruler of Ubhaya-Khiñjali-maṇḍala (l. 17). In line 4 reference is made to many kings (named) Śilābhañjadēva.[2] In their family was king Śatrubhañjadēva. He granted Milupāḍi-Khaṇḍakshētra in the district of Rōyarā-vishaya. The donee was the *bhaṭaputra* Krishṇa, son of Ākhaṇḍala and grandson of Mahōdadhi. He was an immigrant from Ālāpa-grāma, belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra* and was a student of the Sāmavēda. He is said to have had three *rishis* for his *pravara*, but their names are not given. The whole inscription is so full of mistakes that it is hardly possible to correct them. Even the imprecatory verses are not correctly quoted. There is no doubt that the record was composed by some ignorant person, and I cannot altogether suppress my suspicion about the genuineness of the grant.

Four other inscriptions of the Bhañja family are known, three from Orissa and the fourth from Gumsūr in the Ganjam District. One of them, which has been published by the late Professor Kielhorn,[3] furnishes the following pedigree :—

Raṇabhañjadēva
|
Digbhañjadēva
|
Śilābhañjadēva
|
Mahārāja Vidyādharabhañjadēva
Dharmakalaśa
(parama-māhēśvara).

[1] [The reading intended is probably -*Dhāradatta* and what looks like the *u* of *ru* may be due to a mistake of the engraver.—Ed.]

[2] Śilābhañjapāṭi is the name of a village in the Ōḍra country ; see above Vol. III, p. 354.

[3] Above, Vol. IX, p. 273.

One of the Bāmanghāṭī plates[1] is dated in Saṁvat 288 and during the reign of **Raṇabhañja**, son of Digbhañja and grandson of Koṭṭabhañja of the Bhañja family,[2] while the other belongs to the time of Rājabhañja, son of Raṇabhañja, and grandson of Koṭṭabhañja of the Bhañja family.[3] In the Gumsūr plates, the donor is Nētṛibhañja, son of Raṇabhañja and grandson of Śatrubhañja. The following tentative genealogy may be derived from these four records :—

Koṭṭabhañja
Digbhañja (alias *Śatrubhañja ?*).
|
Raṇabhañja
|

Rājabhañja	Digbhañja	Nētṛibhañja
	|	(*Kalyāṇakalaśa*)
	Śilābhañjadēva	
	|	
	Mahārāja Vidyādharabhañja.	
	Dharmakalaśa	

The subjoined grant is dated during the reign of **Śatrubhañja**, but I doubt if it has to be assigned to the first king on the foregoing tentative genealogy. I would rather assign it to some successor of **Vidyādharabhañja** on the above table. The emblems on the seal may be taken to show that Śatrubhañja was a Śaiva. But in line 16 of the text he is described as a fervent devotee of the god Vishṇu (*parama-vaishṇava*). The modern representatives of the **Bhañja** family are the rulers of the native state of **Mōrbhañj** in Orissa, which probably owes its name to a king named Mayūrabhañja. The indirect reference to this king in the present grant in the epithet *aṇḍaja-vaṁśa-prabhava* is to my mind satisfactory evidence of the donor Śatrubhañja having lived at a comparatively later period. In the two **Bāmanghāṭī** plates mention is made of **Vīrabhadra**, the founder of the Bhañja family, who is said to have been born in the great *tapōvana* at **Kōṭyāśrama** by breaking open a pea-hen's egg.[4]

TEXT.[5]

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[6] Svasti [||*] Saṁghāra-kāla-hutabhug-vikarāla-ghōra-saṁbhrānta-ki[ṁ*]kara-kṛi-
2 tānta bhina | gahanāndhakāra-surāsura-gahanādapatra tadabhairavaṁ Hara-va-
3 puḥ bhavataḥ prapātuḥ || Durvāraḥ vāraṇa-pratipaksha-Lakshi-haṭa-grahaṇa śuddha
4 Śrī-Śilābhañja-dēva-[7]narāddhipatayō bahavō babhūva bhūri-sahasra-saṅkhā tēshāṁ ku-
5 l[ē] sakala-bhū talapāla[8]-mauli-mālārchita-pāda-ghṛishu khaḍga-dhārā-hatē-
6 na nṛipati-Śrī-Śilābha[ṁ*]jadēva prakaṭa-paurusha-raśmi-chakra-ni-

[1] No. 655 of the late Prof. Kielhorn's Northern list.

[2] The queer wording of the inscription makes it doubtful if Digbhañja was a mere surname of Koṭṭabhañja or if Digbhañja denoted a distinct king. In any case the identification of Śatrubhañja and Digbhañja with Koṭṭabhañja is purely tentative.

[3] No. 656 of the same list.

[4] The Bhañjas of Maurbhanja as well as of Ganjam have the peacock (*mayūra*) as something like a totem. The Bhañja-rājas all say that they had their origin in a peacock.

[5] From the original plates. The text is hopelessly corrupt and I have made no attempt to correct the numerous mistakes.

[6] Expressed also by a symbol at the beginning of the line.

[7] Śilābhañjadēva was apparently the father of the donor.

[8] From *la* of *sakala* up to *pā* of °*pāla*, there is an erasure in the original.

7 ta nisirdānitārihṛidayōpi ptā nṛipatayaḥ || Gambhiryēṇa payōnidhi sthi-
8 ratvēna [1]pṛithivyā valēnānila +[2] savitājananō[3] — chimāsamamaḥ tapasō Vṛi-
9 haspate(ti)-samaḥ | amāsava jaga namakṛitya tajā dattāvakāsō vijarājā-
10 na Śrī-Śatrubha[ṁ*]jadēva itatuladdhiḥ tasmātatējasaiḥ bhuvanan-dānya madamāna-mi-
11 lita sambaddhata nṛipacha[kra] chaturaṅgabala kshōbha-chalita-ddharāmaṇḍala || Gaja-tura-
12 ga-khura-nidāraṇa-raṇa-prasara dadvaladvali vitāna chhachhana janyāgaṇa-

Second Plate ; First Side.

13 skaddha (?)-vēdikā sēmvarāyataḥ pariṇata-jaya-Lakshi-samānaṁ[4] dita-pairaja-
14 napadaḥ Śrīmad-Bha[ṁ*]ja-bhūpati purā pa[5](?)ti pura nānyaḥ saradamala dhavala-kara
15 jasa-paṭala-ddhavalita-digavadanō anavarata-pravrita saṁmana dānādita-
16 sakala-janō Aṇḍaja-vaṁśa-prabhava[6] parama-Vaishṇava matā-pitṛi-pādānudhyāta Bhañja-
17 mala-kula-tilakaḥ Ubhaya-Khiñjali-maṇḍala-bhavishyad-rāja-rājanākā[7]
18 śrī ta[ra]ṅga-kumā[ra]-māra-mānya mahā-sāmata[8] brāhmaṇa praddhāna a-
19 nyāś=cha daṇḍapāsi-chāṭa-bhāṭa-vallabha-jātinā || yathārahamā-
20 nayati bōddhayati samādiśayati ch=ānyat || Śivam=asmākaṁ viditam=a-
21 stu bhavatāṁ Rōyarā-vishaya-pratibaddha-Milupāḍi-khaṇḍakshētra-chatuḥ-simā(sīmā)-pa-
22 ryanta-nidhi-schōpanidhi-sahitaṁ akshaya-tritiya-yugādi-dinē[9] Gaṁgāsaṁdhyi[10]
23 mātā-pitrō ātmanaḥ punma-virddhayē salila-ddhārā-purasarēṇa vidhinā
24 vidhi viddhānēna saviddhēyaḥ | Tāvra-śāsana pratipāditōyaḥ | yāva-vēda-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

25 rtha-vachanēnaḥ Kāsyapa-gōtrāya triyāriśaya-pravarāa Sāma-vēdādhyā-
26 yī Ālāpa-grāma[11]-vinirggataḥ bhaṭaputra Kṛishṇē Ākhaṇḍala-suta-Mahōda-
27 dhi-naptrē[12] | Tathā ch=ōktaṁ dharma-śāstrēshu [chhā ?]la-[kri]shṭhān-mahiṁ dadyā | sabijāsasya mē-
28 dini yāva surya-kṛitāṁ lōkāṁ tāva-svargamahiyatē || Āsph[ō]ṭayati pi-
29 taraḥ pravalganti pitāmahā bhūmi-dātā-kulē jātā sa mē trātā bhaïshyati
30 Bahubhir=vasudhā dataṁ rājāna Sagarādibhi yasya yasya yadā bhūmi
31 tasya tasya tadā [pha]la || Mā pārthiva kadāchita[13] brahmasva[14] ma-

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[1] The syllables *prithivyā* are engraved over an erasure.

[2] This cross is incised below the line between the *aksharas la* and *sa*.

[3] The akshara *ja* seems to have been erased by the engraver himself.

[4] There is a *visarga* after the akshara *naṁ*.

[5] This letter looks also like *rdhri*.

[6] *Aṇḍaja* means 'born of an egg (*aṇḍa*)' of a peacock.

[7] The *aksharas* from *ñja* of *khiñjali* up to *mā* of the second *māra* in the next line are engraved over an erasure. The akshara *śrī* at the beginning of the next line has perhaps to be cancelled.

[8] It is not easy to ascertain to whom the epithet *mahāsāmata* applies, as the construction is extremely faulty.

[9] The grant was made on the *akshaya-tritīyā* day which falls on Vaiśākha-śukla-tritīyā. *Yugādi-dinē* may mean 'on a Friday on which the Kaliyuga commenced.' [See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 179, under Vaiśākha-śuklapaksha.—Ed.]

[10] By *Gaṅgāsandhi* is perhaps meant the confluence of the Mahānadī and the Tol.

[11] The village Ālāpa could not be identified.

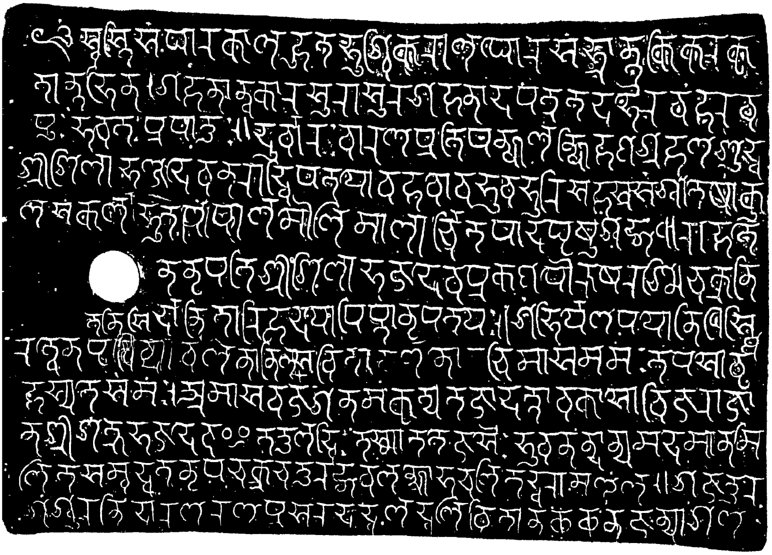
[12] Kṛishṇa, son of Ākhaṇḍala and grandson of Mahōdadhi, is the donee.

[13] The akshara *dā* of *kadāchit* is engraved over an erasure.

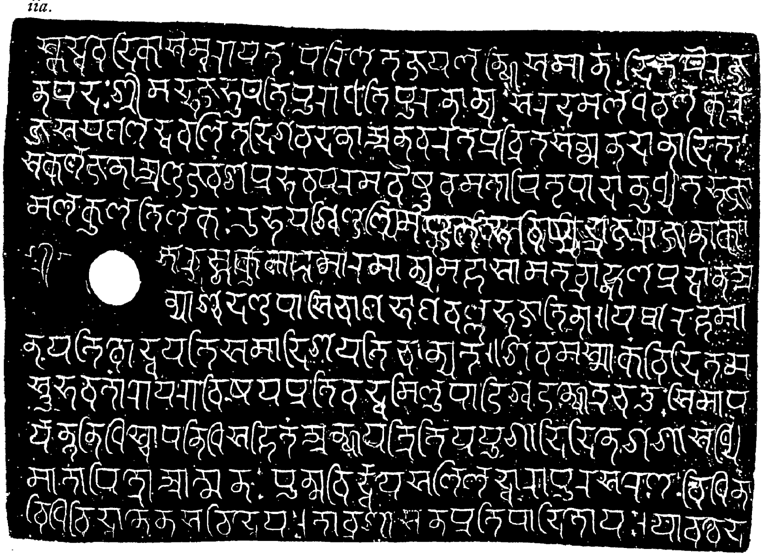
[14] Land enjoyed by a brāhmaṇa as rent-free is now called *brahmōttara*, not *brahmasva* as it is here.

Sonpur plates of Satrubhanja.

i.

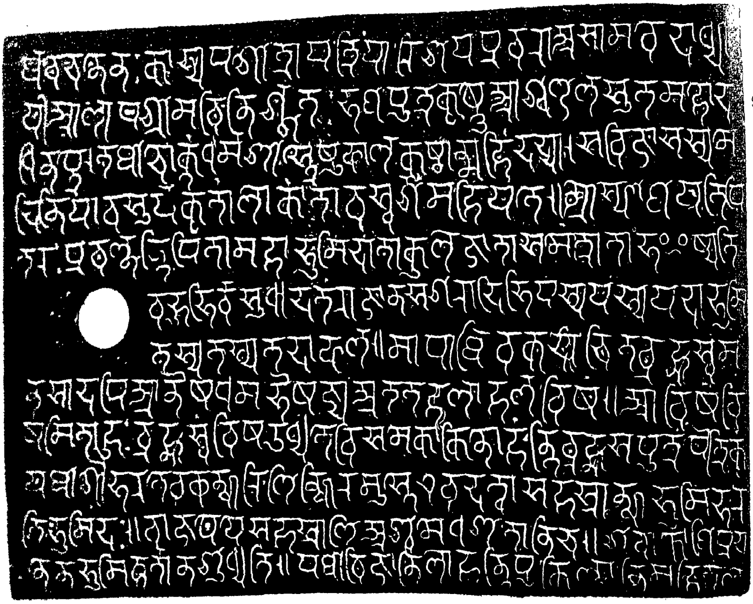


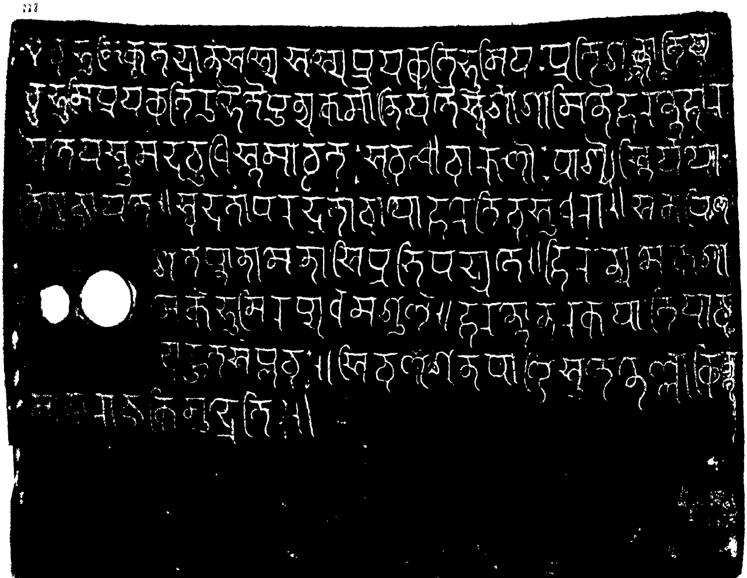
iia.



V. VENKAYYA. SCALE·8. W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., PHOTO-LITHO.

FROM IMPRESSIONS PREPARED BY MR. KRISHNA SASTRI.





32 nasād=api ānēsha dhamabhēshajya atata halāhala-visham || Āvisha[ṁ] vi-
33 shamitāhuḥ brahmasvaṁ visha u[ch]yatē visam=ēkākinō haṁnti brahmasa putra-paitrikaṁ
34 yathā gau bharatē vachhaksharini kshiramustē ēva datvā sahasrāksha bhūmi bhara-
35 ti bhūmidaḥ || Vājapēyē-sahasrāṇi aśvamēdha-śatāni cha || gavā[ṁ*] kōṭi-pradā-
36 nēna bhūmihartā na śudhyati || yathā bijāni lōhanti pukirṇṇāni mahitala[1]

Third Plate.

37 Ēva bhūmi-kṛita-dānaṁ sasyē[2] sasyē prayachhati [|*] bhūmi yaḥ pratigṛihnāti ya-
38 chhchha bhūmi prayachhati ubhai tai punya-karmā niyatai svargā-gāminai [||*] Harantē hāra-
39 yatē yas=tu ma[ṁ]da-budhis=tamā-vṛitaḥ sa batdhā Vāruṇauḥ pāśyēs=tiryayō-
40 nishu jāyētē || Sva-datāṁ para-datāṁ vā yō harēti vasu[ṁ]dharā || sa kapilā-
41 śataghnānām=ēnāsi pratipadyatē || Hiraṁnyamēka gā-
42 m=ēka[ṁ] bhūmir=apy=ardham=agula || harantō naraka yā[ṁ]ti yāva-
43 d-āhuta-saṁplavaḥ || **Siva[ṇa]gana Pāṇḍi**[3]-sutēnē llāchhinta[4]
44 māhārājaki[5] mudrētiḥ ||

* * * * * *

In order to localise and identify the places mentioned in the foregoing three grants and other allied inscriptions we must try and ascertain how and where the originals were found. A and B as well as S were discovered by cultivators while ploughing fields in the villages granted by the charters. As regards **Milupāḍi Khaṇḍakshētra** of C, Milupāḍi or Milupāṇḍi may be the name of a plot of land. All fields in the district of Sambalpur as well as in the feudatory states attached to it bear local names; and if Khaṇḍakshētra denoted merely a stray piece of land, no identification of it is possible. But Khaṇḍakshētra may also be the name of a village; for in F 1, line 13, we actually find the word as the name of a village. The resident of that village is said to have come from **Oḍayaśriṅga,** which I identify with **Oḍśiṅgā** in the native state of Āṭmallik. **Rōyarā** being on the borders of Sonpur State (C, line 21), not far off either from Pāṭṇā or Āṭmallik, there might have been a village of the name Khaṇḍakshētra in the locality where the record was unearthed.

It must be noted that the states of Rerhakhol, Āṭmallik, Bodh and Pāṭṇā lie to the north, north-east, east and south, respectively, of the Sonpur State which they adjoin. Of the geographical names mentioned in F 1, the river **Ōṅgā** (now called **Ong**) flows through the states of Pāṭṇā and Sonpur. The Zamīndārī of Barpali (district Sambalpur) in which the village **Satallamā**, the modern **Satalmā** of S is situated, is also within a few miles from the river Ong flowing past Sālēbhaṭā. **Bakēbirā** and **Loiśiṅgā (Vakaveḍḍā** and **Lēiśriṅgā** of F 1) are also close to Sālēbhaṭā Police Station.

Nuptara, Nupursinga and Banktentuli (*Lupattarā Khaṇḍīya Vakratentalī grāmē*, line 5, A) are in the neighbourhood of the place where A was obtained. As **Suvarṇapura** (A, line 1) is certainly the Sanskṛitised form of **Sonpur,** so also is **Rāḍhāphaṁvallikandara** (A, line 12),

[1] The aksharas *ni* and *hita* are engraved over an erasure.

[2] The form *sasye-sasye,* etc. indicating abundance of crops, shows that the dialect then in use was similar to Bengali, for this is now used only in Bengal as an idiomatic form.

[3] Read *Śivaṇāgēna*. The akshara *ṇa* of *ṇāga* is corrected apparently from *ga*.

[4] The word used here for 'engraving' must be some Dēśi term then current.

[What is intended is probably *Śivanāgēna Pāṇḍi-sutēna lāñchhitam,* and *mahārājaki mudrētiḥ* seems to mean *mahārājasya mudrayēti*. On the word *lāñchhita* see the late Professor Kielhorn's remarks, above, Vol. IX. p. 274.—Ed.]

[5] The form *mahārāja-ki* is Hindi pure and simple. The use of this form is worth noting.

a very high sounding form of **Rerhakhol**. The word 'kandara' means 'khol' both in Uriya and vulgar Bengali.

Murasima (F 1, line 1 and S, line 2) appears to be **Mursing** which is in the Jarāsiṅgā Zamindārī of the Pāṭnā State. The situation of Satalmā, Bakēbirā and Loisiṅgā led me first to make this identification. My impression is confirmed by the fact that it is customary with the Zamindār of Jarāsiṅgā to be ceremoniously installed every year on the Dasara day (10th day from the full moon of the month of Aśvin) by going to Mursing, which is at present quite an insignificant village.

There is no doubt that when A was issued, the donor was present at Sonpur. The word *vijaya-kaṭaka* in line 1 of the Pāṭnā copper-plate grant (F. 1), like *vijaya-skandhāvāra* (A, line 1), occurring as it does after the name of the place where the king was residing, can never mean a town. "From Murasima (or from Suvarṇapura, as the case may be) where the king with his victorious soldiers was encamped" should be the meaning of the first line of the text of both F 1 and A.

It is very probable that a town was being built at Chaudwār, on the bank of the Mahānadi, opposite Kaṭak, either by **Janamējaya** or his son **Yayāti**; but it was never finished. Dr. Fleet has very rightly remarked (above, Vol III, 324) that the town **Kaṭak** is of later origin than **Chaudwār**. If this be the case, how could the place attain any celebrity already in the time of Janamējaya? It may be that the town Kaṭak owes its name to the fact of its being built on a camping ground. As the king must have encamped in many different places, it is impossible that the name Kaṭaka had at such an early period as the reign of Janamējaya, become the proper name of the locality to which it is now applied. Dr. Fleet saw clearly what the word meant,[1] but was only misled by the name of the town where the plates edited by him were preserved. Since it is clear that the Sonpur charters were issued from Sonpur, there is no reason to suppose that the charters relating to Bakēbirā (F 1) and Satalma (S) — not far from one another — were not issued from some place in Pāṭnā during the military expedition of the grantor.

I am inclined to think that the town **Vinītapura**, whence **Mahāśivagupta** issued B granting the village of **Nibinnā**, is no other than **Binikā** in the Sonpur State. The villages Nibinnā and **Meṇḍā** (now a police station) are in the Binikā subdivision. From the source of the river to the Bay of Bengal there is no other town on the bank of the Mahānadī which bears such a name. Considering that even villages very often retain their old names, it is not likely that a town of such importance has lost its name altogether. For this reason I think Vinītapura is the Sanskṛitised form of the non-Aryan name Binikā.

It is a pity that the original find-spot of F 5 cannot now be known. How the charter relating to a village in the Kōsala country was carried to the Government record room at Kaṭak, was not at all inquired into by Babu Rangalal Banerji when he first edited it in 1877. I can easily imagine how the charters granted in favour of the chief minister of the king (F 2, F 3 and F 4) were carried by him and left behind.

I must, by the way, mention one fact here, regarding the names of those villages mentioned in the plates edited by Dr. Fleet, which I have failed to identify, because the locality where they were discovered could not be traced. Raṇḍā, Meṇḍā, Marḍā, Leṇḍā, Tuluṇḍā, Kuluṇḍā, Buleṇḍā, Balaṇḍā, and such other names many villages in the district of Sambalpur bear. Raṇḍā, Tulēṇḍā, Alāṇḍalā, etc. of the plates bear the provincial peculiarities of the names of villages in the district of Sambalpur.

The district of Sambalpur and the Uriya-speaking feudatory states attached to it, were included in the Chattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces till October 1905, for administrative

[1] Above, Vol. III. p. 341.

convenience due to their geographical situation. It is perfectly clear that this tract of country was also once included within **Kōsala-dēśa** or **Dakshiṇa Kōsala** of which **Ratanpur** (in the district of Bilaspur) was the capital, but did not form any part of Ōḍra or Orissa. For, in the first place, Nibinnā in Sonpur (B, lines 4, 5, 15 and 16) and Satallamā (modern Satalma) in Sambalpur (S, line 9) are described as villages in Kōsala-dēśa.[1] Secondly, the Brāhmaṇa who came from Orissa to be settled in the district of Sambalpur, could not have been called a man of Ōḍra-dēśa (S, lines 16 and 17) if the district were part of Orissa. It is worthy of note that even now, when anybody goes to Puri on pilgrimage, either from Sambalpur or from the feudatory states, he says he is going to Orissa. In popular language, Orissa does not include Sambalpur and its feudatory states.

The grantors of the charters F 1 to F 6, A, B, and S, called themselves lords of **Kōsala-dēśa**[2] as well as of **Trikaliṅga**. It is worthy of note that the **Kēsari** kings are counted in Orissa from Yayāti and not from his father Janamējaya. There is another Janamējaya in the list of kings, but he was a remote successor of Yayāti. Merely because no epigraphic record of Janamējaya has been obtained, it cannot be argued that it is Janamējaya Mahābhavagupta I., who has been wrongly shown on the list. This is at least certain that the Orissa record does not know anything of Śivagupta who is the first king of this line.

Since all the copper-plate grants of **Mahābhavagupta I.** relate to villages in Kōsala-dēśa[3] (including Sambalpur of course) it must be presumed that, to begin with, the Sōmavaṁśi kings became powerful in Kōsala-dēśa only; and that it was only subsequently that they extended their influence into Orissa. **Sādhāraṇa**, who was the chief minister of Mahābhavagupta I., was granted villages for his enjoyment in Kōsala-dēśa (F 2 to F 4). He could not have managed them if he had been living far away from those villages; nor would the king select such distant villages for his minister who was his favourite.

Whether the **Guptas** who were lords of **Kōsala** and **Orissa** were connected with the family of **Śivagupta**, son of **Harshagupta** of the **Rājim**, **Sirpur** and **Ratanpur** records is a question which awaits solution. That the Hinduised **Śabara** king **Udayana** belonged to, or rather claimed descent from, the lunar race, like the Sōmavaṁśi kings, and that the successors of Udayana from **Tīvara** downwards assumed the title Gupta, and were all Śaivas, have been fully established. From the inscription of **Bhavadēva** published by Professor Kielhorn (J. R. A. S. 1905, pp. 617-629) it may be inferred that different branches of the same family reigned simultaneously at different places. The assumption by Bhavadēva of the title **Kēsarin** has also to be noted. Dr. Fleet did not accept the suggestion of Sir Alexander Cunningham, not because there was any chronological difficulty in identifying the father of Janamējaya with Śivagupta of the Rājim plates, but because he considered it not possible on palæographic grounds.[4]

The characters of the Sambalpur and Orissa plates differ very much from those of the Rājim and Ratanpur records; but the cause of this difference may be the following. King Janamējaya and his successors had many Bengali Kāyasthas for their court officers. We get the names Kailāsa Ghōsha, father of Vallabha Ghōsha (S),[5] Kōi Ghōsha,[6] son of Vallabha

[1] [Satallamā was in Kaśalōḍā-vishaya,— not in Kōsala-dēśa — Ed.]

[2] [In F 1, A and S, there is nothing to connect the donors with Kōsala; but in F 2 to F 6 and B the donative villages are said to be in the Kōsala country.—Ed.]

[3] [See the preceding note.—Ed.]

[4] Above, Vol. III, p. 333.

[5] [The text of this inscription has कायस्थ भाल्लवेन कै(वि)लाससुतेन.—Ed.]

[6] Kōi Ghōsha seems to be a contraction of Kailāsa Ghōsha.

Ghōsha (A and F 1), Malla Datta, son of Dhāra Datta[1] (F 1, F 2, F 3, F 4, and S) in the employment of Janamējaya; the names Chāru Datta,[2] Uchchhava Nāga and Allava Nāga[3] under king Yayāti (B) and the names Siṅga Datta[4] and Maṅgala Datta under Bhimaratha (F 6). None but Bengali kāyasthas bear Datta, Ghōsha, Nāga, etc., as surnames. The Uriya Karans (who may be called kāyasthas) never used such surnames. The words Datta, Ghōsha, etc., as inseparable parts of the names of men, were in use in other parts of Northern India; and such names could be borne by persons of any and every caste. But as these words are surnames here of Kāyasthas, there can be no doubt that the kings had Bengali officers under them when they acquired territories in the forest tract of Sambalpur.

The writers and engravers used the alphabet which was current amongst them. Mr. Thomas remarked long ago that these letters resemble mostly, and are identical in some cases with, the modern Bengali alphabet. The letters *kra*, *ṅga*, *ñchu*, *tu*, and *pha* are striking examples. But it must also be borne in mind that some letters represent the modern Uriya forms of them only. If we compare the alphabet of the epigraphic records of the Pāla and the Sēna kings of Bengal, we can clearly see how the modern forms of Bengali and Uriya letters were evolved. These characters were also in use in the district of Ganjam, but they were slightly modified by southern influence (*e.g.* above, Vol. III., plate facing p. 222). Inscriptions written purely by Uriya scribes also bear the forms of these letters with the provincial peculiarities of Bengali letters (C). I cannot deal with the historical significance of it here.

The cumulative effect of the forgoing facts is certainly on the side of the suggestion of Sir Alexander Cunningham that the Guptas who were Kōsalēndras and Trikaliṅgādhipatis must have sprung from the Hinduised Śabara family of Udayana.

[The identification proposed by Mr. Mazumdar of Vinītapura with Binikā in the Sonpur State has been arrived at independently by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his article on the Sirpur Stone Inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta which, though received prior to this paper, has been unavoidably delayed for want of proper impressions of the inscription.—Ed.]

No. 9.—FIVE VALABHI PLATES.

BY PROFESSOR STEN KONOW, PH.D.; CHRISTIANIA.

In the *Indian Antiquary*[5] has been published an "Account of a collection of copper-plates belonging to the Palitānā State. By the late A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S." The collection consists of twelve plates, which were found some forty years ago. They were strung together on a copper wire, about ⅜″ thick, and suspended by it from the roof of a small underground chamber adjoining a tank in Palitānā. Two of these plates form a grant by the *Sāmanta Mahārāja* Siṁhāditya, the remaining ten make up four complete and two incomplete Valabhī grants.[6] The twelve plates have been kindly lent to Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, the Government Epigraphist for India, who has been good enough to send me impressions of eight of them, prepared at his request in Dr. Vogel's office.

Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya describes the wire on which the plates had been strung as being about 8″ in length. Its two extremities are secured into an oval seal measuring $2\frac{1}{16}''$ by $1\frac{3}{4}''$.

[1] [There is no evidence in the inscriptions to show that this man was a *kāyastha*. On the other hand, he is called a *rāṇaka* in F 2 and S.—Ed.]

[2] [See note 1 on page 98 above.—Ed.]

[3] [Chāru Datta is called a *rāṇaka*, while the other two are not spoken of as *kāyasthas*.—Ed.]

[4] [There is nothing in the inscription to show that Siṅga Datta, who held the office of *sandhivigrahin*, was a *kāyastha*.—Ed.]

[5] Vol. XXXIX. pp. 129 f.

[6] See above, pp. 16 and 80.

The seal bears in relief, on a countersunk surface, a recumbent bull, facing the proper right, with a pretty large hump, and below it the legend *Śrī-Bhaṭakkaḥ*. The bull and the legend are separated by two horizontal lines, of which the upper one is not quite distinct.

The eight plates contain three complete and two incomplete Valabhī grants. The three complete ones and one of the two incomplete ones belong to the *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna I. One of them is dated [Valabhī-] Saṁvat 206, two [Valabhī-] Saṁvat 210, while the incomplete one does not contain a date. The same is the case with the remaining plate, which forms the beginning of a grant issued by Śilāditya I. Dharmāditya.

I. PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA I.; [VALABHĪ-] SAṀVAT 206.

These are two plates, each written on one side only. According to Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, "the working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely on the back of both plates." The length of the plates is $9\frac{7}{8}''$ and the height $6\frac{3}{4}''$—7." The size of the individual letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The plates are, to judge from the impressions, in a very good state of preservation. The first plate contains 14 and the second 16 lines of well executed writing.

The characters are the same as in other old Valabhī plates. They comprise the signs for initial *ī* in *-Īśvara-*, l. 16, and for *ḍh* in *Ḍhiṇḍaka-*, l. 17. There are two signs of interpunctuation, *viz.* a single dot in l. 18 and a double dot or *visarga* in *vasēḥ* instead of *vasēt*, l. 27; *-Dhruvasēnasyaḥ*, i.e. *Dhruvasēnasya* ||, l. 29. The numerical symbols for 200, 6, and 5 occur in l. 30.

With regard to orthography, we may note that the name of the first ancestor of the Maitrakas occurs in the form *Bhaṭakka*, as in all the older plates. The form *Bhaṭārka* is a later attempt at Sanskritizing the name, and there is no reason for preferring it, at least so long as we do not know whether the name is Indian or not. The *ō* in *-phalōpa-*, l. 12, looks almost like an *i*. The dropping of a final *t* in *kaiś=chi*, l. 23; *vasēḥ*, i.e. *vasēt*, l. 27, and the writing of *s* instead of *sh* in *sōḍaśa-*, l. 17, are probably Prākṛitisms; compare also *-Drōṇasiṁhaḥ siṁha*, l. 10. Note further the use of an *ṅ* instead of an *ṁ* before *ś* in *chatvāriṅśad-*, l. 16, and *chatvāriṅśat*, l. 18, and the doubling of surds, nasals and liquids after an *r*; thus, *-ōpārjjita-*, l. 3; *-manur=mmanv-*, *-dharmmā Dharmma-*, l. 7; *-ārttha-*, l. 11; *-pādāvartta-*, ll. 16, 17, 18; *pūrvvōttara-*, l. 18, etc.; but *-ārka-*, l. 20; and finally, the spelling *jy* in *Jarabhajjyi-*, l. 19. The writing *jy* instead of *j* recurs in *Jyāvāla-* in l. 16 of the plates of Saṁvat 210, Śrāvaṇa śu. 15, which will be published below. It is comparable with the common modern spelling *jy* in order to denote the pure palatal and not the sound *dz* in Marāṭhī districts. This spelling is therefore of interest for the chronology of the change of *j* to *dz* in Marāṭhī. Professor Jacobi[1] has suggested to call the language usually designated Jaina Māhārāshṭrī, the language of Jaina commentators and poets, Saurāshṭrī. He draws attention to the old Jaina tradition that the ultimate redaction of the Jaina books was made in Valabhī in the year 980 after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. It would therefore seem probable that Jaina Māhārāshṭrī represents the dialect of Valabhī about 500 A.D. Jaina Māhārāshṭrī is closely related to Māhārāshṭrī, the parent of modern Marāṭhī,[2] and not to Śaurasēnī, from which Gujarātī is mainly derived. There are also other features which point to the conclusion that the language of Kathyawar and Gujarat generally has not always been of the same kind as at the present day, but more like the dialects from which Marāṭhī is derived,[3] and it is therefore possible to compare the spelling *jy* in Valabhī plates and in modern Marāṭhī with each other, though Marāṭhī is not now spoken in the districts where these plates were issued. The writing *rājaśrīḥ* l. 3, where the published grants of Dhruvasēna have *rājyaśrīḥ*, is perhaps also comparable, the modern change of *j* to *dz* not taking place in the word *rājā*.

[1] *The Kalpasûtra of Bhadrabāhu*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 15. 18.

[2] Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, para. 20.

[3] See Dr. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. IX. Part II. pp. 326 f.

The writing is on the whole fairly correct. There are, however, some places in which the engraver has misread his draft. Thus we find *a* instead of *ā* in *chatvariṁśad-*, l. 16; *-ṁapi*, l. 17; *-chāribhyaṁ*, l. 19; *sāmanyaṁ*, l. 24; *a* for *i* in *-vachchhurita-*, l. 5; *ā* for *a* in *-praśastaka-*, l. 7; *-paddhātir=*, l. 8; *-mahattarā-*, l. 14; *ārṇṇava-*, l. 21; *ā* for *ē* in *-mōdāt=*, instead of *-mōdēta*, l. 25; *i* for *a* in *=ivabōddhā*, l. 11; *ī* for *i* in *-maulīmaṇir=*, l. 7; *g* for *ś* in *-vaṅga-*, l. [illegible]; *t* for *g* in *-bhōtyaṁ*, l. 21; *t* for *n* in *=numattavyaḥ*, l. 25; *t* for *v* in *-ārjjat-*, l. 2; *d* for *p* in *-dātakaiḥ*, l. 25; *dhru* for *hṛi* in *sudhrut-*, l. 12; *n* for *v* in *-jīnyamāna-*, l. 6; *-nyavas[illegible]*, l. 8; *p* for *b* in *=āpādhā*, l. 23; *p* for *y* in *apam=*, l. 25; *ru* for *ka* in *-ābhishēru-*, l. 9; and so forth. Note also the absence of *saṁdhi* in *-dīdhitiḥ dīn-*, l. 5; *srishṭaḥ yatō*, l. 22, etc., and the confusion of the dual and the plural in *Vyāsagītau ślōkā bhavanti*, l. 26.

The plates contain a grant issued from Valabhī by the *Mahāsāmanta, the Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna bestowing several plots of land in the villages **Madkaṇā, Tāpasīya and Tinis[illegible]ka**, in the Hastavaprāharaṇī (district), on the Chhandōgas **Kumāraśarman and Jarabhajin**, of the Sāṇḍilya *gōtra*, residents of Śaṅkaravāṭaka. Hastavaprāharaṇī is well known from other Valabhī inscriptions.[1] It corresponds to the modern Hāthab, 6 miles south of Gōgha in the Bhāvnagar State. The lower classes pronounce this name **Hāthap**,[2] and this form is probably the correct one. It can be regularly derived from *Hastakapra*, but hardly from *Hastavapra* or *Hastavapra*. These forms look like learned Sanskṛit versions of an older *Hatthakappa* and are hardly genuine. *Astakapra* of the Periplus points to an original *Hastakapra*. The names of the three villages in the district are not elsewhere known. The grant was issued from Valabhī, the present Wāḷā, situated in 21° 52′ N. and 71° 57′ E. I cannot identify Śaṅkaravāṭaka, where the two donees were residing. The *dūtaka* was the *pratihāra* Mammaka, who appears in the same capacity in the two grants of Dhruvasēna of Saṁvat 207.[3] The writer was the same **Kikkaka**, who wrote the remaining edicts of Dhruvasēna.[4] The date of the grant was the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhadrapada of the (Valabhī) year 206, corresponding to **A.D. 525-26**. It is the earliest known grant of Dhruvasēna.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[5] svasti [||*] Valabhītaḥ prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇā[ṁ] Maitrakāṇām=atula-bala-sapatna-

2 maṇḍal-ābhōga-saṁsakta-saṁprahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpaḥ pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjat(v)-ōpā-

3 rjjit-ānurāgō=nurakta-maula-bhṛita-mitra-śrēṇī-bal-āvāpta-rājaśrīḥ[6] para[ma]māhēśvaraḥ

4 sēnāpati-Śrī-Bhaṭakkaḥ tasya sutas=tat-pāda-rajō-ruṇ-āvanata-pavitrīkṛita-śirāś=śirōvanata-

5 nata-śatru-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-va(vi)chchhurita-pāda-nakha-paṅkti-dīdhitiḥ dīn-ānātha-jan-ōpajī-

6 n(v)yamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaras=sēnāpati-Dharasēnaḥ tasy=ānujas=tat-pād-ābhipra-

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[1] Compare the (spurious?) plate of Drōṇasiṁha of Saṁvat 183 (*Journ. Bom. Asiat. Soc.* Vol. XX. pp. 1 ff.); the Gaṇēśgaḍ plates of Dhruvasēna I. of Saṁvat 207 (above, Vol. III. pp. 318 ff.); the Bhāvnagar plates of Dhruvasēna I. of Saṁvat 207 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 204 ff.); the Wāḷā plates of Dharasēna II. of Saṁvat 269 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 10 ff.); and the Bhāvnagar plate of Dharasēna IV. of Saṁvat 326 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 45); see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 314; Vol. VII. p. 58 f.; Vol. VIII. p. 141; Vol. XIII. p. 258; Colonel Watson's *Statistical Account of Bhāvnagar*, p. 106, and *above*, Vol. III. p. 319.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 54.

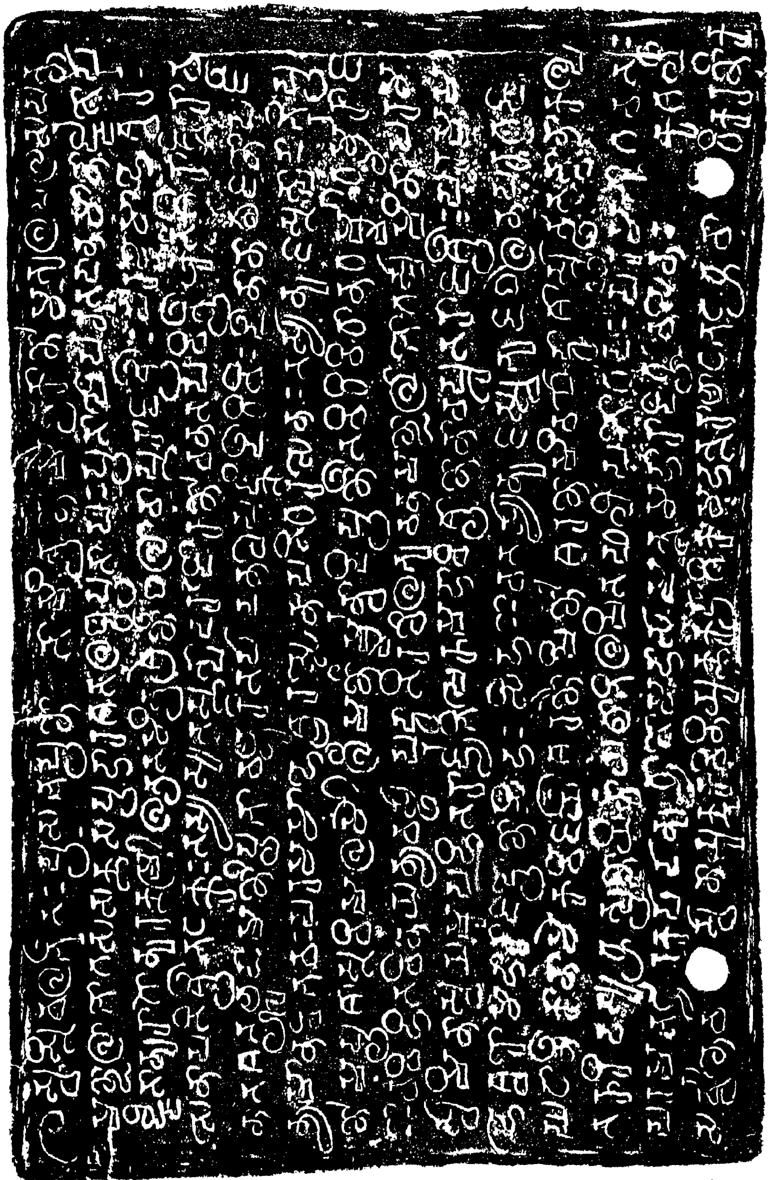
[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 206 and above, Vol. III. p. 323.

[4] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 105; Vol. V. p. 206; *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 300; above, Vol. III. p. 323, and below Nos. II. and III.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Read perhaps, with the published plates of Dhruvasēna, *rājyaśrīḥ*.

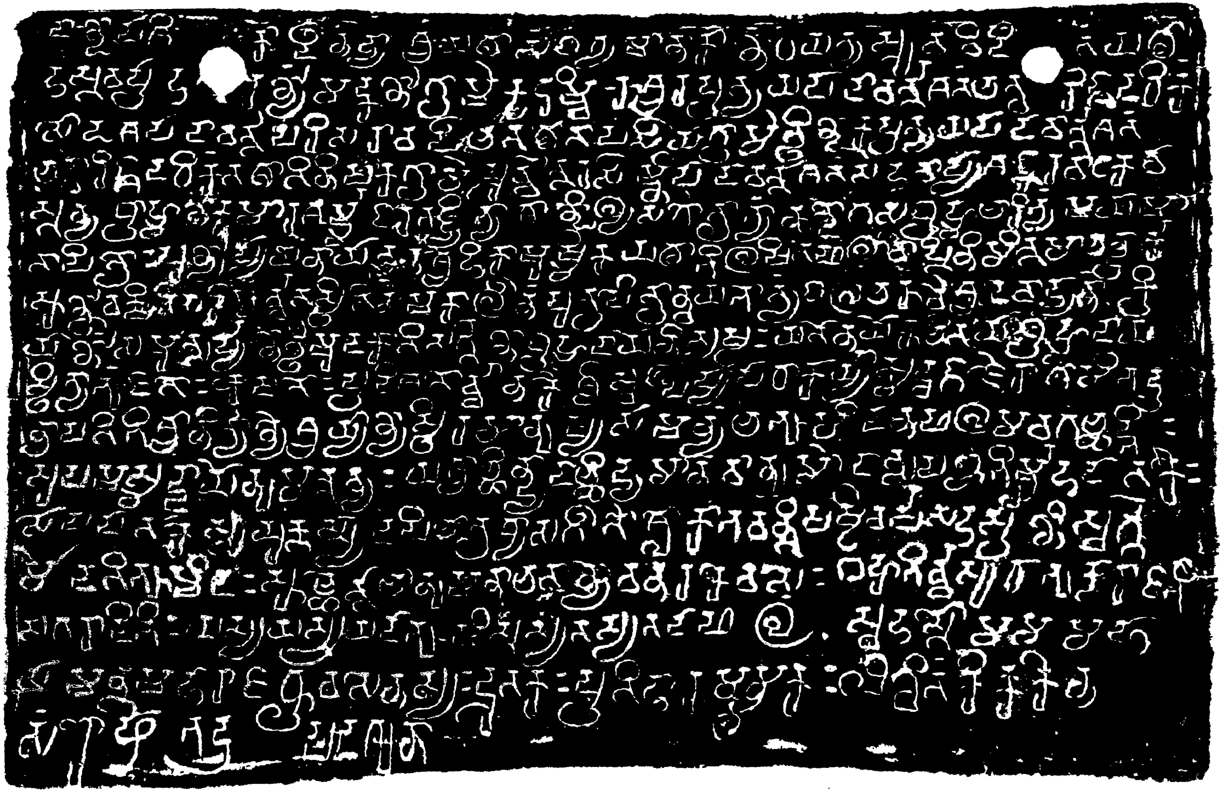
Palitana plates of Dhruvasena I.—[Gupta-] Samvat 206.



V. VENKAYYA.

SCALE·9.

W. GRIGGS & SONS. LTD., PHOTO-LITHO.



7 ṇāma-praśā(śa)sta-vimala-maulī(li)maṇir=Mmanv-ādi-praṇita-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmmā Dharmmarāja

8 iva vihita-vinaya-nya(vya)vasthā-paddhā(ddha)tir=akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-svāminā parama-

9 svāminā svayam=upahita-rājy-ābhishōru[1]-mahā-viśrāṇan-āvapūta-rājaśrīḥ paramamā-

10 hēśvarō mahārāja-Drōṇasi[ṁ*]haḥ si[ṁ*]ha iva tasy=ānujas=sva-bhuja-balēna para-gaja-

11 ghaṭ-ānīkānām=ēkavijayī śaraṇ-aishiṇā[ṁ] śaraṇam=i(a)vabōddhā śāstr-ārttha-ta[t*]tvā-nā[ṁ] kalpa-

12 tarur=iva suhrut(hṛit)-praṇayinām yathābhilashita-phal-ōpabhōgadaḥ paramabhāgavataḥ

13 paramabhaṭṭyā(ṭṭā)raka-pād-ānudhyātō mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnaḥ kuśalī

14 sarvvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drā[ṁ]gika-mahattarā(ra)-chāṭa-bhaṭa-dhruvādhikaraṇika-

Second Plate.

15 dāṇḍapāśik-ādīn=anyā[ṁ]ś=cha [ya]thā-saṁbadhyamānākānadh[i]yaty[2]=astu va(vō) viditaṁ yathā

16 Hastavapr-āharaṇyāṁ Madkaṇā-grāmē kuṭumbi-Īśvara-pratyaya-pādāvartta-śataṁ chatvāriṅśad[3]-adhikaṁ

17 [4]sōḍaśa-pādāvartta-parisarā va(vā)pī cha tathā Tāpasīya-grāmē Ḍhiṇḍaka-pratyaya-pādāvā(va)rtta-śataṁ

18 [3]chatvāriṅśad-adhikaṁ tathā [5]Tinishaka-grāmē pūrvv-ōttara-sīmni pādāvartta-śataṁ saha vāpyā Śaṅkaravāṭaka-vā-

19 stavya-brāhmaṇa-Kumāraśarmma-[Ja]rabhajyibhyā[ṁ] Śāṇḍilya-sagōtrābhyāṁ Chhandō-gasabrahmachāribhya(bhyā)ṁ mayā mā-

20 tā-pitrōḥ puṇy-āpyāyanāy=ātmanaś=ch=aihik-āmushmika-yathābhilashita-phal-āvāpti-nimittam=ā-chandr-ārk(a)-

21 ārṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-sthiti-samakālīnaṁ putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōtyaṁ[6] bali-charu-vaiśvadēv-ādyānāṁ kri-

22 yāṇāṁ [7]samutsarpyaṇ-ārttham=udak-ātisarggēṇa brahmadāyō nisṛishṭaḥ yatō=nayōr=uchitayā brahmadāya-

23 sthityā bhuṁjatōḥ kṛishatōḥ pradiśatōr=vvā na kaiś=chi[t*] svalp=āpy=āpādhā[8] kāryy=āsmad-[9]vaṅgajair=āgāmi-bhadra-

24 nṛipatibhiś=ch=ānityāny=aiśvaryyāṇy=asthira[ṁ*] mānushya[ṁ*] sāma(mā)nyaṁ cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhiḥ

25 [10]apam=asmad-dāyō=numattavyaḥ[11] [||*] yas=ch=āchchhindyād=āchchhidyamānaṁ v=ānumōdāt=sa[13] pañchabhir=mmahadātakaiḥ[12]

26 sōpapātakais=sa[ṁ]yuktas=syād=api ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītau [14]ślōkā bhavanti [||*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē

27 mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānuman[t]ā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēḥ[15] [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[ḥ*]

28 Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ . (||) Svahastō mama mahā-

---

[1] Read *-shēka-*.

[2] Read °*mānakān=anudarśayaty=*.

[3] Read *chatvāriṁśad-*.

[4] Read *shōḍaśa-*.

[5] Perhaps *tath=Ātinishaka-*.

[6] Read *-bhōgyaṁ*.

[7] Read °*sarppaṇ-*.

[8] Read *=ābādhā*.

[9] Read *-vaṁśa-*.

[10] Read *ayam=*.

[11] Read °*mantavyaḥ*.

[12] Read *=mmahāpātakaiḥ*.

[13] Read °*mōdēta sa*.

[14] Read *ślōkau bhavataḥ*.

[15] Read *vasēt*.

29 sāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnasya(ḥ) [||*] Dūtakaḥ pratihara-Mammakaḥ [||*] Likhitaṁ Kikkakēna [||*]
30 Saṁ 200 6 Bhadrapada śu 5.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Oṁ. Hail! From Valabhi. (*In the lineage*) of the Maitrakas, who forcibly prostrated their enemies, (*was born*) the general, the glorious Bhaṭakka, who obtained splendour in hundreds of battles fought within the circuit of the territories of adversaries of unequalled strength; who gained devotion by gifts, honours and straightforwardness towards those whom he had prostrated by his splendour; who obtained the glory of royalty by the strength of the array of devoted hereditary servants and friends; the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara.

(Line 4.) His son (*was*) the general Dharasēna, whose head was purified, bent before and reddened by the dust of his feet; the shining line of the nails of whose feet was inlaid with the lustre of the crest jewels of his foes when they bent with their heads (*before him*); whose wealth was being lived upon by poor and helpless people; the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara.

(Line 6.) His younger brother (*was*) the *Mahārāja* Drōṇasiṁha, whose spotless crest-jewel became auspicious by bowing down to his (*brother's*) feet; whose nature (*manifested itself in*) the performance of the regulations laid down by Manu and others; who like Dharmarāja (*i.e.* Yudhishṭhira) fixed the path of the laws of good conduct; whose anointment to the kingdom was performed by the paramount sovereign in person, the lord of the circuit of the territories of the whole earth, and whose royal glory was purified by (*his*) great liberality; the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara.

(Line 10.) His younger brother, who like a lion defeated singlehanded, by the strength of his own arm, the array of the troops of the elephants of (*his*) enemies; who was the refuge of those who sought for refuge; who grasped the real purport of the meaning of the *Śastras*; who, like the *kalpa*-tree, granted the enjoyment of rewards according to the wishes of (*his*) friends and favourites; the devout worshipper of Bhagavat; who meditates on the feet of the paramount lord; the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna, being in good health, issues the following order to all his *āyuktakas*, *viniyuktakas*, officers of the watch-stations, *mahattaras*, district officers, soldiers, *dhruvādhikaraṇikas*, *dāṇḍapāśikas*, and others according as they are concerned:

(Line 15.) Be it known to you that I have given as a *brahmadāya*, with libations of water, in the Hastavapra-*āharaṇī*, in the village Madkaṇā, hundred and forty *pādāvartas* belonging to the householder Īśvara and an irrigation-well with an area of sixteen *pādāvartas*; further in the Tāpasīya village, hundred and forty *pādāvartas*, the holding of Ḍhiṇḍaka; further on the north-eastern border of Tinishaka village hundred *pādāvartas*, together with an irrigation-well, to (two) inhabitants of Śaṅkaravaṭaka, (*viz.*) the brāhmaṇas Kumāraśarman and Jarabhajyi, of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*, students of the Chhandōga school, for the increase of the religious merit of My mother and father and in order to obtain for Myself in this world and the other such rewards as I wish, to last for the same time as the moon, sun, ocean, earth, the rivers and mountains, to be enjoyed by the succession of their sons and sons' sons, for the performance of the rites of *bali*, *charu*, and *vaiśvadēva* and others. Therefore, not even a slight obstruction should be made by anyone to these two while they are enjoying it in accordance with the proper conditions of a *brahmadāya*, cultivating it or assigning it (*to others*). And this Our gift should be assented to by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that power is perishable, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land is common. And he who confiscates it or assents to its being confiscated, incurs the guilt of the five great sins together with the minor sins.

(Line 26.) There are also two verses sung by Vyasa about this. The giver of land rejoices in heaven for sixty thousand years; but he who confiscates or approves (*of confiscation*) dwells in hell the same number of years.

The earth has been enjoyed by many kings beginning with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward.

(Line 28.) The sign-manual of Me the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna. The messenger is the *pratihāra* Mammaka. Written by Kikkaka.

The year 200 (and) 6; (the month) Bhadrapada; the bright (fortnight); the 5th (*tithi*).

II.—PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA I.; [VALABHĪ-] SAMVAT 210.

These plates are described as follows by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, "Two plates without ring or seal. Each of them has, however, two ring holes. The ring hole of the left-hand corner of the bottom of the first plate is not complete, a small piece of its lower margin being broken just below the ring hole. Each plate is written only on one side. The working of the engraver's tool shows itself in a few places on the back of both plates. The length of the plates varies from 10¾" to 10⅞" and the height from 6⅜" to 6½"." The height of individual letters is about ⅛". Each plate contains 14 lines of well executed writing in a very good state of preservation.

The alphabet is of the same kind as in the plates described above. The *visarga* is apparently used as a sign of interpunctuation in *bhavantiḥ*, i.e. *bhavanti* ‖, l. 25. The numerical symbols for 200, 10 and 5 occur in ll. 27 f.

The orthography is similar to that of the foregoing grant. Forms such as *kaiśeki*, l. 21, *saha*, l. 9, and *anumatā*, l. 23, look like Prakritisms. The forms *dyivala-* for the common *dvivala-*, l. 16, and *-rāja-*, which perhaps stands for *rājya*, l. 3, have been discussed above. Surds, liquids and nasals are doubled after *r*; thus, *-arjjan-oparjjit-*, l. 2; *-dharmmam*, l. 7. A surd has been doubled before *y* in *-anuddhyāto*, l. 12; *-saṁbaddhyamāna-*, l. 14. The engraver has not been careful to avoid miswritings. Thus the *anusvāra* has often been left out, and in ll. 9, 23 and 25, whole syllables are missing. An *a* is very often wrongly written instead of an *u*; thus, *pratāp-opanata-dāna-māna-*, l. 2; *-anurago*, l. 2; and other instances in ll. 3, 5, 7, 13, 14, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27; *a* is written instead of *i* in *ayam*, i.e. *iyam*, l. 23; *i* is used for *ī* in *vapi*, l. 18; *ī* for *i* in *-maṅgī-*, l. 4; *-matair*, l. 7; *vēlitaṁ*, l. 15; *ē* for *i* in *-anumōdētaṁ*, l. 21; *u* for *ū* in *bhumi-*, l. 22; *g* for *ś* in *-vigragna-*, l. 9; *n* for *ṇ* in *Maitrakānām*, l. 1, and so forth. Writings such as *-dāhinīḥ dva-*, l. 5, on the other hand, are not mistakes of the writer, but this instance of wrong *saṁdhi* belongs to the original draft and recurs in most of the grants of Dhruvasēna. The redundant *bhavanti*, l. 23, is perhaps also due to carelessness in the original draft.

The grant was issued from Valabhī by the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna, in order to confirm the Brahmaṇa Vishṇuśarman, of the Jāvāla *gōtra*, a student of the Vājisanēya (*śākhā*) and a resident of Siṁhapura, in the possession of some land in the Hastavapra-*āharaṇī*, *viz.* the *karaṇa* field cultivated by the Brāhmaṇa Viśākha, on the south-western border of the Bhallara village, and the Āmrilikā tank; and further 50 *pādāvartas* on the northern border of the Vasukiya village, to be entered from Akshasaraka. I am unable to identify the villages Bhallara and Vasukiya. Vasukiya is said to be Akshasaraka-*pravēśya*. This corresponds to the Akshasaraka-*prapīya* in the Gaṇēśgaḍ plates of Saṁvat 207, which Professor Hultzsch[1]

[1] Above, Vol. III. p. 323.

translates "which belongs to the Akshasarakaprāpa," comparing the expression *Vaṭasthalīkāprāpīya-* in l. 5 of the copper-plate grant of Guhasēna of Saṁvat 248,[1] instead of which we should perhaps read *Vaṭapallikāprāpīya-*. It seems certain that *prāpīya* is synonymous with *prāvēśya*, which also occurs in the Khariār plates of Mahāsudēva.[2] *Prāvēśya* may, of course, be a fiscal term. It is, however, not likely that it means anything else than what it does in the common phrase *achāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya*. *Prāpīya* must then be a Prākrit form of *prāpya*.[3] I would accordingly translate *Akshasaraka-prāvēśya* "which is entered from Akshasaraka," *i.e.* borders on Akshasaraka. I cannot locate Akshasaraka. The last part of the word is probably *saraka*, lake, pond. Of the remaining geographical names mentioned in the plates, **Valabhī** and Hastavaprāharaṇī have been referred to above. The name **Āmrilikā** probably means "abounding in mangoes." Siṁhapura, where the donee resided, also occurs in the plates of Dharasēna IV. of Saṁvat 326 published in the *Bombay Journal*, Vol. X, p. 77 ff. It is the present Sihōr, situated in 21° 43′ N. and 72° E.

The *dūtaka* was the *pratihāra* **Mammaka**, and the writer **Kikkaka**, as in the preceding grant. The grant is dated on the **15th (tithi)** of the **bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa** in the **(Valabhī) year 210**, corresponding to **A.D. 529**.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[4] svasti [||*] Valabhītaḥ prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇāṁ **Maitrakānām**[5]=atula-bala-sapatna-maṇḍalābhōga-

2 saṁsakta-samprahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpaḥ prata(tā)p-ōpanata-dāna-ma(mā)n-ārjjav-ōpārjjitānura(rā)gō=nurakta-

3 m[au]labhṛita-mitra-śrēṇī-bal-āva(vā)pta-rājaśrīḥ[6] paramamāhēśvaras=sēna(nā)pati-**Śrī-Bhaṭakkaḥ**

4 tasya sutas=tat-pāda-rajō-ruṇ-āvanata-pavitrīkṛita-śirāś=śirō-vanata-śatru-chūḍāmaṇī(ṇi)-

5 prabhā-vichchhurita-pāda-nakha-paṁkti-dīdhitiḥ di(dī)n-ānātha-jan-ōpajīvyama(mā)na-vibhavaḥ

6 paramamāhēśvaras=sēnāpati-**Dharasēnas**=tasy=ānujas=tat-pād-ābhipraṇāma-praśasta-vimala-

7 maulimaṇir(ṇir)=Mmanv-ādi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidha(dhā)na-dharmmā Dharmmarāja iva vihita-vinaya-vy[a]vasthā-pa-

8 ddhatir=akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍalābhōga-svāminā parama-svāminā svayam=upahita-rājyābhishēka-

9 mahā-vigrā(śrā)ṇan-apūta[7]-rājaśrīḥ paramamāhēśvarō mahārāja-**Drōṇasiṁhas**=si[ṁ*]ha iva

10 tasy=ānujas=sva-bhuja-balēna para-gaja-ghaṭ-ānīkānā(ṁ)m=ēkavijayī śaraṇ-aishiṇā[ṁ*] śaraṇa-

11 m=avabōddhā śāstr-ārttha-tattvānāṁ kalpatarur=iva suhṛit-praṇayināṁ yathābhilashita-phal-ōpa-

12 bhōgadaḥ paramabh[ā]gavataḥ paramabhaṭyā(ṭṭā)raka-pād-ānuddhyātō mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-**Dhruva-**

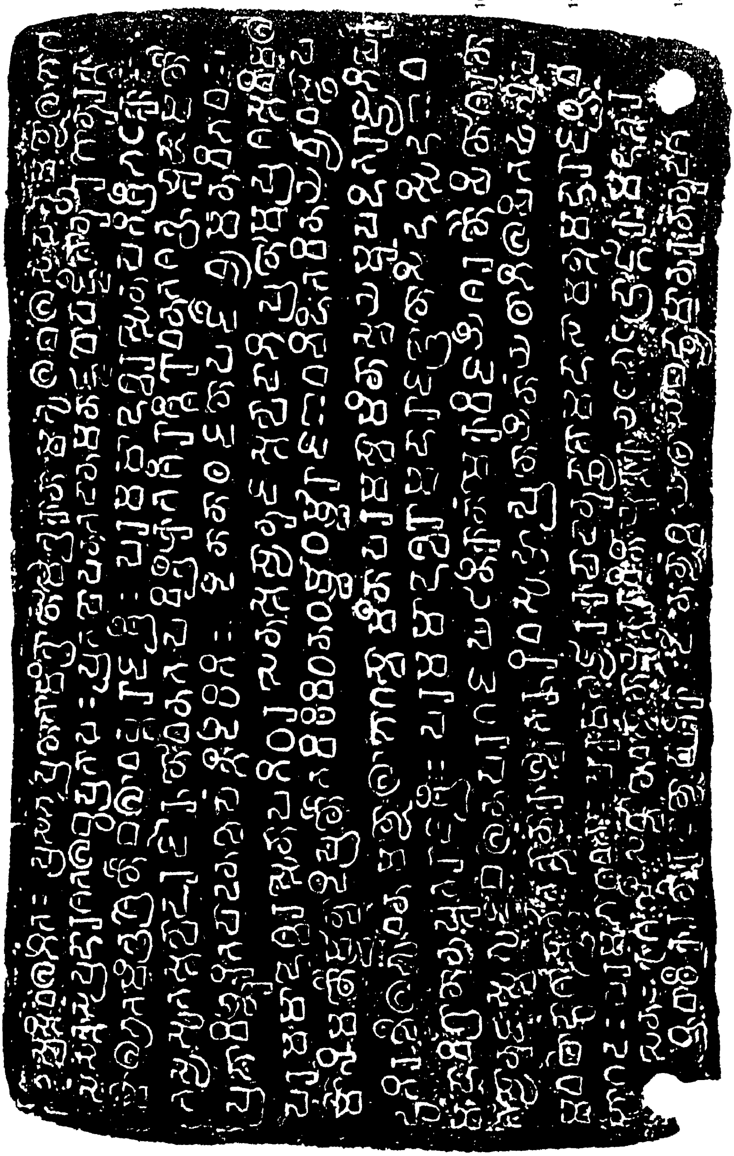
13 **sēnaḥ** kuśali s[a]rvvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-cha(chā)ṭa-bhaṭa-draṅgika-mahattara-

14 dhruvādhikaraṇika-dāṇḍapāśik-ādīn=anyāṁś=cha yathā-saṁbaddhyamānaka(kā)n=anudarśa-

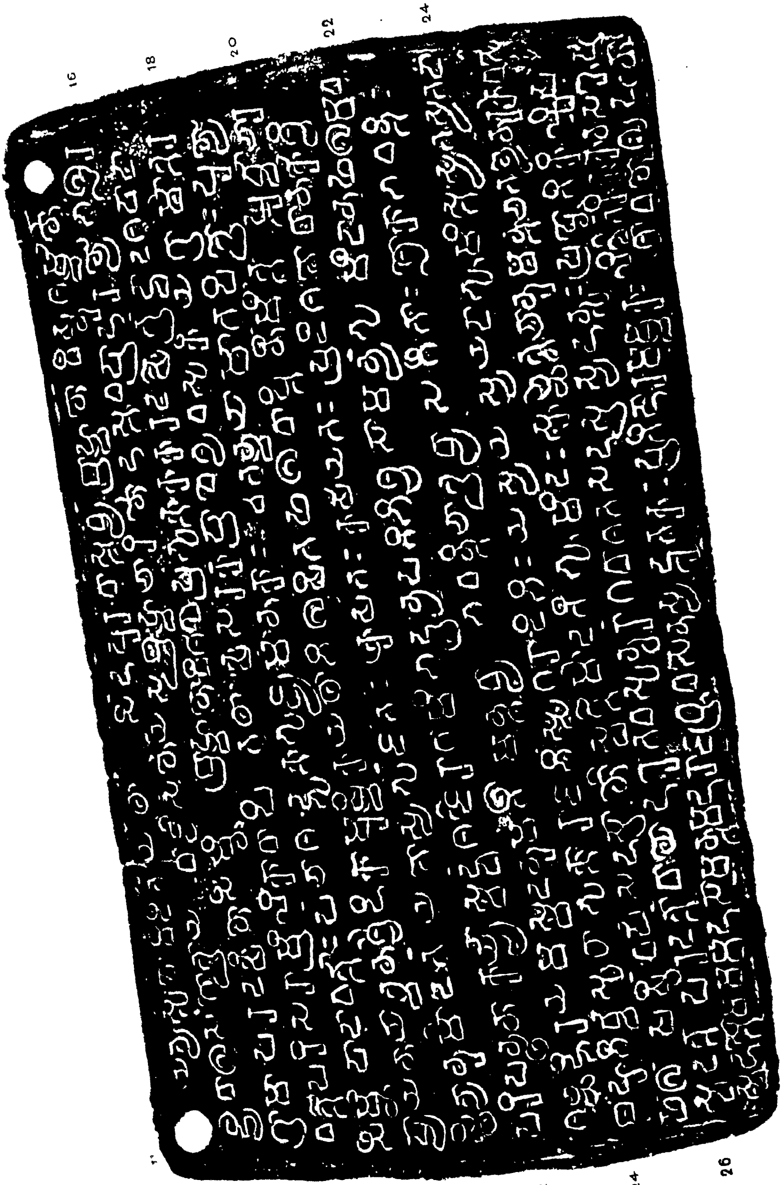
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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 206 f. (No. 467 of the late Prof. Kielhorn's *Northern List*).
[2] See above, Vol. IX. p. 172, text-line 4.
[3] [See above, p. 81 and note 1.—Ed.]
[4] Expressed by a symbol.
[5] Read °kāṇām=.
[6] Perhaps -rājyaśrīḥ.
[7] Read -āvāpta-.

Palitana plates of Dhruvasena I.—[Gupta-] Samvat 210.



V. VENKAYYA. SCALE 8. W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., PHOTO-LITHO.



Second Plate.

15 yaty=astu vō vidī(di)taṁ yathā **Siṁhapura-vāstavya-brāhmaṇa-Vishṇuśarmmaṇē**
16 Jyāvāla-sagōtrāya Vājisanēya-sabrahmachāriṇō **Hastavapr-āharaṇyā[ṁ*] Bhallāra-**
17 grām-āparadakshiṇa-sīmni brāhmaṇa-**Viśākha-prabhuktaka-karada-kshētraṁ dvādaśa-**pādā-
18 vartta-parisar=**Āmrilikā** vāpi(pī) tath=**Ākshasaraka-prāvēśya-Vasukīya-grāmōttara-**
19 sīmn[i] pādāvarttāḥ pañchāśad=bhukta-bhujyamānakāḥ ōtan=mayā māta(tā) pitrōḥ puṇy-ā-
20 pyāyanāy=ātmanaś=ch=aihik-āmushmika-yathābhilashita-phal-a(l-ā)vāpti-nimitta[ṁ*] pūrvvāchāra-
21 sthity=ānumōdē(di)taṁ yatō=sya bhuñjataḥ krishataḥ karshayataḥ pradiśatō vā na kaiś-chi[t*]
22 paripanthanā kāryy=āsmad-vaṁśajair=āg[ā]mi-bhadra-nṛipatibhiś=cha sāma(mā)nyaṁ bhu(bhū)mi-dāna-phalam=ava-
23 gachchhadbhir=ayam=asmad-anumatī[1] mantavyā [||*] bhavanti ch=ātra Vyāsagītāḥ ślōka bhavanti(ḥ)
24 Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
25 phalaṁ [||*] Shashṭhiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhetta(ttā) ch=ānumanta(tā) cha ta(tā)ny=ē[va*] narakē vasē [||*]
26 Svadatta[ṁ*] paradattaṁ va yō harēta vasundharāṁ [|*] gavā[ṁ*] śatasahasrasya hantuḥ pra(prā)pnōti kilbishaṁ [||*]
27 Svahastō mama maha(hā)sāmanta-maha(hā)rāja-**Dhruvasēnasya** [||*] Dūtakaḥ pratihāra-**Mammakaḥ** [||*] Likhitaṁ **Kikkakēna** [||*] Saṁ 200 10
28 Śravaṇa śu 10 5

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-14 are practically identical with the beginning of the plates of Saṁ. 206].

(Line 15.) Be it known to you that for the inhabitant of Siṁhapura, (*viz.*) the Brāhmaṇa Vishṇuśarman, of the Javala *gotra*, a student of the Vāji-sanēya (*śākhā*), the following (*property*), *viz.* in the Hastavapra-*āharaṇi*, in the Bhallara village, on the south-western border, the *karada*[2] field (*formerly*) enjoyed by the Brahmaṇa Viśākha, (and) the irrigation well Āmrilikā extending over twelve *pādavartas*; further on the northern frontier of the Vasukīya village, which can be entered from (*i.e.* which borders on) Akshasaraka, fifty *pādāvartas*, which have formerly been and are still being enjoyed (by the donee), has been confirmed by Me, in accordance with the settled rules of former usage, in order to increase the religious merit of My mother and father, and in order to obtain for Myself such rewards here and in the other world as I may wish. Therefore obstruction should not be made by any one to him while he enjoys it, cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated or assigns it (*to others*). This Our confirmation should be confirmed by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that the reward of a gift of land is common.

(Line 23.) There are also verses sung by Vyāsa about this. The earth has been enjoyed, etc. The giver of land, etc. He who rescinds grants of land made by himself or others, incurs the guilt of the killer of hundred thousand cows.

[1] Read *iyam asmad-anumatir=anumantavyā.*
[2] *Karada* perhaps means 'tribute paying.' It is of course possible to read *-prabhukta-kakarada-.*

(Line 27.) The sign-manual of Me the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna. The messenger is the *pratīhāra* Mammaka. Written by Kikkaka. The year 200 and 10; (the month) Śrāvaṇa; the bright (fortnight); the fifteenth (*tithi*).

III.—PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA I.; [VALABHĪ-] SAṀVAT 210.

These are two plates which have been described as follows by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya,—"Each of them has two ring-holes. Each plate is written only on one side. The working of the engraver's tool shows itself in a few places on the back. The length of the plates is about $10\frac{1}{4}''$; the height varies from $6\frac{7}{8}''$ to $7\frac{1}{4}''$."

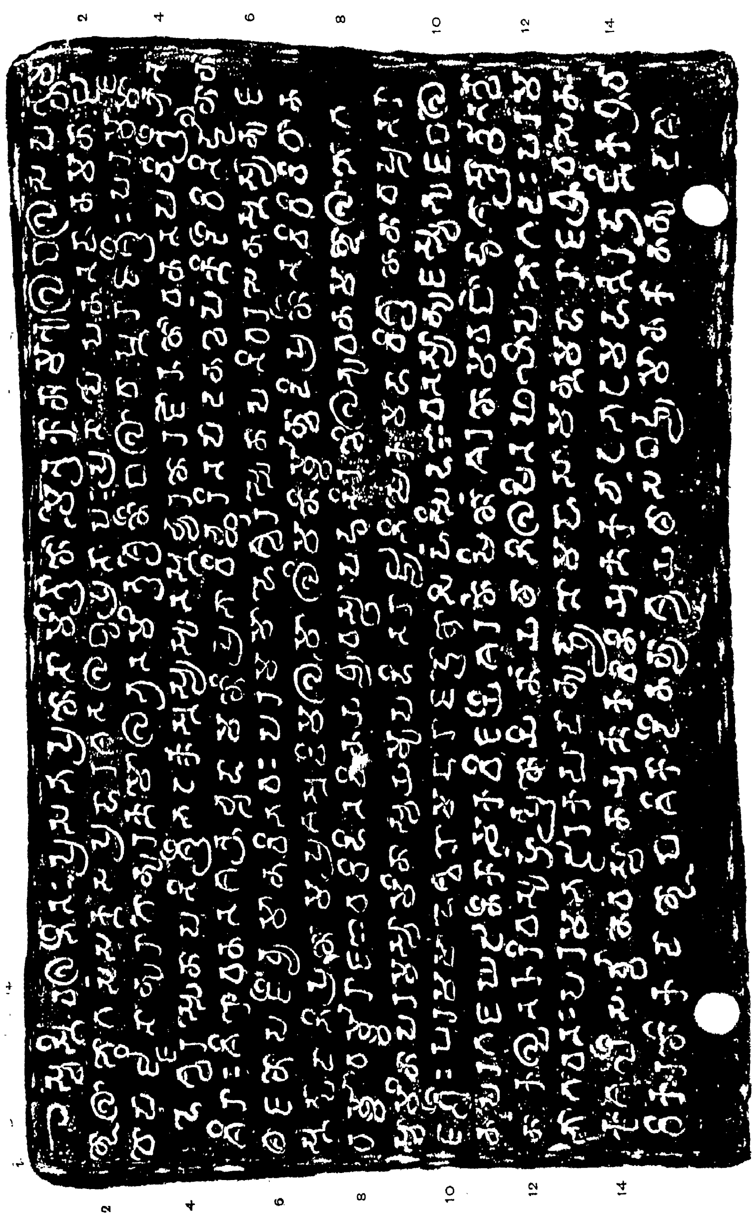
The plates are in a good state of preservation. The first contains 15 and the second 12 lines of well executed writing. The average height of individual letters is $\frac{1}{4}''$.

The characters are of the same kind as in the plates dealt with above. They comprise the signs for an initial *au* in *Aupasvasti-*, l. 17; for a final *t* in *triṁśat*, l. 17 and *ve(va)sēt*, l. 24; for a final *m* in *=ānujñātam*, l. 19. The curious shape of the *visarga* in *krishataḥ*, l. 20; *-gītāḥ*, l. 22; *-ādibhiḥ*, l. 23; *-vāsihanaḥ*, l. 25, is probably due to the engraver's misunderstanding his draft. Note also the signs of *-ē-* in *-kām=ēka-*, l. 11, and of *lō* in l. 12. A sign of interpunctuation occurs in l. 25. The numerical symbols for 200, 10 and 5 are found in l. 27.

With regard to orthography the remarks made about the preceding grants also hold good here. The wrong *saṁdhi* in *bhuṁjatō krish-*, l. 20, may be a Prākritism. The same is perhaps the case with *Drōṇasihaṁs=siha iva*, l. 10. Consonants are doubled after *r* in the usual way; thus, *-ārjjavōpārjjita-*, l. 2 f.; *-dharmmā Dharmma-*, l. 8; *-maryyādayā*, l. 20, etc. The doubling of a surd before *y* in *-ānuddhyātō*, l. 13, *-saṁbaddhyamāna-*, l. 15, is also in accordance with the practice in similar grants. There are several instances of careless writing; thus we find *a* for *ā* in *dānaman-*, l. 2; *vapī*, l. 16; *brahmaṇa-*, l. 17; *-āpyāyanaya*, l. 18; *tā(sā)manyaṁ*, l. 22; *=ānumanta*, l. 24; *-dayaṁ*, l. 25; *ā* for *a* in *chī*, l. 24; *krishṇāhāyō*, l. 25; *u* for *ū* in *bhumi-*, l. 25; *ṛi* for *ri* in *triṁśat*, l. 17; *ē* for *a* in *vesēt*, l. 24; *ē* for *ai* in *śaraṇēshiṇāṁ*, l. 11; *chch* for *ch* in *chch=ānu-*, l. 24; *chhy* for *ndhy* in *Vichhyāṭavīshv=*, l. 25; perhaps *j* for *jya* in *-rāja-*, l. 3; *ñcha* for *śva* in *āñchayuja*, l. 27; *ta* for *gā* in *=ātami-*, l. 21; *t* for *tt* in *-tatvānāṁ*, l. 11; *āchchhētā*, l. 24; *tā* for *sā* in *tāmanyaṁ*, l. 22; *p* for *y* in *mapāpi*, l. 18; *dē* for *mu* in *-aihikādēshmika-*, l. 19; *n* for *ṇ* in *maitrakānām=*, l. 1, for *t* in *nānyēva*, l. 24, and for *v* in *=anumantany=*, l. 22; *p* for *y* in *patō*, l. 20; *s* for *sh* in *śuska-*, l. 25. L. 21 contains a series of mistakes in *=chavityāny=aiśvaryyāny=ēsthira mōnuryya tāmanyaṁ*. Note also the superfluous *anusvāra* in *-sihaṁs=*, l. 10; *suhṛiṁt-*, l. 12; the superfluous *na* in l. 21; the redundant *ha* in *vāsihanaḥ*, l. 25; the omission of *nā* in *-ānīkā[nā*]m=*, l. 11; the omission of a *visarga* in *rājabhi*, l. 23, and the form *Kikakka* instead of *Kikkakēna*, l. 26. In l. 5, on the other hand, we find the correct *saṁdhi -dīdhitir=ddīn-*, while the other grants of Dhruvasēna have *-dīdhitiḥ dīn-*.

The grant was issued from **Valabhī** by the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja* **Dhruvasēna** to the Brāhmaṇa Skanda of the Aupasvasti *gōtra*, a student of the Vājisanēya *śākhā*, a resident of **Akrōlaka** village, who was therewith confirmed in the possession of an irrigation well (*vāpī*) and a field of thirty *pādāvartas*, on the northern border of the village. I am not able to identify this village. The messenger was **Rudradhara**, who is not elsewhere known, and the writer, as in the preceding grants, **Kikkaka.** The grant is dated on the fifth (tithi) of the **dark (?) fortnight of Āśvayuja, in the (Valabhī) year 210**, corresponding to **A.D. 529.** The syllable denoting the fortnight has been miswritten, and it is possible that it should be restored as *śu* and not as *ba*. The mistake is due to the final syllable of the preceding word being wrongly repeated.

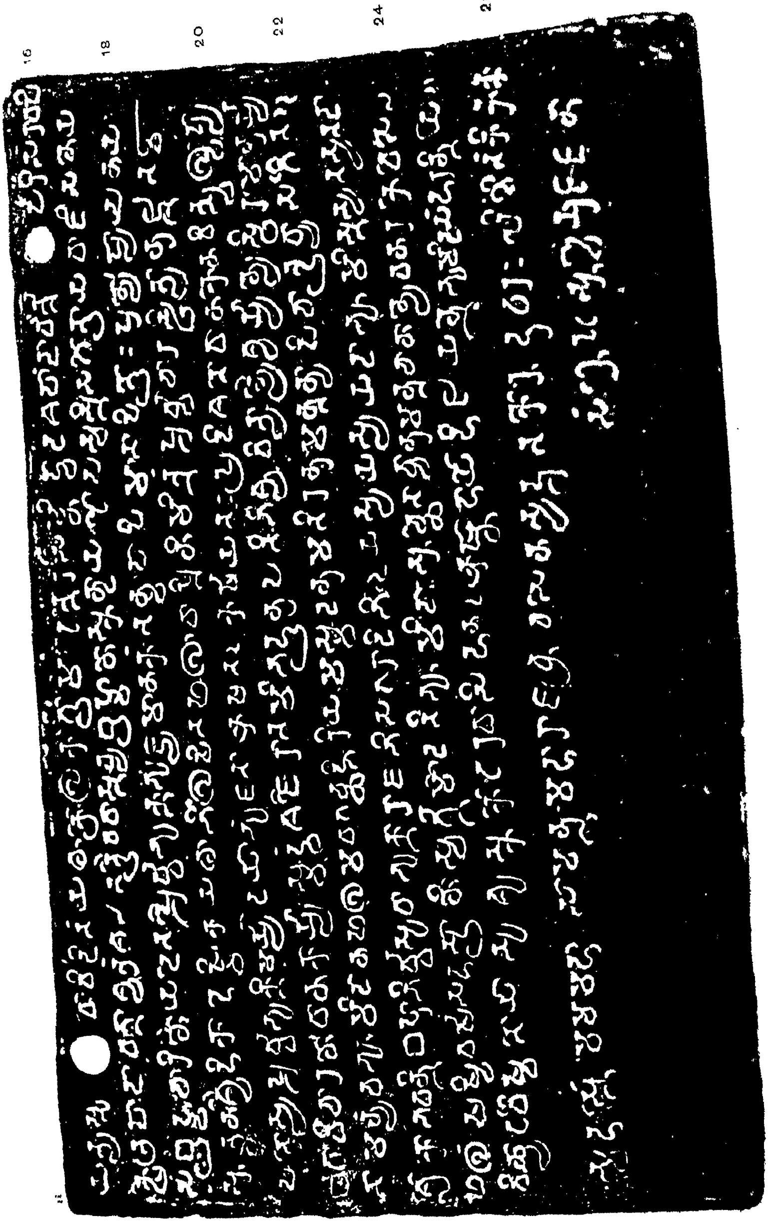
Palitana plates of Dhruvasena I.—[Gupta-] Samvat 210.



V. VENKAYYA.

SCALE ·8.

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TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[1] svasti [||*] Valabhītaḥ prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇā[ṁ*] Maitrakānām(ṇām)=atula-bala-sapatna-ma-

2 ṇḍal-ābhōga-saṁsakta-sa[ṁ*]prahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpaḥ pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-ma(mā)n-ārjja-

3 v-ōpārjjit-ānurāgō=nurakta-maulabhṛita-mitra-śrēṇī-bal-āvāpta-rājaśrīḥ[2] paramamā-

4 hēśvaras=sēnāpati-Śrī-Bhaṭakkas=tasya sutas=tach-charaṇa-rajō-ruṇ-āvanata-pavitrīkṛita-

5 śirāḥ śirō-vanata-śatru-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-vichchhurita-pāda-nakha-paṁkti-dīdhitir=ddīn-ānā-

6 tha-jan-ōpajīvyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaras=sēnāpati-Dharasēnas=tasy=ānuja-

7 s=tat-pād-ābhipraṇāma-praśasta-vimala-maulimaṇir=Mmanv-ādi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidhāna-

8 dharmmā Dharmmarāja iva vihita-vinaya-vyavasth[ā]-paddhatir=akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-

9 svāminā paramasvāminā svayam=upahita-rājy-ābhishēka-mahāviśrāṇan-āvapūta-rā-

10 ja[ś]rīḥ paramamāhēśvarō mahārāja-Drōṇasiṁhaṁ(siṁha)s=si[ṁ*]ha iva tasy=ānujas=svabhuja-balē-

11 na para-gaja-ghaṭ-ānīkā[nā*]m=ēkavijayī śaraṇē(ṇai)shiṇāṁ śaraṇam=avabōddhā śāstr-ārt[th]a-ta[t*]tvā-

12 nāṁ kalpatarur=iva suhṛi(ṁ)t-praṇayināṁ yathābhilashita-phal-ōpabhōgadaḥ parama-

13 bhāgavataḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuddhyātō mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnaḥ

14 kuśalī sarvvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-mahattara-drāṅgika-dhruvā-

15 dhikaraṇika-dāṇḍapāśik-ādīn=anyāṁś=cha yathā-saṁbaddhyamānakān=anudarśa-

Second Plate.

16 yaty=astu vō viditaṁ yath=Ākrōlaka-grāma uttara-s[ī]mni dvādaśa-pādā(r)vartta-parisarā va(vā)pi(pī)

17 kshētra-pādāva[r]ttāś=cha tri(tri)ṁśat tatr=aiva vāstavya-bra(brā)hmaṇa-Skandāya Aupasvasti-sagōtrāya Vājisanēya-

18 sabrahmachāriṇē yad=ētat=[pū]rvvabhukta-bhujyamānakaṁ tan=mapā(y=ā)pi mātāpitrōḥ puṇy-āpyāyana(nā)ya

19 ātmanaś=ch=aihik-ādē(mu)shmika-yathābhilashita-phal-āvāpti-nimittaṁ pūrvv-āchāra-sthity=ānujñātam

20 pa(ya)tō=sya pūrvva-bhukti-maryyādayā bhuṁjatā(taḥ) kṛishata[ḥ][3] 'karshayataḥ pradiśatō vā na kēna-vi(chi)t=svalp=āpy=ā-

21 b[ā]dhā vichāraṇā vā (na) kāryy=āsmad-vaṁśajair=āta(gā)mi-bhadra nṛipatibhiś=cha-[4]vityāny=aiśvaryyāṇy=ēsthira mōnuryya

22 tā(sā)ma(mā)nyaṁ cha bhūmidāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhir=iyam=asmad-anumatir=anumantanyā(vy=ā)pi ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītaḥ[5]

23 ślōkā bhavanti [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ[5][|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā

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[1] Expressed by a symbol.

[2] Perhaps *-rājyaśrīḥ*.

[3] The engraver has misread his draft and misshaped the *visarga*.

[4] Read *ch=ānityāny=aiśvaryyāṇy=asthiraṁ mānushyaṁ*.

[5] The engraver has misread his draft and misshaped the *visarga*.

24 phalaṁ [||*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmid[a]ḥ [|*] āchchhē[t*]tā (ch)ch=ānumanta(ntā) chā(cha) nāny(tāny)=ēva narakē va(va)sēt [||*]
25 Vichhy(Vindhy)-āṭavīshv=atōyāsu śuska(sushka)-kōṭara-vasibhana[ḥ](vāsinaḥ) [|*] kṛishṇāhā(ha)yō hi jāyantē bhu(bhū)mi-da(dā)yaṁ haranti yē ||
26 Svahastō mama mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasenasya [||*] Dūtakō **Rudradharaḥ** [||*] Likhitaṁ **Kikakka(Kikkakēna)**
27 **Saṁ** 200 10 ā[ñcha](āśva)yuja ja(ba?) 5

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-15 are practically identical with the beginning of the plates of Saṁ. 206.]

(Line 16.) Be it known to you that, in order to increase the religious merit of My mother and father and to obtain for Myself in this world and the other such rewards as I may wish, I have, in accordance with the settled rules of former usage, confirmed (*the enjoyment of*) an irrigation-well with an area of twelve *pādāvartas* and thirty *pādāvartas* arable land on the northern border of **Akrōlaka** village which had formerly been and are still being enjoyed (by the donee) for the benefit of the resident of that same place, (*viz.*) the Brahmaṇa Skanda, of the Aupasvasti *gōtra*, a student of the Vājisanēya (*śākhā*). Therefore not even a slight obstruction or dispute must be made by anybody to him while he enjoys (*this land*), cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated, or assigns it (*to others*) in accordance with the conditions under which he enjoyed (*it*) previously. This Our confirmation (*of the old grant*) should be confirmed by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that power is perishable, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land is common.

(Line 22.) There are also verses sung by Vyāsa about this,—The earth has been enjoyed, etc. The giver of land, etc. Those who rescind a grant of land are reborn as black serpents living in the dry hollows of trees in the waterless forests of the Vindhyas.

(Line 26.) The sign manual of Me the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja* **Dhruvasēna.** The messenger is **Rudradhara.** Written by **Kikkaka.** The year 200 (and) 10; (the month) **Āśva[yuja]**; the dark (?) (fortnight); the 5th (*tithi*).

IV.—PALITĀNĀ PLATE OF DHRUVASĒNA I.

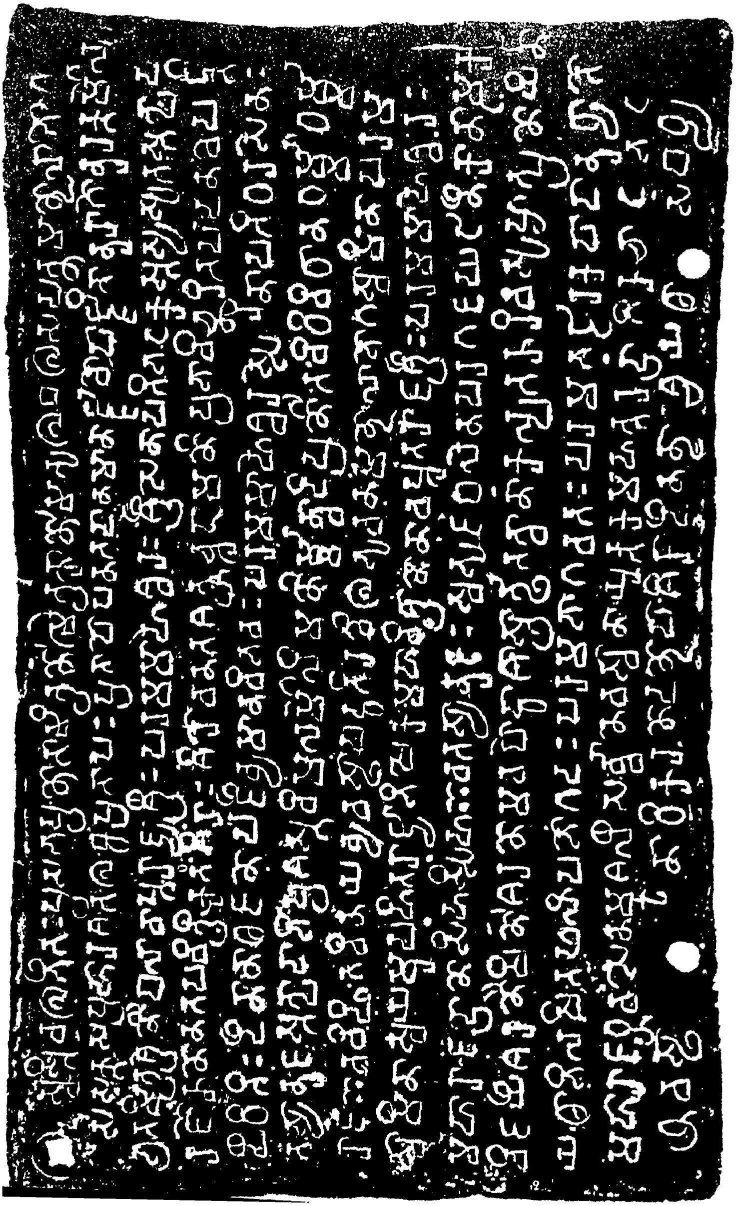
This plate has been described as follows by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya,—"One plate only of the inscription is preserved. It is written on one side and has two ring-holes at the bottom. The working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely at the back. There is also a square hole in the left-hand top corner of the plate, bored into the symbol representing the syllable *ōṁ*. Length of plate varies from 11″ to 11¼″; height varies from 6¾″ to 6½″."

The plate contains 13 lines of well executed writing. The average height of individual letters is ¼″.

The characters are similar to those used in the other plates. They comprise the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* in *-Dhruvasēnaḥ=kuśalī*, l. 12. There are three different forms of the medial long *-ī-*. Two of them occur in *dīdhitiḥ dīn-*, l. 5, and the third in *-praṇīta-*, l. 6. Note also the form of *-ē-* in *-nām=ēka-*, l. 9, which is likewise used in the corresponding passage of the grant just dealt with.

With regard to **orthography**, we may note the usual doubling of consonants after *r*; thus, *-ārttha-*, l. 10; *sarvvān=*, l. 12. On the other hand, we have a single *dh* before *y* in *-ānudhyātō*, l. 11; *-saṁbadhya-*, l. 13, as in the grant of Saṁvat 206. The absence of *saṁdhi* in *-dīdhitiḥ dīn-*, l. 5, is in accordance with the common practice in Dhruvasēna's grants. In l. 4 we find *-ruṇa-*

Palitana plate of Dhruvasena I. (incomplete).



V. VENKAYYA. SCALE ·8 W. GRIGGS & SONS LTD., PHOTO-LITHO.

nata- instead of *-ruṇ-āvanata-*, and the syllables *ṇāma-pra* have been omitted in l. 6. In l. 7 we find *viphita-* for *vihita-*. On the whole the engraver has done his work carefully.

The grant was issued from **Valabhī** by the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja* **Dhruvasēna**, but only the formal portion is preserved.

TEXT.

1 Ōṁ[1] svasti [||*] Valabhītaḥ prasabha-praṇat-āmitra(trā)ṇāṁ Maitrakāṇām=atula-bala-sapatna-maṇḍal-ābhōga-

2 saṁsakta- saṁprahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpaḥ pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānurāgō=nurakta-maula-

3 bhṛita-mitra-śrēṇi-bal-āvāpta-rājyaśrīḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-sēnāpati- **Bhaṭakkas**=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-

4 rajō-ruṇ-anata(ruṇ-āvanata)-pavitr[ī]kṛita-śirāḥ śirō-vanata-śatru-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-vichchhurita-pāda-nakha-paṅkti-

5 dīdhitiḥ din-ānātha-jan-ōpajīvyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaras= sēnāpati- **Dharasēnaḥ**

6 tasy= ānujas= tat-pād-ābhipra[ṇāma-pra*]śasta-vimala-mauli-maṇir=Mmanv-ādi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmmā Dharmma-

7 rāja iva vi[ph]ita-vinaya-vyavasthā-paddhatir=akhila- bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-svāminā parama-

8 svāminā svayam=upahita-rājy-ābhishēka-mahāviśrāṇan-āvapūta -rājaśrīḥ paramamā-hēśvaraḥ

9 mahārāja-**Drōṇasiṁhas**=siṁha iva tasy=ānujaḥ svabhuja-balēna para-gaja-ghaṭ-ānīkānām=ēka-

10 vijayī śaraṇ-aishiṇāṁ śaraṇam=avabōddhā śāstr-ārttha-ta[t*]tvānāṁ kalpatarur=iva suhṛit-praṇayināṁ

11 yathābhilashita-phal-ōpabhōgadaḥ paramabhāgavataḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyātō

12 mahārāja-**Dhruvasēnaḥ**=kuśalī sarvvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka-mahattara-drāṁgika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-

13 dhruvasthānādhikaraṇa-daṇḍapāśik-ādīn=anyāṁś=cha yathā-saṁbadhya-

V.—PALITĀNĀ PLATE OF [ŚĪLĀDITYA I. DHARMĀDITYA; VALABHĪ-SAṀVAT 286].

Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya has favoured me with the following description of this plate,—"One plate only of the inscription is preserved. It has two ring-holes at the bottom, but neither the ring nor the seal which it might have borne is forthcoming. A small piece of the plate is broken at the left top corner, damaging a portion of the symbol for *ōṁ*. Likewise a small piece is missing at the beginning of l. 10, where, however, no letter has been damaged. The plate is engraved only on one side. The working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely at the back. Length of plate varies from $11\frac{1}{2}''$ to $11\frac{3}{4}''$. Height about $8\frac{1}{2}''$."

The plate contains 18 lines of well executed writing. The average height of individual letters is $\frac{1}{4}''$.

The **characters** agree with those used in the grants of Śīlāditya I.

With regard to **orthography**, we may note the use of *ṛi* for *ri* in *tṛidaśa-*, l. 7; of *ri* for *ṛi* in *triṇa-*, l. 7; the writing of *ṁgh* for *ṁh* in *-saṁghatis=*, l. 5 and in *saṁghat-*, l. 13; the use of *n*

[1] Expressed by a symbol.

for *ṁ* in *-ānsa-*, l. 15; the doubling of consonants after *r* and before *y* in *-ārjjavōpārjjit-*, l. 2; *Bhaṭārkkād=*, l. 3; *sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya=*, l. 6; *-ānuddhyātas=*, l. 14, and so o: There are a few mistakes, such as *ē* for *a* in *-pētha-*, l. 18; *t* for *tt* in *-satva-*, l. 4; *j* for in *-ōjvala-*, l. 18; *p* for *pr* in *-pabhāva-*, l. 4; a superfluous *anusvāra* in *-rāṁja-*, l. 3, and so o: The first *n* in *santāna-*, l. 9, has been misshaped and looks almost like a *v*. Note also tl absence of *saṁdhi* in *-śabdaḥ rūpa-*, l. 6.

The plate contains only the formal portion of the grant and breaks off in the description (**Śilāditya I. Dharmāditya**, but it is absolutely certain that Mr. Jackson was right in assumin; that the grant was issued by him. The absence of *saṁdhi* in *-śabdaḥ rūpa-*, l. 6; the wor(*-dhairyya-* in *-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-*, l. 6; and the word *-bala-* in *-ākhila-bala-dhanurddharaḥ*, l. 11, occur in all the grants of Śilāditya but not in other Valabhī grants. I is also possible to state definitely that the plate belongs to a grant issued before Valabhī-Saṁva 290, because the spellings *-saṁghatis-*, l. 5; *-tridaśaguru-*, l. 7, and *saṁghat-*, l. 13, which alsc occur in the Walā plates of Valabhī-Saṁvat 286, are not found in the Ḍhānk plates of Valabhī-Saṁvat 290. The last words of our plate are *-ōjvalatarī-krit-ārttha-*, and by comparing other Valabhī grants we find that the second plate must have begun *-sukha-sampad-upasēvā-*. Now these are the first words of the fragmentary second Walā plate of Śilāditya I. Dharmāditya, dated Saṁ. 200 80 6 Vaiśākha-va(?) 6, which has been published by Dr. Bhandarkar.[1] The length of that plate is, according to the editor, 12″ and the height 8¼″. The size therefore also agrees with that of our plate, and there cannot be any doubt that the two plates belong together, so that the whole grant is now before us. To judge from Dr. Bhandarkar's edition the second plate is not well preserved. I asked Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya to be good enough to try to get hold of it so that it could be republished together with the first plate. His endeavours to do so have not, however, been successful, and I therefore edit the beginning alone.

TEXT.

1 Ōṁ[2] svasti [||*] Valabhītaḥ prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇāṁ **Maitrakāṇām=**atula-bala-saṁpanna-maṇḍal-ābhōga-saṁsakta-prahā-

2 ra-śata-labdha-pratāpāt=pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānurāgād=anurakta-maulabhṛita-śrēṇī-bal-ā-

3 vāpta-rājya-śriyaḥ paramamāhēśvara-**Śrī-Bhaṭārkkād**=avyavachchhinna-rā(ṁ)ja-vaṁśān=mātā-pitṛi-charaṇ-āravinda-praṇati-pravidhaut-āśēsha-kalma-

4 shaḥ śaiśavāt=prabhṛiti khaḍga-dvitīya-bāhur=ēva samada-para-gaja-ghaṭ-āsphōṭana-prakāśita-sa[t*]tva-nikashas=tat-p[r*]abhā-

5 va-praṇat-ārāti-chūḍāratna-prabhā-saṁsakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-saṁgha(ha)tis=sakala-smṛiti-praṇīta-mārgga-samyak-paripālana-

6 prajā-hṛidaya-raṁjan-ānvarttha-rāja-śabdaḥ rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-buddhi-saṁpadbhiḥ smara-śaśāṅk-ādrirāj-ō-

7 dadhi-tṛi(tri)daśaguru-dhanēśān=atiśayānaś=śaraṇ-āgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tri-(tṛi)ṇa[va]d=apāst-āśēsha-svakāryya-

8 phala[ḥ*] prārtthan-ādhik-ārttha-pradān-ānandita-vidvat-suhṛit-praṇayi-hṛidayaḥ pādachār=īva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhō-

9 ga-pramōdaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ **Śrī-Guhasēnas**=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-sa[ntā]na-visṛita-Jāhnavī-jal-au-

10 gha-prakshālit-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ praṇayi-śata-sahasr-ōpajīvyamāna-sampad=rūpa-lōbhād=iv=āśritas=sarabhasam=ābhi-

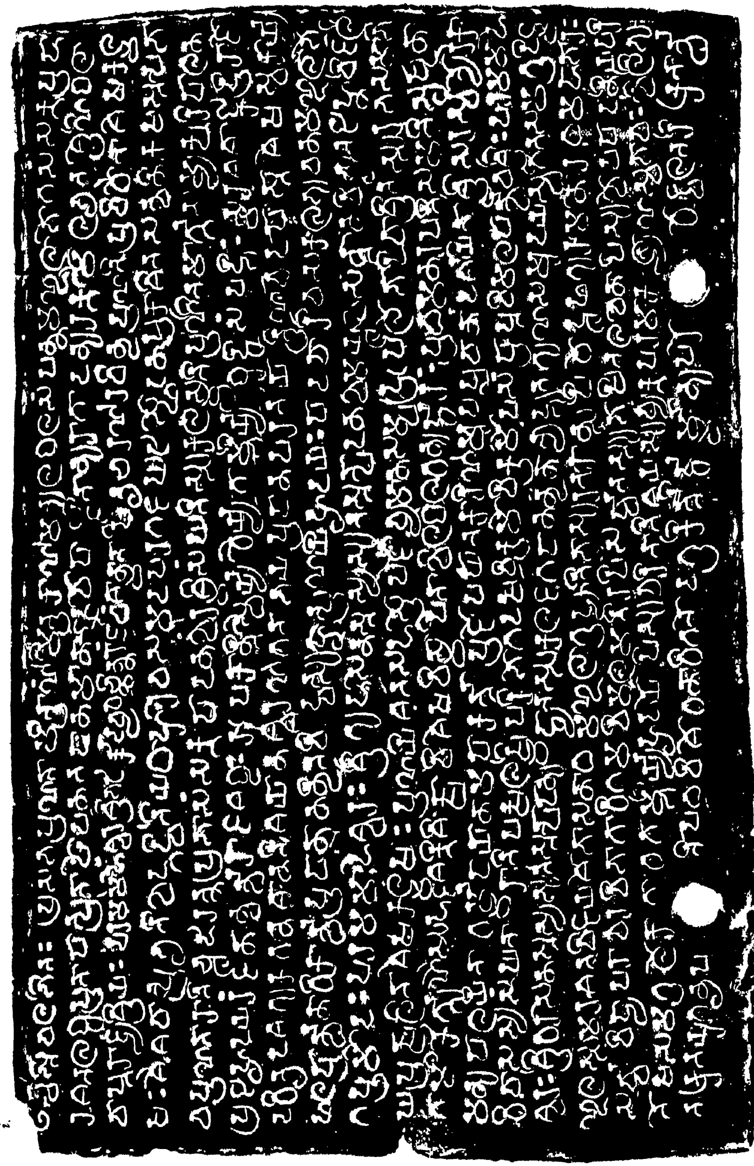
11 gāmikair=gguṇais=sahaja-śakti-śikshā-viśēsha-vismāpit-ākhila-bala-dhanurddharaḥ prathama-narapati-samatisṛishṭānā-

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 46.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

Palitana incomplete plate [of Siladitya I.].



V. VENKAYYA. SCALE ·75 W. GRIGGS & SONS LTD., PHOTO-LITHO.

12 m=anupālayitā dharmmadāyānām=apākarttā praj-ōpaghāta-kāriṇām=upaplavānāṁ darśayitā śrī-sarasvatyōr=ēk-ā-

13 dhivāsasya saṁgha(ha)t-ārāti-paksha-lakshmī-paribhōga-daksha-vikramō vikram-ōpasaṁprāpta-vimala-pārtthivaśrīḥ paramamāhē-

14 śvaraḥ Śrī-Dharasēnas=tasya sutas=tat-pād-ānuddhyātas=sakala-jagad-ānandan-ātyadbhuta-guṇa-samudaya-sthagita-samagra-diṅma-

15 ṇḍalas=samara-śata-vijaya-śōbhā-sanātha-maṇḍalāgra-dyuti-bhāsuratar-ānsa-pīṭh-ōdūḍha-guru-manōratha-mahābhāraḥ

16 sarvva-vidyā-parāvara-vibhāg-ādhigama-vimala-matir=api sarvvatas=subhāshita-lavēn=āpi sukh-ōpapādanīya-pari-

17 tōsha[ḥ*] samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīryya-hṛidayō=pi sucharit-ātiśaya-suvyakta-parama-kalyāṇa-svabhāvaḥ khilī-bhū-

18 ta-kṛitayuga-nṛipati-pē(pa)tha-viśōdhan-ādhigat-ōdagra-kīrttir=ddharmm-ānuparōdh-ō[j*]-jvala-tarī-kṛit-ārttha-.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōṁ. Hail! From **Valabhī**. (*In the lineage*) of the **Maitrakas**, who had by force prostrated (their) enemies, from the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the illustrious **Bhaṭārkka**, who had acquired splendour in hundreds of battles connected with the circuit of the territories that he had obtained by means of his unequalled strength; who had gained the devotion of those whom he had prostrated by his splendour through his gifts, honours and straightforwardness; who obtained the glory of royalty by the strength of the array of devoted hereditary servants (*was descended*), the royal lineage being uninterrupted, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious **Guhasēna**, whose sins were all washed away by the prostrations at the lotus feet of (his) mother and father; to whom (his) sword was indeed a second arm from (his) childhood; and who brightened the touchstone of his strength by splitting open the temples of the rutting elephants of his foes; the collection of the rays of the nails of whose feet was combined with the lustre of the crest jewels of his foes who were prostrated by the power of that (*strength*); who rendered (his) title of king appropriate by pleasing the minds of (his) subjects by thoroughly observing the conduct laid down in all the *smritis*; who in beauty, loveliness, stability, firmness, profundity, wisdom and wealth surpassed (*respectively*) Cupid, the moon, the king of mountains, the ocean, the preceptor of the gods (Bṛihaspati) and Dhanēśa; who, through being intent upon granting safety to those who came for protection, threw away all the results of his deeds as if they were straw; who gladdened the hearts of learned people, friends and favourites by giving (them) riches in excess of their demands; and who was, as it were, the personified happiness of the vast circle of the whole world;

(Line 9.) his son (*was*) the devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**, the glorious **Dharasēna**, whose sins were all washed away by the flood of the waters of the Ganges which flowed from the cluster of rays of the nails of the feet of his (*father*), whose wealth was being lived upon by hundreds of thousands of favourites; who was impetuously resorted to by attractive qualities as if from a desire for (*his*) beauty; who astonished the archers of all armies by his innate ability and excellent training; who was the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who was a remover of calamities that might oppress (his) subjects; who showed (the world) Śrī and Sarasvatī living together; whose prowess was skilful in enjoying the Fortune of the compact ranks of his foes; and who by his prowess obtained spotless royal splendour;

(Line 14.) his son [the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious **Śīlāditya**], who meditates on his (*father's*) feet; who covers the whole horizon by the rise of his wonderful virtues that gladden the whole world; who supports the great burden of weighty desires on the pedestal of his shoulders (which have got their) splendour increased by the lustre of his sword that is

possessed of the brilliancy of victory in hundreds of battles; who though his intellect is pure by mastering the higher and lower divisions of all sciences, is always easily gratified by even a trifle of wit; who, though his heart possesses a profundity that is unfathomable by the whole world, well manifests his noble disposition in abundance of good conduct; who has achieved exalted fame by purifying the path of the kings of the Kṛitayuga which had become abandoned; [whose second name of Dharmāditya arose from his enjoying riches, happiness, and] wealth which have been made more resplendent by (his) non-obstructing the law.

No. 10.—BURMESE INSCRIPTION AT BODH-GAYA.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

Translations of this inscription have already been published at pages 208-210 of Rajendralâla Mitra's *Buddha Gaya*, and at page 76 of Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*. There is some controversy as to the correct reading of the dates. The initial date is undoubtedly 657, which corresponds to 1295 A.D., and the final date 660, which is equivalent to 1298 A.D. During the period indicated by these two dates, the Burmese empire of Pagan was in the throes of a Chinese invasion. In 1284, Pagan had been occupied by the Chinese. In 1298 A.D., **Kyawzwa**, the titular king, had been dethroned by three **Shan** brothers, who bore divided rule at the new capitals of **Myinzaing**, **Metkaya**, and **Pinlê** in the Kyanksè district. Two years later, the **Chinese** again invaded **Myinzaing**. In these circumstances, the only inference is that the last repairs to the **Mahābōdhi Temple** alluded to in the inscription were carried out under the auspices of a **king of Arakan.**

There is, however, some difficulty in the identification of the personages mentioned in the inscription. *Mahāthera* **Pinthagugyi** cannot be identified with certainty. *Pinthagugyi* or the "great Pinthagu" is a title, designation, or *sobriquet*, rather than a personal name, and is derived from the Pāli word *paṁsukūlika*, "one who obtains the materials for his clothing from a dust-heap or a cemetery." Such a title was usually conferred on a Buddhist monk of exceptional sanctity and austerity, who had secured the esteem and admiration of the laity. There was such a celebrated Buddhist monk at Pagan during the reign of **Narapatisithu** (1167-1204 A.D.).

Thadomin sounds like an Arakanese title of a king or prince. It does not occur in the chronological lists appended to Phayre's *History of Burma.*

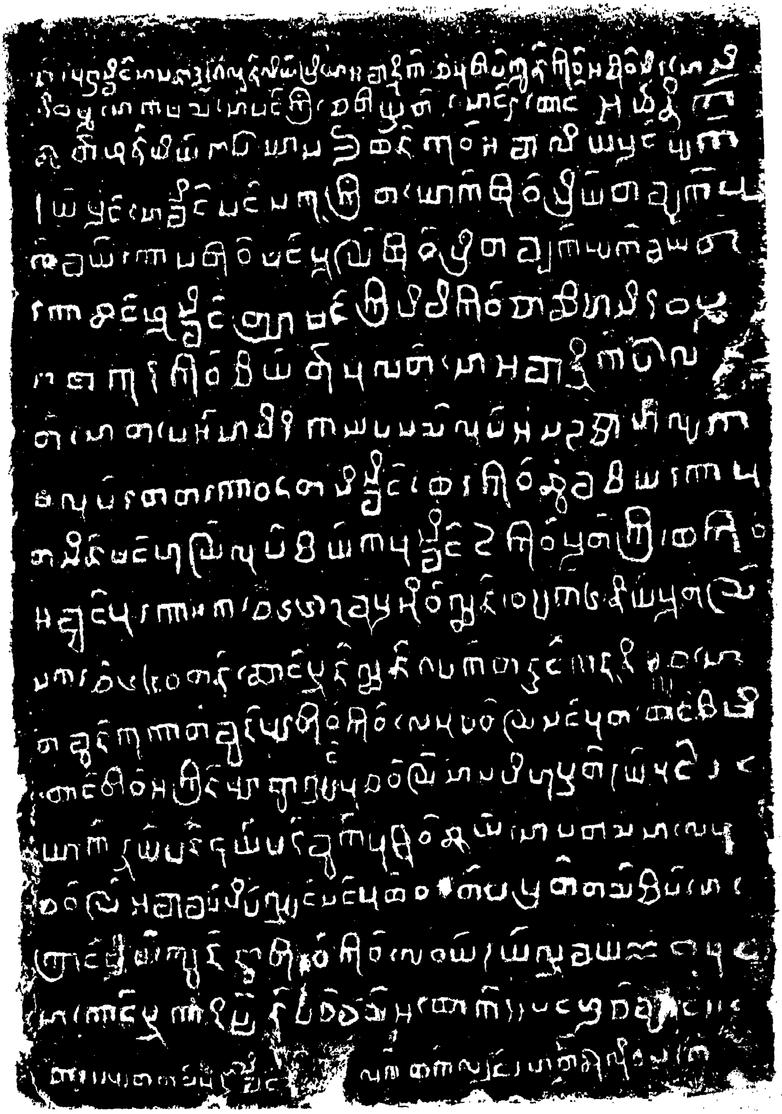
King **Sinbyuthakin** is called in the inscription *Sinbyuthikhin Trā Mingyi*. The first part means "the Lord of the White Elephant," and the second "Dhammarājā." Here, again, the expression is a common regal title and not a personal name.

Siridhammarājaguru is the title of a learned monk. All royal preceptors are called "Dhammarājaguru," or the "King's *guru*."

Sirikassapa and **Varavāsi** are ordinary names of Buddhist monks.

A great deal of interest centres round the designation "**Pyu-ta-thein-min**", which appears as "Pu-ta thin min" in lines 9-10 of the inscription below. I am inclined to identify this personage with the "King Sinbyuthikhin" mentioned in the same inscription, and both with Meng-di, No. 9 of the "Dynasty of the City Loung-Kyet" at page 301 of Phayre's *History of Burma*. This king reigned from 1279 to 1385, and is described as a "son of Meng-bhi-lu". There are two "Meng-bhi-lus," namely, No. 7 of the same dynasty, who reigned from 1272 to 1276 A.D., and No. 12 of the "dynasty of Ping-tsa City," who ruled from 1075 to 1078 A.D. (page 299, *ibid*). The latter king was driven out from his kingdom by a usurper, and his son and heir, **Mengre Baya,** sought refuge at the Court of **Kyanzittha, king of Pagan.** Mengre Baya died leaving a son called **Letyāmengnan.** This Arakanese prince

Burmese inscription at Bodh-Gaya.



V. VENKAYYA. SCALE ·35. W. GRIGGS & SONS LTD., PHOTO-LITHO.

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY MR. LONGHURST.

was restored to his ancestral throne by **Alaungsithu,** Kyanzittha's grandson and successor, in 1103 A.D., with the aid of 100,000 Pyus and 100,000 Talaings. Hence the fortunate prince is known in history as "Pyu-ta-thein-min," or "Lord of the 100,000 Pyus" (*vide* page 40, *ibid*). It is most probable that **Meng-di,** during whose reign the inscription was set up at **Bodh-Gaya,** was a descendant of Letyāmengnan and was also called a "Pyu-ta-thein-min."

On the same page, Phayre says: "Alaungsithu caused the Buddhist temple at Gaya to be repaired." I am inclined to think that, on that occasion, the King of Pagan deputed the *Mahāthera* **Pinthagugyi** to superintend the work, and that he required his *protegé*, Letyāmengnan, to render the necessary assistance in this work of merit. It would then appear that the "Thadomin" mentioned in the inscription was a descendant of Letyāmengnan, the Prince, who first bore the title of "Pyu-ta-thein-min" or "Lord of the 100,000 Pyus."

It is quite possible that one of the conditions of Letyāmengnan's restoration to the Arakanese throne was that, for the accumulation of merit of **Alaungsithu,** his suzerain and benefactor, he and his descendants were to render material assistance in the repair and maintenance of the temple at Bodh-Gaya. Viewed in this light, the chronology of the inscription and the *raison d'être* of the proceedings recorded therein become clear, reasonable, and logical.

TEXT.

1 Purhāthikhin thāthanā 218 lunliè-pyithaw akhāhnaik sambuteik kyungo asoyathaw Si-
2 ridhammasoka myithaw Mingyi seti shatthaung 4 daung aphaw hnaik
3 sumtaw phonpierā Pāyātha i-tango akhā liemyin pyet
4 rwe myinthaw thikhin Pinthakūgyi tayauk. Thopyiy tachet py-
5 etkheragā Thadomin pyu-i. Thopyi(y) tachet pyetkhedōn
6 ragā Sinbyuthikhin Trā Mingyi mimi ·kosa sira siridhamma-
7 rājakurugo siytaw mulatthaw akhāhnaik pā-la-
8 t thaw tabethā Sirikassapasa thi lôk antha utsā hilyet
9 malōk radat ragā Varavāsi thikhin therago ·sum kham siyragā Pu-
10 tathin min hu-i lok siykāmu thikhin ngo ko myatkyi *The*(*ra*) ko
11 akhwin puragā Sakarac 657 khu pyatholazan 10 rak thaukkyaniy pyudôn-i
12 Sakarac 660 Tazaungmonlazan 8 rak tahninganu ni(y) hlū-sathaw
13 takhunkukā takhunpyādoko le pusao-i. Thinbôk thaung simi
14 thaungdo akyein myaswa hlin pusao-i. Thāthami hu hmat rwe thungè 2
15 yauk shwepan ngwepan khwet paso swèthaw padetha le pu-
16 sao-i. Akhākhapthein hlin thinbôkwut mapyat tisinthaw
17 kraung mrie kyun nwado ko le way ruy hlūkhe. Ī ngā pyu
18 thaw kaunghmugā *Nippan*, pyitsi athauk apin phyitchin tha-
19 te. Yat (meik) ti purhāthikhin letthet hlin rahandāsu lothate.

TRANSLATION.

1 When **218 years of the era of the Religion of the Lord Buddha** had passed away, **Siridhammāsoka,** the Ruler of **Jambudīpa,**

2 built 84,000 **chaityas,** one of which was situated on the site,

3 where the Buddha took a meal (of rice porridge offered by Sujātā before attaining Enlightenment). This shrine, owing to the effluxion of time, fell into ruin,

4 and was repaired by the **Mahāthera Pinthagugyi.** Subsequently,

5 it was repaired by **Thadomin.** It again fell into disrepair,

6 and King **Sinbyuthikhin** deputed the Royal Preceptor,

7 **Siridhammarājaguru**, to undertake the work of repair.

8 **Sirikassapa**, the disciple of the Preceptor, had sufficient funds,

9 but could not take the work in hand (owing, probably, to the absence of skilled artisans)—

10 He, therefore, sent **Varavāsi**, a junior *Thera*,

11 to King **Pyutathin Min**, who complied with the solicitation for assistance.

12 The work of repair was begun on **Friday, the 10th**, waxing of Pyatho 657 **B.E.** (January 1295 A.D.),

13 and was completed on **Sunday, the 8th, waxing of Tazaungmon 660 B.E.** (November 1298 A.D.)

14 The following offerings were dedicated to the shrine: flags and streamers, 1,000 bowls of rice and 1,000 lamps (for several times), 2 boys in the place of the donor's own children,

15 and gold and silver flowers and cloth hung on bamboo framework.

16 In order to provide for the daily offering of rice at the shrine, at all times,

17 land, slaves, and cattle were purchased and likewise dedicated. May this

18 meritorious deed of mine lead me on to Nirvāṇa!

19 May I become a disciple of **Metteyya**, the coming Buddha!

No. 11.—DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

BY PROFESSOR H. JACOBI, BONN.

I have received from the Government Epigraphist, Mr. Venkayya, a large number of dates for examination, of which I here publish 32 dates of Chōḷa kings. In accepting this task I may be permitted to give expression to my admiration of the work done by my predecessor, the late Professor Kielhorn. Without the results he had worked out with inexhaustible patience, I probably should not have succeeded in verifying many of the dates which are now published.

The dates have been calculated with the help of my General Tables published in Volume I, p. 443 of this journal. The time of the end of *tithis* and *nakshatras* is given in *ghaṭikās* only, when the result at issue would not be influenced by a few *ghaṭikās*, more or less. In those cases, however, where a higher degree of accuracy is wanted, I have made use of the new special tables which I am going to publish in Part iv. of this volume. These tables yield the result within a few *palas* according to the Ārya, Sūrya, and Brahma-Siddhāntas, and the Siddhānta-Śirōmaṇi.

The date No. 198 reduces the time previously found for the commencement of the reign of Rājādhirāja II. to the period from the 7th to the 30th March 1163 A.D. The remaining dates confirm the results previously found.

A.—PARAKĒSARIVARMAN RĀJĒNDRA-CHŌḶA I.

191.—In the Vēdapurīśvara temple at Tirukkaḷittaṭṭai.[1]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiru-maṉni(maṉṉi) vaḷara . . . .
20 . . . . kō=Pparakēsaripa[n]mar=āṉa śrī-R[ā]-
21 j[ē]ntra-Śōḷadēvaṟkku yāṇḍu oṉbadāvadu . .
24 . . . . ivv=āṭṭai Magara-n[ā-
25 ya]ṟṟu Budaṉ-kiḻamai peṟṟa Tirukkōṭṭai-nāṉṟu.

[1] No. 292 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

"In the ninth year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the glorious Rājēndra-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of the auspicious (*nakshatra*) Jyēshṭhā, which corresponded to Wednesday of the month of Makara in this year."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 8th February 1021, which was the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Makara. The *nakshatra* was Jyēshṭhā which ended, according to the equal space system, about 18 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

B.—VIKRAMA-CHŌḶA.

192.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunaṟaiyūr.[1]

1 [S]vasti śrī [||*][2] Pūmādu puṇara . . . .
3 . . . . kō=Pparakēśaripatmar=āna Tribhuvanacha-
4 kavattigaḷ[3] śrī-Vikrama-Chōḷadēvarkku yāṇḍu 2 iraṇḍu āvadu Midhuna-nāyaṟṟu=[p]pū[r]vva- [pa]kshattu [dv]ādaśiyum Ti[ṅ]gaṭ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa [Vi]śāgattu nāḷ.

"In the 2nd—second—year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

This date is intrinsically wrong. Monday, the 23rd June 1119 A.D. corresponded to the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mithuna (Āshāḍha) and the *nakshatra* was Mūla.

193.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunaṟaiyūr.[4]

1 Pūmādu puṇara . . . .
2 . . . . kō=Pparakēśaripatmar=āna Tribhuvanachakravarttigaḷ
3 śrī-Vikrama-Chōḷadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu mūṉṟāvadu Midu[ṉa*]-nāyaṟṟu pū[r]vva-pakshattu shash[ṭh]iyum Veḷḷi-kki[ḻam]aiyum peṟṟa Pūrattu nāḷ.

"In the third year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Friday, and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 4th June 1120 A.D., being the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mithuna (Āshāḍha), the *nakshatra* being Pūrva-Phalgunī, which had begun about 12 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise and was current for the greater part of the day.

194.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunaṟaiyūr.[5]

1 [6] Śrī-Vikrama-Śōḷadēvaṟkku yāṇḍu 3 mūṉṟāvadu Miduna-nāyaṟṟu [p]ū[r]v[va]-pakshattu ashṭamiyum Viyāḻa-kkiḻamai[yu]m peṟṟa Uttirattu [nāḷ].

"In the 3rd—third—year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

[1] No. 170 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[2] The space between *śrī* and *pū* was perhaps intended for a punctuation.
[3] Read °*chakravarttigaḷ*.
[4] No. 164 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[5] No. 171 of the same collection for 1908.
[6] This inscription is engraved in continuation of No. 170 of 1908 (from the middle of line 17 of the latter).

This date is apparently wrong. It belongs to the same year and month as the preceding one and may be expected to fall on the day previous, if we take the week-day to be given correctly, and on the following day if we assume the *nakshatra* to be right; but these items are Friday and Pūrva-Phalgunī in the preceding date and Thursday and Uttara-Phalgunī in this.

195.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunaṟaiyūr.[1]

1 Svasti śrī ||— Pūmādu puṇara . . . .

3 . . . . kō=[2]Pparakēsari[var]mar=āna Tribhu[va]nach-[cha]krava-

4 [3]rttiga[ḷ śrī-Vi]kra[ma-Śōḻadēva]rkku[4] yāṇḍu 12 ā[va]du Ṛishabha-[nā]yaṟ[ṟu]=ppūrvva-pakshattu shashṭhiyum Viyā[ḻa]-kiḻakkiḻamaiyum[5] pe[ṟ]-

5 ṟa Ma[gattu nā]ḷ.

"In the **12th year** (*of the reign*) of **king Parakēsarivarman** *alias* the **emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Vikrama-Chōḻadēva],**— on the day of **M[aghā], which corresponded to a Thursday** and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month **of Ṛishabha.**"

The date corresponds to **Thursday, the 15th May 1130 A.D.**, which was the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Ṛishabha (Jyaishṭha) and was coupled with the *nakshatra* Maghā. The 6th *tithi* ended about 41 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Maghā commenced about 10 *ghaṭikās* after it according to the equal space system.

C.—PARAKĒSARIVARMAN RĀJARĀJA II.

196.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunaṟaiyūr.[6]

1 Svast[i] śr[ī] [||*] Puyal vāyttu . . . .

3 . . . . kō=Pparakēsaripaṉmar=āna Rāja[r]ājadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 5 āvadu nāḷ Vṛiśchika-nāyaṟṟu=p[p]ūrvva-[pa]kshattu tṛitiyaiyum Śani-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Uttirāḍat-

4 [tu nāḷ].

"In the time (*nāḷ*) of the **5th year** (*of the reign*) of **king Parakēsarivarman** *alias* **Rājarājadēva,**—on the day of **Uttarāshāḍhā,** which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to **the** third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Vṛiśchika.**"

The date seems to correspond to **Friday, the 24th November 1150 A.D.**, which was the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vṛiśchika (Mārgaśīrsha). The day was coupled with the *nakshatra* Uttarāshāḍhā, which commenced about 19 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise of that day, while the third *tithi* ended about 44 *ghaṭikās* after it. We must therefore assume that in the inscription, Saturday is wrongly given instead of Friday.

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[1] No. 167 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

[2] The letter *sa* of *kēsari* is written on an erasure.

[3] The syllable *r* at the beginning of the line is corrected from *ra*.

[4] The five syllables *maśōḻadēva* are written on an erasure.

[5] Cancel the first two letters *kiḻa*.

[6] No. 165 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

197.—In the Aiyaṉār temple at Tiruppaṭṭūr.[1]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya tiru-mādum . . . .
4 . . . . kō=Pparakēśaripatmar=āṉa Tiribuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śr[ī]-Rājarājadēvaṟ[ku y]āṇḍu 7 āvadu Ishaba-nāyaṟṟu a-
5 para-pakshattu dvādaśiyum Viyāḻa-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Aśvati-nāḷ.

"In the 7th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Ṛishabha."

The date intended in this inscription is **Thursday, the 21st May 1153 A.D.** It is, however, not the 12th, but the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Ṛishabha (Jyaishṭha); it was coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī, which ended about 11 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The 12th *tithi* ended about mean sunrise of Friday at Laṅkā, according to the Ārya-Siddhānta, 22 *palas* after it, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta 7 *palas* before it, and according to the Brahma-Siddhānta 52 *palas* before it. But as we have to reckon with true sunrise, which occurred on that day, say at Conjeeveram, 1 *ghaṭikā* 49 *palas* before mean sunrise at Laṅkā, the end of the 12th *tithi* fell after true sunrise of Friday, which day therefore was called the 12th *tithi*. The 12th (lunar) *tithi* was however coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī, which ended in it, though the day in which it ended was called the 11th *tithi*.

D.—TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II.

198.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunaṟaiyūr.[2]

1 Svasti śrī [ஒ] Kaḍal-ś[ūḻ]nda[3] pār=eḻun= . . . . .
8 Tribhuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Rājāta(dhi)rājadēvarkku yāṇḍu āṟāvadu Mīṉa-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu shashṭhiyum Viyāḻa-kka(kki)ḻamaiyum peṟṟa Urōśaṇi-nāḷ.

"In the sixth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādh[i]rājadēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

This date corresponds to **Thursday, the 6th March 1169 A.D.** On this day, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Mīna (Chaitra) ended about 38 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī about 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise (according to the equal-space system). The present inscription brings the accession to the throne of Rājādhirāja II. between 7th and 30th March 1163.

E.—KULŌTTUṄGA-CHŌḶA III.

199.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunaṟaiyūr.[4]

1 . . . . . [k]karavatt[i]ga[ḷ śrī-Ku]lōttuṅga-Śōḻadēva[ṟ]ku yā[ṇḍu][5] 2 vadu[6] [Ku]m-
2 [ba-nāyaṟṟu*] irubattoṉ[ṟā]n=[diyadi]yum peṟṟa apara-[pa]kshattu pra[da]m[ai]yum Budan-
3 . . . . . [pi]radamaiyum[7] peṟṟa [Pū]rattu nāḷ.

[1] No. 597 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[2] No. 172 of the same collection for 1908.
[3] The syllable *ḻa* seems to be entered below the line.
[4] No. 166 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[5] Between *ṇḍu* and the figure 2 there is some space in which traces of a letter or a figure are seen.
[6] The flourish added to the figure 2 may also be taken to represent the syllables *vadu*.
[7] The *tithi* seems to have been repeated by mistake.

"In the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor [of the three worlds], the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to the first . . . . to a Wednesday, to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the twenty-first solar day [of the month of Kumbha]."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 13th February 1180 A.D., which was the 21st day of the solar month Kumbha. The case is similar to that in No. 197; but here the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha was an expunged *tithi*, wherefore the day was to be called the 15th of the bright fortnight. According to the Ārya-Siddhānta, the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kumbha (Phālguna) ended 5 *ghaṭikās* 9 *palas* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the 1st *tithi* of the dark fortnight 5 *palas* after mean sunrise of the next day (Thursday); but as the sun rose at Conjeeveram on that day 8 *palas* later, the end of the *tithi* was brought over to the preceding day, and was, therefore, expunged. But this first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha was coupled with Pūrva-Phalgunī which ended on Wednesday about 34 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

200.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunaṟaiyūr.[1]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ [śrī]-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḻadēvarku yāṇḍu 2 vadu[2] Mīṉa-nā[ya]ṟṟu pūrva-pakshattu piradamaiyum Viy[y]āḻa-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa [U]ttiraṭṭādi-nāḷ.

"In the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 28th February 1180 A.D. On that day ended the 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Mīna (Chaitra) and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrapadā, both about 19 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

201.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunaṟaiyūr.[3]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pu(pū)-maruviya Tiśaimugattōn . . . . . . kō-Pparakēsarivarmar=āṉa Tiribuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ [4]śi-Vīrarājēndhra(dra)dēvarku yāṇḍu [5]ñjāvadu Kumba-[n]āyaṟṟu apara-pakkshattu[5] navamiyum Veḷḷi-kkiḻamai peṟṟa Mūlattu nāḷ.

"In the [5]th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīrarājēndradēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 18th February 1183 A.D., on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha (Chaitra) ended about 38 *ghaṭikās* and the *nakshatra* Mūla about 34 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

202.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunaṟaiyūr.[6]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū[ma]l vāy[ttu] . . . . kōv= [7]Irarāśakēśaripaṉ-

[1] No. 175 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[2] The flourish added to the figure 2 may also be taken to represent the syllables *vadu*.
[3] No. 176 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[4] Read *śrī*-.
[5] Read -*pakshattu*.
[6] No. 178 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[7] Read -*Irāśakēśari*°.

4 mar=āna [Ti*]ribuvanachchakkara[va]ttigaḷ śr[i]-Vīrarājendra-Śōḷadēvarkku yāṇḍu āṛā[va]du nāḷ Siṁha-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu navamiyum Śani-kkiḷamaiyum peṟṟa [Mṛi]ga-
5 [śī]rsha[ttu n]āḷ.

"In the time (*nāḷ*) of the **sixth year** (*of the reign*) of king [1]**Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīrarājēndra-Chōḷadēva,**— on the day of **Mṛigaśīrsha,** which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Siṁha.**"

I take the date to correspond to **Saturday, the 10th September 1183 A.D.** For, on this day the *nakshatra* Mṛigaśīrsha began at about 4 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. The day, however, was not the 9th, but the 7th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Siṁha (Bhādrapada), that *tithi* having ended about 16 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.— The result shows that the word *navamiyum* of the original date should be altered to *saptamiyum* (or perhaps into *ashṭamiyum*, if that *tithi* was intended with which the given *nakshatra* mainly coincided, or in which it ended, as was the case in Nos. 197 and 199).

203.—In the Viḷināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīḻimiḻalai.[2]

1 [Sva]sti śr[i] [||*] T[i]ribuvaṇachchakka[va]tti[gaḷ][3] śrī-Kulō[t]tu[ṅ]ga-[Ś]ōḷadē-[va]ṟku y[ā]ṇḍu ēḻā-
2 vadu Magara-nā[ya]ṟṟu pū[rvva]-pak[shat]tu śatudaśi[y]u Viyāḻa-kkiḻa[mai]yum peṟṟa Puṇarpūśatti=[n]āḷ.

"In the **seventh year** (*of the reign*) of **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,**—on the day of **Punarvasu,** which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara.**"

The date intended seems to be **Wednesday, the 16th January 1185.** For, on that day the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Makara (Māgha) ended about 45 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Punarvasu ended about 14 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The week-day however was Wednesday, and not Thursday, as given in the original date, apparently by a mistake.

204.—In the Viḻināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīḻimiḻalai.[4]

1 Svasti śr[i] [||*] [Puyal vā][y*]ttu va[ḷa]m [peru]ga [||*][5] Tribuvaṇachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ Maduraiyum Pā[ṇ]ḍiyaṉ muḍittalai[y]uṅ=goṇ[ḍ-aruḷi]ṉa śī-Kul[ō]ttu[ṅ*]ga-[Ś]ōḷadēvaṟ[k]ku [y]āṇḍu padiṉāṟāvadu
2 K[u]mba-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu [pañja]miyum Veḷḷi-kkiḻamai[y]um peṟṟa I[r]ēvati-nāḷ.

"In the **sixteenth year** (*of the reign*) of **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,** who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,— on the day of **Rēvatī,** which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the [fifth *tithi*] of the first fortnight of the month of **Kumbha.**"

The date corresponds to **Friday, the 28th January 1194 A.D.,** the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Kumbha ending about 54 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise of that day, and the *nakshatra* Rēvatī ending about 15 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. As the *tithi* might be an

[1] Kulōttuṅga III. bears the surname Parakēsarivarman in his other inscriptions.
[2] No. 386 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[3] Read *chakravarttigaḷ.*
[4] No. 418 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[5] Between *ga* and *tri* there is some space which may have contained a sign of punctuation

expunged one, I calculated the beginning of 5th *tithi* for true sunrise at Conjeeveram according to the Ārya-Siddhānta; it began nearly a *ghaṭikā* before sunrise of Friday, which day accordingly was the 5th *tithi*.

205.—In the Viḻināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīḻimiḻalai.[1]

1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||*] P[u]ya[l· vā][y*]ttu [vaḷam] . . . . Madurai koṇ[du] Pāṇ[ḍiya]ṉ muḍitta[l]ai[y]uṅ=goṇḍ -aruḷ[ina] śr[ī] -Kulōttu[ṅ]ga-Śōḷadēvaṟku yāṇḍu padinēḻā-[va]du Ka[ṟ]-
2 kaḍaga -nāyaṟṟu apara -pakshattu śa[turtteśiya]m[2] Tiṅgaḷ-kiḻamai peṟ[ṟa] Puṇa-[r]pū[śa]ttu nāḷ.

"In the seventeenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who, having taken Madurai, was pleased also to take the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourteenth (or fourth) *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Ka[ṟ]kaṭaka."

The *tithi* in this date must be the 14th; for the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Tulā (and Vṛiśchika) only can be coupled with Punarvasu. The 14th of Karkaṭaka however cannot also be coupled with that *nakshatra*; but the 14th of Mithuna. If we calculate for the 14th of the dark fortnight of Mithuna which corresponded to the 8th July, 1195 A.D., the *nakshatra* is indeed Punarvasu, but we find the week-day to be a Saturday instead of a Monday. Indeed the week-day would be incorrect on any possible assumption.

F.—RĀJARĀJA III.

206.—In the Aiyaṉār temple at Tiruppaṭṭūr.[3]

1 [Sva]sti śrī [||*] Tiribuva[nachchak]karavattigaḷ śrī-Rājarāja-
2 [4]dēvaṟkku yāṇḍu 4 vadu Dhanu-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshat-
3 tu da[śa]miyum Śevvā-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Rēvati-tā(nā)ḷ.

"In the 4th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

This date is also a doubtful one. The *tithi* given in the inscription corresponds to the 18th December 1219 A.D., but it is a Wednesday and is coupled with the *nakshatra* Bharaṇī and Kṛittikā. The preceding day was a Tuesday, but it was the 9th *tithi* and was coupled with Aśvinī and Bharaṇī. If we assume the month to have been Vṛiśchika instead of Dhanus (for there are instances of such mistakes in these inscriptions, see above, vol. IX, p. 220, note 12, and p. 221, note 4), we find that Tuesday, the 19th November 1219 A.D., was the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vṛiśchika, not the tenth *tithi* as stated in the inscription; but this tenth (lunar) *tithi* was coupled with the *nakshatra* Rēvatī, the one ending 13 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise, the other beginning 40 *ghaṭikās* before it; cf. No. 202.

207.—In the Aiyaṉār temple at Tiruppaṭṭūr.[5]

1 [Svasti śrī || Tiri*]buvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Rājarājadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 7 āvadu Isha[ba]-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu tri(tṛi)tiyaiyun=Diṅgaṭ-kkiḻamaiyum peṟ[ṟa] Mū[la]tti=nāḷ.

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[1] No. 416 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[2] It is not impossible that the reading is *saduttiyum*, *i.e.* the fourth *tithi*.
[3] No. 595 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[4] The *ē*-symbol attached to *dē* is at the end of l. 1.
[5] No. 596 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

"In the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Ṛishabha."

I take the date to correspond to Monday, the 30th March 1222 A.D., though the *nakshatra* of that day was not Mūla, but Uttarāshāḍhā and Śravaṇa. The third *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Ṛishabha (Jyaishṭha) ended, according to the Ārya and Sūrya Siddhāntas, 1 *ghaṭikā* 44 *palas*, and 46 *palas*, respectively, after mean sunrise, and something more after true sunrise; while the 4th *tithi* ended on the next day. According to the Brahma-Siddhānta, however, Sunday was the third *tithi* and Monday was an *adhika* or repeated *tithi*. The result is practically the same as was found by the two other Siddhāntas.

208.—In the Mantrapurīśvara temple at Kōvilūr.[1]

1 ஸ Svasti śrī [||*]
2 Tiribuvaṇach[cha]-
3 kkaravattigaḷ śrī-
4 [2]Rājarājadēvarkku y[ā]-
5 [ṇ]ḍu 7 āvadi[ṇ*] edirām=[ā]-
6 ṇḍu Kumba-nāyaṟṟu [p]ū-
7 rvva-pakshattu tṛitiyaiyu[m]
8 Tiṅgaḷ-kkiḻamai[y]u[m] pe-
9 ṟṟa Śōdi-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds almost certainly to Monday, the 20th February 1223 A.D. But the original date contains two errors: (1) it was not the 'first' fortnight, because in it the *nakshatra* Svāti is impossible; (2) it was not the 3rd but the 4th *tithi*. For, on calculating the above date, we find that the 20th February corresponded to the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha (Phālguna), and that almost the whole day coincided with the *nakshatra* Svāti.

209.—In the Viḷināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīḻimiḻalai.[3]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribuvaṇachchakkaravattigaḷ [ś]ri-Irājarājadēvaṟkku yāṇḍu [1]1 [va]du[4] Kumbha-nā[ya]ṟṟu apara-[pa]kshattu ēkādaśiyum Śaṇi-[k]kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa
2 Mūlattu nāḷ.

"In the [1]1th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

This date is the same as that in No. 214 below and will be dealt with in that place. It deserves to be remarked that, in this inscription just as in No. 214, the month Kumbha has been erroneously quoted instead of Makara.

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[1] No. 215 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

[2] The name Rājarāja is denoted by two abbreviations.

[3] No. 400 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

[4] The date may also be read as 21.

210.—In the Mantrapurīśvara temple at Kōvilūr.[1]

1 [S]vasti śrī [||*] T[i]r[i]buvaṇachchakkaravatt[i]ga[ḷ śi]-Rāśarāśadēvarku yāṇ[ḍu]² [11]³ [Ṛi]shava-nāyaṟ[ṟu] pū[r]va-pakkattu saptam[i]yum Nāyaṟṟu-kk[i]ḻamaiyu[m] peṟṟa Magattu nāḷ.

"(In) the [11]th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadeva, — on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Ṛishabha."

If we take the year to be the 11th, neither the week-day nor the *nakshatra* comes out right. But if we calculate for the 21st year, both items come out right. The date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd May 1237 A.D. The 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Ṛishabha (Jyaishṭha) ended about 9 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise of the 3rd May, and the *nakshatra* Maghā covered nearly that whole day.

211.—In the Viḻināthasvāmin temple at Tiruviḻimiḻalai.[5]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvaṇachcha[k*]karavattigaḷ śrī-Rāja[rājadēvark]ku [y]āṇḍu 11 [ā]va[ḍu] Dhaṇu-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu daśamiyum T[i]ṅgaṭ-kk[i]ḻamai-yu[m]

2 peṟṟa [R]ēvati-[n]āḷ.

"In the 11th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadeva,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

The date as given in the inscription would correspond to Thursday, the 31st December 122[illegible] A.D., which was coupled with Kṛittikā. This result is wrong in all details. If we calculate Monday, the 29th December of the same year, the *nakshatra* comes out right, but it is the 7th *tithi*. Now, assuming that the month Dhanus has erroneously been quoted for Makara, the original date would correspond to Monday, the 30th November 1226 A.D. This is apparently the right date. On that day, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Makara ended about 37 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Rēvatī ended about 18 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

212.—In the Mantrapurīśvara temple at Kōvilūr.[6]

1 ஸ்ரீ Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvaṇachchakkara-
2 vatt[i]gaḷ śrī-Irāśarāśadēvarkku y[ā]-
3 ṇḍu[7] irubadāvadu Magara-nāyaṟṟu pū-
4 rvva-pakkattu saptamiyum Tiṅgaḷ-kki[ḻa]-
5 maiyum ppeṟṟa[8] Aśvati-nāḷ.

"In the twentieth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The calculation of the original date yields Wednesday, the 16th January 1236 A.D., which day was coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī; but as the week-day is wrong, we must reject this

[1] No. 193 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[2] Two unintelligible symbols are engraved at the beginning of the line before the akshara *sva*.
[3] The figures in brackets may also be read as 21.
[4] Read *Ṛishabha*.
[5] No. 400 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[6] No. 195 of the same collection for 1908.
[7] Read *yāṇḍu*.
[8] Read *peṟṟa*.

date. Assuming a mistake in the month, *viz.* Makara for Dhanus, we get Tuesday, the [illegible] December, which corresponds to the given *tithi* (ending 9 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise), but the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī (beginning 13 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise). If we calculate for the following year, the 21st instead of the 20th, the date comes out right in all details. It corresponds to **Monday, the 5th January 1237 A.D.** On that day, the 7th *tithi* of the month Makara ended 14 *ghaṭikās* after, and the *nakshatra* Aśvinī began 13 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise. This is probably the equivalent of the date, though it is rather surprising that the number of the regnal year should have been erroneously quoted.

213.—In the Viḻināthasvāmin temple at Tiruviḻimiḻalai.[1]

1 Svasti śrī:— T[i]rubu[va]ṉachchā(cha)kravartti[ga]ḷ śrī-R]ājarājadēvaṟku [y]āṇḍu 20 iru[bad]ā[va]du Ṛishabha-[n]āyaṟ[ṟu] pūr[vva]-pakshattu daśa[m]i[y]um [V]e[ḷḷi][2]-kkiḻamai[yum p]eṟ[ṟa] Utt[ira]ttu [nāḷ].

"In the 20th— twentieth— year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalguṇī, which corresponded to a [Friday] and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Ṛishabha."

The date probably corresponds to **Friday, the 16th May 1236 A.D.** On that day, the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Ṛishabha (Jyaishṭha) ended 12 *ghaṭikās*, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī 14 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. It appears therefore that, in the original date, the tenth *tithi* has been erroneously quoted instead of the ninth. Calculating Mēsha instead of Ṛishabha, we find that the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight ended on Thursday, the 17th April 1236 A.D., 40 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī began only 50 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. If this date be the right equivalent, we have to assume that the month as well as the week-day are erroneously quoted in the original.

214.—In the Viḻināthasvāmin temple at Tiruviḻimiḻalai.[3]

1 Svast[i] śr[ī] [||*] Tir[i]buvaṉachaka[va]ttigaḷ[4] śrī-Irājaīrājadēva[ṟ]ku[5] yāṇḍu 21 vadu Kum[ba]-n[ā]yaṟṟu apara-pakshattu ēk[ā]daśamiyum[6] Śaṉ[i]-kkiḻam[aiyu]m peṟṟa Mūlattu

2 nāḷ.

"In the 21st year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the [eleventh] *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Kumbha**."

The date corresponds to **Saturday, the 24th January 1237 A.D.** But the month Kumbha has erroneously been quoted instead of Makara. For, it is impossible that in Kumbha (Phālguna) the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight should coincide with Mūla; and besides, in that year Phālguna badi 11 was a Monday (or possibly a Sunday, for the end of the *tithi* fell very near sunrise), but certainly not a Saturday. But on the day stated above, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Makara ended about 18 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Mūla ended about 27 *ghaṭikās* after it.

[1] No. 407 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

[2] The space between *m* and *kki* is just enough for *veḷḷi* and not for *śevvāy* (Tuesday).

[3] No. 410 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

[4] Read °*chakravarti*°.

[5] Read -*Rājarāja*°.

[6] The syllable *mi* is written below the line. The *tithi* intended may have been either *ēkādaśi* or *daśami*. But No. 209 above, which is identically the same date, gives *ēkādaśi*.

215.—In the Mantrapurīśvara temple at Kōvilūr.[1]

1 [S]vasti śri [||*] Tr[i]bhuvanachchakrava[tti]gaḷ śri-[R]ājarā[ja]-
2 d[ē]varkk[u] yāṇḍu [2]6 āvadin=edirā[m=ā-
3 ṇḍu Kaṉṉi-nā]ya[ṟ]ṟu=[p]pūrvva-[pakshattu ashṭa][2]mi-
4 [yu]m Tiṅgaḷ-kiḻamaiyum [p]eṟṟa Aniḻattu nāḷ.

"In the year opposite the [2]6th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eighth *tithi* (or the fifth *tithi*) of the first fortnight of the month of [Kanyā]."

The date as given in the inscription admits of four cases: (1) 16th year, 5th *tithi*: the equivalent is Tuesday, the 2nd September 1231 A.D.; the *nakshatra* Anurādhā began 13 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise; (2) 26th year, 5th *tithi*: Wednesday, the 11th September 1241 A.D.; Anurādhā ended 47 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. Assuming the eighth *tithi* to be given, the week-days will be (3) Friday and (4) Saturday for the 16th and 26th year respectively, and the *nakshatra* will also be wrong. If we compute the same four cases for Siṁha instead of Kanyā, we get a Monday only for case 1, *viz.* Monday, the 4th August 1231 A.D., but the *nakshatra* is Chitrā and Svāti. If we compute for Tulā instead of Kanyā, case No. 4 gives a Monday, the 14th October 1241; but then the *nakshatra* would be Śravaṇa and Śravishṭhā. Therefore the date of this inscription seems not to admit of verification.

216.—On some detached stones in a grove at Tirukkāravāśal.[3]

1 Svasti śri [||*] Tiribuvaṉachchak[karava]tt[i]gaḷ śr[ī]-[4]Rājarājadēvaṟkku y[ā]ṇḍu
28 āvadu Kaṟkkaḍaga-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshat[t]u śaturttes[i]yum Budan-
ki[ḻ]amaiyum peṟ[ṟa*] Utt[i]rattu nā[ḷ].

"In the 28th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkaṭaka."

The original date erroneously quotes the 14th *tithi* instead of the 4th; for, Śrāvaṇa (=Karkaṭaka) sudi 14 cannot coincide with Uttara-Phalgunī, but sudi 4 may coincide with it. The corrected date corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd July 1243 A.D. On that day the 4th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Karkaṭaka ended 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī ended 24 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

217.—In the Mantrapurīśvara temple at Kōvilūr.[5]

1 ௳ Svasti śrī [||*] T[i]r[i]buvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śī-Rāśarāśadēvaṟ[k]ku yāṇḍu 31 āvadu Mēsha-nāyaṟṟu . . . . [6][pa]ñjami[y]um Tiṅgaḷ-kiḻamaiyum [p]eṟṟa [A]ṉiḻattu nāḷ.

"In the 31st year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* . . . . of the month of Mēsha."

The 5th *tithi* of both fortnights in Mēsha did not fall, in the year of the inscription (1247 A.D.), on a Monday; and the *nakshatra* Anurādhā cannot be coupled with the 5th *tithi* of

[1] No 182 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[2] The reading may also be *pañjamiyum*.
[3] No 454 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[4] The word *Rājarāja* is expressed by two abbreviations.
[5] No. 199 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[6] In the original it cannot be made out whether *apara-* or *pūrva-paksha* was engraved.

either fortnight in Mēsha. The *tithi* is therefore wrong. Now, calculating for the week-day and the *nakshatra* given in the inscription, I find that on Monday, the 22nd April 1247 A.D., the *nakshatra* Anurādhā commenced 4 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The first *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended 34 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. If this day is the one intended in the inscription, the word 'pañjamiyum' is a mistake for 'pradamaiyum.'

G.—RĀJĒNDRA-CHŌḶA III.

218.—In the Mantrapurīśvara temple at Kōvilūr.[1]

1 ||— Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvaṉachchakkaravatt[i]ga[ḷ śrī]-Irāśēndi[ra]-Śōḷadēvaṟkku yāṇḍu pa[t]tā[va]dinn= ed[i]rā[m=ā]ṇḍu Kaṉṉi-nā-
2 yaṟṟu a[pa]ra-pakshattu shashṭhiy[u]m Tiṅgaḷ-k[i]ḻa[m]aiyu[m] peṟṟa Rōśaṇi-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite the [tenth] year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōḷadeva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 11th September 1256 A.D.; however the month Kanyā has erroneously been quoted instead of Siṁha. On the day in question, the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Siṁha (being the 15th solar Kanyā) ended 51 *ghaṭikās*, and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī 45 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

219.—In the Mantrapurīśvara temple at Kōvilūr.[2]

1 [S]vast[i] [śrī] [||*] [Tiribuvana]chchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ śr[ī]-Irāśēnd[i]ra-Śōḷadēvarkku yāṇ[ḍu pa]diṉ-ēḻāvadu I-[3]
2 [I]shabha- nāyaṟṟu pūrvva- pa[k]shaśattu[4] tri(tṛi)tiyaiyum Nāyaṟṟu-kkiḻa[m]aiyum[5] peṟṟa Pūśat[tu*] nāḷ.

"In the seventeenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Ṛishabha."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 21st May 1262 A.D., if we assume that the third *tithi* has erroneously been quoted instead of the second. For, on that day, the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Ṛishabha (Jyaishṭha) ended about 42 *ghaṭikās* after, and the *nakshatra* Pushya commenced about 40 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

220.—In the Mantrapurīśvara temple at Kōvilūr.[6]

1 ஸ்ரீ Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvaṉachcha[kka*]ra[vatti*]gaḷ śrī- Rā[j]ē[ndra]- Śōḷadēvaṟk[u yāṇ]ḍu
2 17 vadu Tulā-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu chatu[rddaśiy]um Veḷḷi-kkiḻa[m]aiyum
3 peṟṟa Aśvati-nāḷ.

"In the 17th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rā[jēndra]- Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā."

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[1] No. 208 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[2] No. 213 of the same collection for 1908.
[3] Cancel the letter *i*.
[4] Read *-pakshattu*.
[5] The *m* of *kiḻamai* is entered below the line.
[6] No. 223 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

The date corresponds to Friday, the 27th October 1262 A.D. The *nakshatra* Aśvinī ended about 36 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise, and the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Tulā (Kārttika) ended according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta 58 *ghaṭikās*, and according to the Brahma-Siddhānta 52 *ghaṭikās* after true sunrise at Conjeeveram. As the same *tithi* was current at sunrise according to both these Siddhāntas, it was no expunged *tithi*. But it was an expunged *tithi* according to the Ārya-Siddhānta.

221.—In the Viḻināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīḻimiḻalai.[1]

1 Svast[i] śrī [||*] [Tiribuvanach]chakka[ravat]t[i]gaḷ śr[i]-[2]Rājēndra -[Śōḷadēvar]kku yā[ṇḍu] 1[8]vadu[3] [Kumba]-[4]nāyaṟṟu [pūrvva-pa]kshattu [pa]ñcha[miyu]m Budaṉ-k[i]ḻamai[yum] peṟṟa Utt[i]rāḍa[ttu nāḷ].

"In the 1[8]th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōḷadēva,— on [the day of] Uttarāshāḍhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the [first] fortnight of the month of [Kumbha]."

In the month Kumbha, the *nakshatra* Uttarāshāḍhā can occur only between the 8th and 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight, in the month Tulā between the 5th and 8th *tithi* of the bright fortnight. We must therefore read *Tulā* in the inscription. The details of the date would be right if we assume that the fifth *tithi* has erroneously been quoted instead of the sixth. For, on Wednesday, the 10th October 1263, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Tulā ended about 15 *ghaṭikās*, and the *nakshatra* Uttarāshāḍhā about 20 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

222.—In the Mantrapurīśvara temple at Kōvilūr.[5]

1 [Sva*]st[i] śr[i] [||*] [Tribhuvaṉa]chchakkara[vat]tigaḷ [śrī]-R[āj]ēndira-[Ś]ō[ḷa]d[ē]varkku yāṇḍu [22] ā[vadu] Kumba[6]-nāya[ṟṟu] a[para]-pakshattu sha[shṭhi]yum Tiṅ[gaṭ]- k[iḻa]mai
2 pe[ṟ]ṟa Śōdi-nāḷ.[7]

"In the [22]nd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the [second] fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

I cannot verify this date satisfactorily. The *tithi* or the *nakshatra* must be wrong; for, the sixth *tithi* cannot coincide with the *nakshatra* Svāti. The nearest approach to the given date is in the twentieth year, Monday, the 14th February 1267 A.D., on which day the *nakshatra* Svāti commenced about sunrise; but it was the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha, which ended about 18 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

No. 12.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

BY PROFESSOR H. JACOBI, PH.D., BONN.

V. Venkayya, M.A., Rai Bahadur, has sent me for examination the text and English translation of 17 Pāṇḍya dates, of which I herewith publish 15. In some cases my results

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[1] No. 412 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

[2] The syllable *rā* is denoted by an abbreviation.

[3] The word *vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8.

[4] Between the letters *ba* and *nā* there is a symbol which may represent either *n* or the *ā*-sign. The name of the month is not quite clear. It may also be read [Tulā].

[5] No. 216 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

[6] There is some unaccountable space between the aksharas *ku* and *m* of Kumba.

[7] The length of *nā* is inserted below the line.

are not satisfactory; still I thought it advisable to state what they are since they may be useful either for further consideration of historical questions involved by the inscriptions or for deciding the uselessness of the dates as being altogether wrong.

Nos. 90-94 enable us to fix the commencement of Jaṭāvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya's reign, which has approximately been placed in 1310 A.D. by Mr. Krishna Sastri (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1908-09, Part II, § 27). Four of these inscriptions quote, besides the details usually given in them, the corresponding solar day; thereby, as stated by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI. p. 301), we can find the precise equivalent, though the year is not stated in any era, the regnal year only being given. For, as a given solar day may be coupled with any of the thirty *tithis* and of the seven week-days, a given combination of these three items will, on the average, occur only once in 7×30=210 years, and the chance will be still rarer if the *nakshatra* is mentioned, as is usually the case. In No. 89 the *tithi* is not given, but the combination of the remaining three items is such as will recur only once in about 150 years.

In order to solve the problems to which such dates give occasion, I have developed my tables (above, Vol. I) in detail for several centuries, and with their help the task became an easy one. These developed Tables will be published in book form in the Encyclopædia for Indo-Aryan Research. I shall there explain the method of solving the problem in question.

I now proceed to discuss the results of my examination of the dates in Nos. 90-94. They may be summarised as follows:—

Jaṭāvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya (*September 29, December 1, A.D. 1295*).

No. 90. 6th year: 28th September 1302.
No. 91. 22nd year: 3rd May 1318.
No. 92. 44th year: 2nd December 1339.
No. 93. 43 (Cor. 46)th year: 2nd August 1339.
No. 94. 46th year: 16th June 1342.

Nos. 90-92 show that the king must have commenced to reign between the 29th September and the 1st December 1295. With this date for the commencement of the reign No. 94 agrees if we read the regnal year as 46, as we may, since the second figure of 4[9] put in brackets in the transcript, may also be read 6 as stated in the note. In No. 93, the regnal year cannot be 46, since No. 92 is dated in the same year of our era. The date, 2nd August, shows that the 46th year has wrongly been given instead of the 43rd.

According to No. 89 Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśēkhara seems to have begun reigning in 1379-80 A.D. I should, however, not place too much reliance on this result, before it has been corroborated by more inscriptions of the same king. For, if in our inscription the wrong *nakshatra* had been quoted, as is rather frequently the case in these records, the calculated equivalent would of course be also intrinsically wrong.

No. 84 fixes the beginning of the reign of a Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara-Pāṇḍya in A.D. 1237-38.

MĀṞAVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆḌYA I. (A.D. 1216-35).

81.—In the Tiruttaḷiśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.[1]

1 Svast[i] śrī [||*] . . . . śrī-kō-Māṟupa[ṉ]mar=āṉa Tiribu[va]-
ṉachchakkravattigaḷ Śōṇāḍu vaḷaṅgiy-aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍi-
2 yadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 20 vadun(diṉ) edirām=āṇḍu [Ka]ṉṉi-nāyaṟṟu apara-[pakshat]t[u]
Viyā[ḷa]-kkiḷamaiyu[m*] shashṭhiyum peṟṟa Pūśattu nāḷ.

[1] No. 129 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

"In the year opposite the 20th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who was pleased to distribute the Chōla country,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to the sixth *tithi* and a Thursday of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date seems to correspond to Thursday, the 18th September 1236 A.D. That day was Āśvina badi 2 as required, the second *tithi* ending about 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. But the day was coupled with the *nakshatras* Aśvinī and Bharaṇī, and not, as quoted in the inscription, with Pushya. It is impossible, on any supposition, that Āśvina badi 2 should be coupled with Pushya; the *nakshatra* will always be one between Aśvinī and Mṛigaśiras, and never beyond the latter.

JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆḌYA I. (?)

(A.D. 1251 to 1261).

82.—In the Viḻināthasvāmin temple at Tiruviḻimiḻalai.[1]

1 Kōr-Chaḍapaṇe(n)mar [2]Tiṉiribuvuṉach[cha]ttaravattigaḷ [3]Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [4]dunḍu 2 [vadu] iraṇ[ḍ]āvadu Danu-nāyaṟṟu apara-paśakshat[tu[5] cha]tu[r*]daśi-yum Nāyaṟṟ[u-kkiḻa]mmai[6]-

2 yum peṟṟa Āyiliyattu na(nā)ḷ.

"In the 2nd—second—year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Āślēshā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

In this date, the wrong fortnight is cited; for, in the month of Dhanus or Pausha, Āślēshā cannot be coupled with *badi* 14, but only with *sudi* 14. However, the week-day does not come out right in either fortnight, if we assume the king to have been Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. For, in K.Y. 4378 (=1276 ff. A.D.) Pausha was expunged, and both *sudi* 14 and *badi* 14 falling in the solar month of Pausha were not Sundays. The same holds good with Pausha *sudi* 14 and *badi* 14 of the preceding year. Assuming the king to have been the first of this name, the week-day comes out right for K.Y. 4354 Pausha sudi 14 corresponding to Sunday, the 4th January 1254. But the *nakshatras* coupled with that day were Punarvasu and Pushya; on the next day occurred Āślēshā.

JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆḌYA.

83.—In the Viḻināthasvāmin temple at Tiruviḻimiḻalai.[7]

1 Svast[i] śr[ī] [||*] Kō=Chchaḍapaṇmar Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[igaḷ śrī]-Su[ndara-Pāṇ]ḍya-dēva[rkku yāṇḍu] eṭṭāva[ḍ]u Dhanu-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu ashṭami[yu]m Veḷḷi-[k]k[i]ḻamaiyum peṟṟa Rē-

2 vati-nāḷ.

"In the eighth year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva],— on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

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[1] No. 395 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[2] Read *Tribhuvanachakravarttigaḷ*.
[3] A symbol resembling the figure 4 is engraved before *śu*. Perhaps it stands for *śrī*.
[4] Read *yāṇḍu*.
[5] Read *pakshattu*.
[6] Read °*kkiḻamai*°.
[7] No. 411 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

I have calculated the date for both Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. and II.; in both cases the result is not satisfactory. I give them here. In 1258 A.D. Pausha was an expunged [illegible] we assume that *sudi* 8, falling in solar Pausha, was intended, we find that it ended [illegible] mean sunrise at Laṅkā on Thursday, the 5th December, and the *nakshatra* Rēvatī [illegible] 15 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise. Therefore, the date would be right, if the eighth *tithi* had been [illegible] quoted instead of the ninth.— Now assuming the king to be the second of his name, the [illegible] would fall in 1292 A.D. The calculation proves that on Friday, the 19th December 1292 A.D., the 9th *tithi* ended a few *ghaṭikās* before the end of the day according to all Siddhāntas, and the 8th *tithi* ended on Thursday. But as the *nakshatra* Rēvati ended about [illegible] before sunrise of Friday, it could not have been coupled with that day.

TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN SUNDARA-PĀṆḌYA (A.D. 1237-38 to ?).

84.—In the Tiruttaḷīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.[1]

1 ||| ௳ Svasti śrī [||*] . . . . Tribhuva[na]chchakravatti[ga]ḷ śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 2 ṇḍāvad[u] Dhanu-nāyaṟṟu 11 [illegible]-yum pūrvva-pakshattu daśamiyum

2 Budhan-kiḻamai[yu]m [p]eṟṟa Aśvati-nāḷ.

"In the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 11th solar day of the month of Dhanus."

Between 1200 and 1500 A. D. there is but one day which fulfils all requirements of the date of our inscription, *viz.* 4340 Kaliyuga, Pausha sudi 10, which corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th December 1239 A.D. On that day, at mean sunrise at Laṅkā, the 10th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Dhanus (Pausha) was running, and ended about 42 *ghaṭikās* afterwards, and the *nakshatra* Aśvinī had begun 7 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise at Laṅkā and ended about 49 *ghaṭikās* after it. Accordingly, this king began to reign in 1237-38 A.D.

JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆḌYA II. (?)

(A.D. 1275-76 to 1290).

85.—In the Viḻināthasvāmin temple at Tiruviḻimiḻalai.[2]

1 Svasti [śrī ||][3] K[ō]r=Chaḍai[pan]mar T[i]ru[b]uvanachchakka[rava]tt[i]gaḷ śrī-Su]ndara-P[āṇḍi]yadē[va]ṟku yāṇ[ḍu 9]vadu Tulā-nāyaṟ[ṟ]u [a]para-pakshattu saptamiyum [N]āyaṟṟu-kkiḻa-

2 maiyum peṟ[ṟa P]ūśattu nāḷ.

"In the [9]th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā."

The week-day does not come out right for the 9th year of either Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. or II. I have calculated the years 1259, 60, 61 and 1283, 84, 85 A.D.

[1] No. 130 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

[2] No. 414 of the same collection for 1908.

[3] The punctuation after *śrī* is not distinct; the existing traces seem to point to the reading *Ōm*.

JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆḌYA II.

(A.D. 1275-76 to 1290).

86.—In the Mantrapurīśvara temple at Kōvilūr.[1]

1 Svasti [śrī][2] [||*] Kō=Ch[cha]ḍapaṉmar=āṉa Tiribu[va]ṉachchakkarava-
2 ttiga[] Su]ṉ[dara]-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṟkku yāṇḍu 14 vadu Siṁ-
3 ha-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu trit[ra]gaiyum[3] Budaṉ-kiḻamaiyum
4 peṟṟa Attattu nāḷ.

"In the 14th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Siṁha."

The date of this inscription is K.Y. 4391, Bhādrapada sudi 3 = Wednesday, the 9th August 1290 A.D. For, on that day the 3rd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Bhādrapada (Siṁha) ended about 46 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā and the *nakshatra* Hasta began about 9 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

KŌṆĒRIMĒLKOṆḌĀṆ JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆḌYA.

87.—In the Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple at Veḍāl.[4]

1 [Sva*]sti śrī [||*] Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṉ kōṟ=Chaḍapaṉmar Tirubuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṟku yāṇḍu padi[ṉ-mū]ṉṟāvadiṉ=edir mu(mū)ṉṟāvadu Kaṟkaḍaga-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu saptam[iy]um Budaṉ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Attattu nāḷ.

"In the third (year) opposite the thirteenth year (*of the reign*) of Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṉ king Jaṭāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkaṭaka."

[Professor Jacobi has not recorded the results of his calculation of this date.—Ed.]

MĀṞAVARMAN KULAŚĒKHARA I. (A.D. 1268-1308).

88.—In the Sundararāja-Perumāḷ temple at Poṉ-Amarāvati.[5]

1 ஸ்ரீ [Śrī] Svatt[i](sti) . . . . kō-Māṟu[pa]-[ṉma*]r=āṉa(āṉa) Ti[ri*]buvaṉachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ=emmaṇḍalamuṅ=goṇḍ-aruḷiya Kulaśēga-

2 radēvaṟku yāṇḍu 18 vadu Siṁha-nāyaṟṟu [pū]rvva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Tiṅgaḷ[6]-kiḻamaiy[u]m peṟṟa Utt[i]rādattu nāḷ.

"In the 18th year (*of the reign*) of king Māṟa[varman] *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Uttarāshāḍhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Siṁha."

The date of the inscription seems to correspond to Monday, the 6th August 1295 A.D., on which day the 5th *tithi* of the month of Siṁha (Bhādrapada) ended, about 52 *ghaṭikās*

[1] No. 214 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[2] The punctuation after the syllable *śrī* is indistinct.
[3] Read *tritīyai°*.
[4] No. 69 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[5] No. 21 of the same collection for 1909.
[6] Read *Tiṅgaḷ-*.

after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. But the *nakshatra* was Chitrā. It may be remarked that the *nakshatra* Uttarāshāḍhā can never be coupled with Bhādrapada sudi 5, as required by the inscription.

TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN KULAŚĒKHARA (A.D. 1379-80 to ?).

89.—In the Tiruttaḷīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.[1]

1 [S]vasti [śrī] [||*] [T]ribhuvanachchakravattigaḷ śrī-Kulaśēkharadē[varkuṉ] y]āṇḍu 4 vadin=edi[rā]m=ā[ṇḍu Kaṟ]kaḍaga-[ñā]yaṟṟ=irubattēḻān=tiyadi Śaṉi-k-

2 [k]i[ḻam]aiyum peṟṟa Rōśaṇi-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite the 4th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Saturday (and) to the twenty-seventh solar day of the month of Karkaṭaka."

The only day between 1200 and 1500, which I found to correspond to the date of the inscription, would be Saturday, the 25th July 1383 A.D.; it was the 27th solar Karkaṭaka, (Śrāvaṇa *badi* 10) and the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī. This king therefore would appear to have commenced reigning 1379-80 A.D.

In the years 1262 A.D., 23rd July, and 1475, 25th July, the 27th solar Karkaṭaka fell on a Saturday and the *nakshatra* was the next after Rōhiṇī, *viz.* Mṛigaśiras; we need therefore take no account of these years.

[The alphabet in which the inscription is engraved shows that it must be older than A.D. 1200.—Ed.]

JAṬĀVARMAN TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN VĪRA-PĀṆḌYA (A.D. 1295-1342 ?).

90.—In the Viḻināthasvāmin temple at Tiruviḻimiḻalai.[2]

1 Svast[i] śrī :— [3]Kōṉ=Chaḍāpaṉmar Tirubuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Vīra-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 6 vadu[4] āṟāvadu

2 [Ka]ṉṉi-nāyaṟṟu pūṟuva-pa[k*]shattu shaṭṭi(shṭhi)yum Veḷḷi-kki[ḻamai]yum peṟṟa Mūlattu nāḷ.

"In the 6th—sixth—year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date of this inscription corresponds to Friday, the 28th September 1302 A.D. On that day, the 6th *tithi* of the first fortnight of Āśvina (Kanyā) 4403 Kaliyuga ended 6 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā and the *nakshatra* Mūla was running till about 15 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

91.—In the Tiruttaḷīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.[5]

1 Śrī-kō=Chchaḍaipaṉmar=āṉa Tribhuvaṉachchakravatti[ga]ḷ śrī-Vīra-[P]āṇḍiyadēvaṟku yāṇ[ḍu] 22[vadu[6] I]shaba-ñā[ya]ṟṟu [4]tēdiyum[7] pū[rvva-pa]kshattu [dvi]tiyaiyum peṟṟa Rō[hi]ṇi-n[āḷ*].

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[1] No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[2] No. 401 of the same collection.
[3] In the syllable *kō*, the *ē* of the *ō*-sign is corrected from *tri*.
[4] *Vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 6.
[5] No. 128 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.
[6] *Vadu* is also expressed by a symbol.
[7] The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

"In the 22nd year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the [4]th solar day of the month of Ṛishabha."

I take this date to correspond to Sunday, the 3rd May 1318 A.D. This day was actually the 8th solar Ṛishabha (Jyaishṭha), not the 4th as found in the transcript of the inscription; the 2nd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Jyaishṭha (Ṛishabha) ended about 13 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, but the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī had ended about 26 *ghaṭikās* before sunrise. It would therefore appear that the *nakshatra* quoted was that current at the beginning of the *tithi*, though it had ended before the day which is called after that *tithi*.

92.—In the Tiruttaḷīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.[1]

1 Svast[i] śrī [||*] Kō=Chchaḍaivaṉ[mar-āṉa] Tr[i]bhuvaṉachchakravatt[i]gaḷ śrī Vīra-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 44 vadu Dhanu-nāyaṟṟu

2 5 tēdiy[um][2] pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Bṛihaspati-vāramum peṟṟa Mūlattu nāḷ.

"In the 44th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Thursday, to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 5th solar day of the month of Dhanus."

This date corresponds to Thursday, the 2nd December 1339 A.D., on which day the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha (Dhanus) ended 32 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the *nakshatra* Mūla was current at sunrise and ended about 41 *ghaṭikās* after it.

93.—In the Tiruttaḷīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.[3]

1 Svasti ś[r]ī [||*] Kō=Chchaḍaipaṉmar=āṉa Tr[i]bhuvaṉachchakravattigaḷ śrī-Vīra-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 46 vadu Kaṟkaḍaga-nāyaṟṟu 1[4 tēdi][4]

2 pūrvva-pakshattu [pa]ñjamiyum Sōmavāramum peṟṟa Uttirattu nāḷ.

"In the 46th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 14th solar day of the month of Karkaṭaka."

This date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 2nd August 1339 A.D. On that day, the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Śrāvaṇa (Karkaṭaka) ended about 15 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī was current at sunrise, and ended about 6 *ghaṭikās* after it. However, the calculated date was actually the 15th solar Karkaṭaka, and not the 14th as stated in the inscription.

94.—In the Tiruttaḷīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.[5]

1 [ஸ்] Svasti śrī [||*] Kō=Chchaḍaipaṉmar=āṉa Tr[i]bhuvaṉachchakravatt[i]gaḷ śr[ī]-Vīra-P[ā]ṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu 4[9][6] vadu Mithuna-nāyaṟṟu 21 tēdim[7] pūṟuva-pakkattu tuvādeśiyum Āditya-v[ā]ramu[m] p[e]ṟṟa Aniḷattu nāḷ.

[1] No. 122 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

[2] The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

[3] No. 119 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

[4] The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

[5] No. 120 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

[6] The figure in brackets may also be read 6.

[7] *Tēdi* is denoted by a symbol; *tēdim* stands for *tēdiyum*.

"In the 4[9]th year (*of the reign*) of **king Jaṭāvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva**,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a **Sunday**, to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 21st solar day of the month of **Mithuna**."

The date corresponds to **Sunday, the 16th June 1342 A.D.** On that day, at mean sunrise at Laṅkā, the 12th *tithi* of the first fortnight of Āshāḍha (Mithuna) and the *nakshatra* Anurādhā were current, the former ending about 24 *ghaṭikās*, and the latter 45 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. And the day actually was the 21st solar Mithuna.

JAṬĀVARMAN VIKRAMA-PĀṆḌYA.

95.—In the Tiruttaḷīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.[1]

1 ||| ௳ Svasti śr[ī] [||*] Kō-Chchaḍaipaṉmar=āṉa Tr[i]bhuvaṉachchakravatt[i]gaḷ śrī-Vikrama-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 8[vadi]ṉ[2] edir 14 āvadu

2 Śak-ābdam 1344ṉ mēl śellāniṉṟa Śubhakiṟi[3]-varusham Dhanu-ravi 19 tēdi[4] pūrvva-pakshattu tritigaiyum Buda-vāramum peṟṟa Tiruvōṇattu

3 nāḷ.

"In the **14th (year) opposite the 8th year** (*of the reign*) of **king Jaṭāvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva**,— in the **(cyclic) year Śubhakṛit, which was current after the (expiry of the) Śaka year 1344**,— on the day of **Śravaṇa**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) the 19th solar day (when) the Sun (was in) **Dhanus**."

This date apparently corresponds to **Wednesday, 16th December 1422 A.D.**, the corresponding Jovian year of southern reckoning being Śubhakṛit. But the third *tithi* has wrongly been quoted for the second. For, on the calculated day which was the 19th solar Dhanus, the 2nd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha (Dhanus) was current at sunrise at Laṅkā and so was the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa. The third *tithi* began about 5 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa ended about 52 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise. It would therefore appear that the current *tithi* has been quoted instead of the one which ended on that day.

No. 13.—GOHARWA PLATES OF KARNADEVA.

By Professor E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

These plates were found, whilst ploughing, in a field in an old fort at **Goharwa**, a village in the Manjhanpur tahsīl of the Allahabad District. The finder was a Kewat. He states that his plough turned up the plates and broke the ring which fastened them together. The find was rescued from him by one Ramnath, a zamindar of Mawai Kalan, and produced first before the Collector, and then, by the Collector's directions, before Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, C.S., Sub-Divisional Officer, Karwi, Banda district, who sent the plates to Rai Bahadur Venkayya. I edit the inscription from two sets of ink-impressions received from Mr. Venkayya.

These are **two copper plates**, resembling ordinary trays, which fit one into the other and form a compact box, with corresponding ring holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate. They were originally held together by a ring, in such a way that the

[1] No. 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

[2] The syllables *vadi* are expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8.

[3] Read *Śubhakṛid*.

[4] The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

inscription was inside. The box measures nearly 15¾ inches in length and about 11½ inches in breadth. The second plate, which fits into the box, is a little smaller than the first. The depth of the margin of each plate is about ½ inch. When Mr. Venkayya examined the plates, the seal had no ring and was detached from the plates. It is bell-shaped and has an almost circular surface which measures 3 inches in diameter. The upper portion of the seal bears, in relief, a seated figure of the goddess Lakshmī,[1] facing the front and attended by two elephants pouring water over her. At the bottom is a bull couchant, facing the proper right, between two indistinct symbols (drums?). Across the centre is engraved the name of the king who issued the plates:—

श्रीमत्कर्णदेवः ॥

Thanks to the peculiar arrangement by which the inscription was protected from damage the writing is on the whole well preserved. The language of the inscription is **Sanskrit**, prose (ll. 1, 33-44, 49) and verse (ll. 1-33, 45-49). The metre is irremediably wrong in two places (ll. 9, 20).

The **alphabet** is an early type of Nāgarī. ब is nowhere distinguished from व. य is often written like प, and च like व. The three letters थ, च्च, and च्य are very similar in shape. If at the end of a line no spare place was left for the next *akshara*, the engraver has filled up the line by a vertical dash. The end of a section is marked by the symbols ॥ छ ॥ in three cases (ll. 33, 35, 44).

As regards **orthography**, the vowel *ṛi* is expressed by *ra* in *grahē* (l. 5) and takes the place of the syllable *ri* in *tṛibhuvana* (l. 4). Instead of the vowel *ḷi* a *u* is employed in *kupta* (l. 28). The palatal sibilant occurs instead of dental *s* in *śruta* (l. 26), and *s* for *ś* in eight instances (*bhṛisaṁ* and *āsā*, l. 15; *suṇḍā*, l. 23; *asvapati*, l. 34; *sākhinē* and *sarmmaṇē*, l. 40; *sukla*, l. 41; *vaṁsē*, l. 48). The *anusvāra* is replaced by *n* in *yaśānsi* (l. 32), *ṇ* by *n* in *grihnāti* (l. 46), *kh* by *sh* in *mayūsha* (l. 3), *ph* by *p* in *pūtkāra* (ll. 15, 24), and *y* by *j* in *iyāja* (l. 33). Other vulgar forms are *tāmvra* for *tāmra* (l. 32), *sāmvra* for *sāmra* (l. 39), *sīrmā*[2] for *sīmā* (l. 39), *Kōśamva-pattalāyaṁ* for *Kauśāmba-pattalāyāṁ* (l. 37), and *utkīrṇṇitaṁ* for *utkīrṇṇaṁ* (l. 49).

In the prose portion of the inscription, the rules of *sandhi* are not always observed, and even in the metrical portion, the *sandhi* is neglected in °*chayaiḥ tasmāt* (l. 18). Two cases of wrong *sandhi* are °*vaṁdyō Chēdīndra*° (l. 11) and *chaturāśramēka*° (l. 30). Final *t* is often written in the Hindi way without the *virāma*, and after such a *t* the *sandhi* is neglected in °त्यतवेतालो° (l. 26), °वशात भैचाश्च (l. 30), and श्रीमतपर्वतीयै (l. 42).

The inscription opens with 30 verses praising the **(Kalachuri) king Karṇadēva** and his ancestors. Three of these verses (1, 12, 18) are found also in the Benares plates of the same king,[3] and the two first in the Rewah plate of Vijayadēva.[4] After an invocation of Brahman (verse 1) and Brāhmī (v. 2), the genealogy starts from the **Moon**, from whom was produced **Budha**, the progenitor of Purūravas (v. 3). Among the kings of the race of the Moon was **Bharata** (v. 4). The panegyrist next mentions the thousand-armed Haihaya emperor (Arjuna) who captured the demon Rāvaṇa (v. 5 f.). The first historical person is **Lakshmaṇarājadēva**, who defeated the kings of Vaṅgāla, Pāṇḍya, Lāṭa, Gurjara, and Kāśmīra (v. 8). His son was the 'moon among the kings of Chēdi,' **Yuvarājadēva** (v. 10), who became a supreme ruler

[1] In Captain Wilford's description of the seal of the Benares plates of Karṇadēva, the goddess is erroneously called Pārvatī; see above, Vol. II. p. 297.

[2] Compare Tamil *śirmai* and *śērvai* for *sīmā* and *sēvā*.

[3] Above, Vol. II. p. 305 ff., verses 1, 16, 26.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 228.

(*Paramēśvara*, v. 12). His son was **Kōkalla** (v. 13), whose son, again, was **Gāṅgeyadēva**, the conqueror of the kings of Kīra, Aṅga, Kuntala, and Utkala (v. 17). His son was **Karṇa** (vv. [illegible] 30), king of **Chēdi** (vv. 25, 29). It will be observed that the panegyrical portion of the inscription contains nothing of historical interest besides the bare names of a few Kalachuri kings who are already known to us from other sources.

The prose portion of the inscription (l. 33 ff.) records a grant of land made by the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, the glorious **Karṇadēva**, who meditated at the feet of the P. M. P. the glorious Vāmadēva,[1] the glorious **Karṇadēva** who has acquired by his own arm the sovereignty of the triad of kings, (*viz.*) of the Aśvapati, the Gajapati, and the Narapati,—being in good health (*and residing*) at the camp of victory pitched at the holy **Karṇa-tīrtha**."

Among the officers to whom the king's order was addressed, the following are specified: *mahādēvī*, *mahārājaputra*, *mahāmantrin*, *mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *mahāmātya*, *mahādharmādhikaraṇika*, *mahāpratīhāra*, *mahākshapaṭalika*, *mahābhāṇḍāgārika*, *mahāsāmanta*, *mahāpramattavāra*, and *mahāśvasādhanika* (ll. 35-37).

The object granted was the village **Chandapahā** in **Kōsamba-pattalā** (l. 37). The donee was "the Brāhmaṇa *Paṇḍita-śrī*-Śāntiśarman, son of *Āvasathika*-Mālhū, grandson of *Upādhyāya*-Silū, (*residing at*) **Vidabhī**, of the Kauṇḍinya-*gōtra*, with the three *pravaras* Āṅgirasa, Āmbarīsha, and Yauvanāśva, (*and*) studying the Vājasanēya-*śākhā*" (l. 39 f.).

The date of the grant was "during the administration (*vyavaharaṇa*) renowned by the glorious Karṇa,[2] in the seventh year, in the month Kārttika, on the Kārttika full-moon tithi of the bright fortnight, on Thursday" (l. 41 f.). These details answer quite regularly to **Thursday, 5th November, A.D. 1047** : see Dr. Fleet's remarks, p. 146 below.

Before making the grant, the king had "bathed in the **Gaṅgā** at the holy **Argha-tīrtha** and worshipped the divine lord Śiva" (l. 42).

Ll. 45-49 contain six of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. At the end we are informed that "this (*edict*) was written by *Karaṇika-śrī*-Sarvānanda and **engraved** by Vidyānanda" (l. 49).

Among the geographical names mentioned in the grant, I cannot localise any besides Kōśamba-pattalā, which is a vulgar form of **Kauśāmba-pattalā**, 'the district of **Kauśāmbī**.' The same term occurs as Kōsaṁba-pattalā in a grant of Jayachchandra of Kanauj,[3] and the Karra inscription of Yaśaḥpāla[4] refers to a village in the **Kauśāmba-maṇḍala**, 'the province of Kauśāmbī.' Manjhanpur, the headquarters of the tahsīl in which the Goharwa plates were found, lies west of Allahabad. The same remark applies to Kosam, which used to be identified, without hesitation, with the ancient city of Kauśāmbī. Mr. V. A. Smith has proposed to locate Kauśāmbī further south, near Bharhut;[5] while Major Vost would place it at Gūrgī.[6] But the finding of the present record at Goharwa in the Manjhanpur tahsīl is another item of evidence showing that the country west-north-west of Allahabad between the Gaṅgā and Yamunā rivers must have formed part of the province of Kauśāmbī. Regarding Goharwa Mr. Blunt states that there are several temples, Jaina and others, inside the 'fort' in which the plates were found. I would suggest that this site might be carefully examined by one of the officers of the Archæological Department.

[1] Compare Professor Kielhorn's remarks above, Vol. II. p. 298 f.

[2] *I.e.*, apparently, 'during the reign of king Karṇa.'

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 137.

[4] Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 246.

[5] *J. R. A. S.* 1898, p. 511.

[6] *Id.* 1904, p. 262.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate ; Second Side.

1 ओं[2] स्वस्ति ॥ ओं ब्रह्मणे[3] नमः ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं पर[म]-
कारणं । [भ]ावग्राह्यं परं [4]द्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्रह्मणे[5] नमः ॥ [१*] शुद्धे
हृदयक्षेत्रे वल्लीमिव रोपयन्ति
2 यां मुनयः ॥ मोक्षमहाफलजननी ब्राह्मी[6] सू[क्ष्म]ापि सा जयति ॥ [२*]
क्षीरोदधेरपरिमेयसुधानिधानमाविर्व्वभूव[7] भवभूषणमिन्दुरेषः ।
3 अस्मादजायत वुधः[8] स किल क्षितीशमाद्य[9] पुरूरवसमाप तनूजरत्नं ॥ [३*]
इति महति सुधामयूषवंशे[10] नृपतिरजायत मौक्तिकायमानः ॥
4 अलभत भरतस्स चक्रवर्त्ती [11]त्रभुवनभूषणभूयमेकमेव ॥ [४*] अत्रेदितो-
दितकुले[12] जगतीपतीनामीशः क्रमादजनि हैहयचक्रवर्त्ती [।] य-
5 स्य प्रचण्डभुजपंजरमध्यवर्त्ती कारागृहे[13] धृत इव प्रसभं दशास्यः ॥ [५*]
वैरिध्वान्तभिदः सहस्रकरता[14] भूपालचूडामणेर्यस्मादद्भुतवाहुव-
6 न्धविधुरो[15] नक्तंचरग्रामणी[16] र्हेलोल्लासितवाहुदण्डविहित(:)श्रीकंठशैलोद्धृतिः प्राग्वि-
क्रान्तममून्यत[17] स्वयमपि स्वमिन्द्रजालोपमं ॥ [६*] यज्ञाग्नि-
7 धूमैः परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मादभूवन्वहवो[18] नरेन्द्राः । राज्ये न येषां विरराम
दृष्टिर्व्विपक्षनारीनयनाम्बुवाहैः[19] ॥ [७*] वङ्गालभङ्गनिपुणः परि-
8 भूतपा[ण्ड्य]ो लाटेशलुण्ठनपटुर्ज्जितगुर्ज्जरेन्द्रः । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटार्च्चितपादपीठ-
स्तेषु क्रमादजनि[20] लक्ष्मणराजदेवः ॥ [८*] यासीद्यद्वि-
9 जयप्रयाणजनितव्यायामखेदोदयोन्मज्जनसैनिकगात्रसिंदूरशिरःसिंदूरपूरो[रु]णः[21] ।
[22]त्वङ्गंतुङ्गतुरङ्गताडितमहाक्षोणी[भृ]-
10 द(ा)म्भोनिधिः पूर्णो वैरिकठोरकंचदलनास्त्रसिंधव्वपूरैरिव[23] ॥ [९*] साहित्य-
विद्यायललनाभुजङ्गो[24] निःशेषवाचीधरणाय[25] शेषः । ततः स
11 जज्ञे जगदैकवंद्यो[26] चेदीन्द्रचन्द्रो युवराजदेवः ॥ [१०*] यौवनेन तनौ यस्य
प्रतापेनारिमर्द्धसु[27] । कुलाद्रिकु[क्षे]ष्वरिभि[स्त्रि]भिस्तुल्यं पदं (।)

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[1] From ink-impressions received from Mr. Venkayya.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read ब्रह्मणे.

[4] The Benares plates (above, Vol. II. p. 305, verse 1) read ज्योति॰

[5] Read सद्ब्रह्मणे.

[6] Read ब्राह्मी.

[7] Read °र्बभूव.

[8] Read बुधः.

[9] Read °माद्यं.

[10] Read °मयूख°.

[11] Read त्रिभुवन°.

[12] Read अत्रोदितो°.

[13] Read °गृहे.

[14] Read °करतो.

[15] Read °बाहुबन्ध°.

[16] Read °णीः । हेलोल्लासितबाहु°.

[17] Read °मसन्यत.

[18] Read °न्बहवो.

[19] Read °नाम्बुवाहैः.

[20] Read क्रमा°.

[21] Instead of म of °व्यायामखेदो° the metre requires a short syllable ; read °योन्मज्जत्सैनिकगात्रसिंधुर°.

[22] Read त्वङ्गत्तुरङ्ग°.

[23] Read perhaps °कठोरकंठदलनास्तःसिंधुपूरैरिव.

[24] Read °ललना°.

[25] Read °धारी°.

[26] Read जगदेकवंद्यश्चेदीन्द्र°.

[27] Read °मूर्द्धसु.

12 दधे ॥ [११*] भूभारक्षमषट्क[1] श्रुतिप्रणयिनीमालंव्यमानस्तनं[2] (।) कुर्व्वाण: समरेपि नाकपथगानागच्छतो विद्विषां[3] । विख्यातां भुवि भूरिमार्ग्गंग-[4]

13 मनासुचैर्द्दधद्दाहिनीं य: साक्षात्परमेश्वर: समभवत्सम्यक् शिवाराधनात् ॥ [१२*] दिक्पर्यन्तनिखातयूपनिचय:[5] क्ष्मापालचूडामणेस्त-

14 स्मादद्भुतविक्रम: क्रमवशात्कोकल्लनामाभवत् । चक्रे यद्विजयप्रयाणपणव: स्वर्गा-ङ्गनास[ङ्ग*]मारम्भे मङ्गलतूर्य्यकार्य्यमहितक्षोणीप-

15 तीनां भृसं[6] ॥ [१३*] आसाजयि[7] समदसिंधुरगंधरोषाद्यस्योद्यदायतकरा: ककुभां करीन्द्रा:[।*] पूत्कारमार्त्तमिव[8] खेचरनायकस्य चक्रु:

16 कपोलमधुपध्वनिभिर्न्निराशा: ॥ [१४*] यस्मिन्सुखैकप्रभवे प्रजानां तेजोनिवौ[9] चेतसि वर्त्तमाने । त[त्वे][10] परस्मिन्निव योगभाजां निता-

17 न्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनां[11] ॥ [१५*] आक्रामदूर्द्ध[12] व्रह्माण्डसंघट्टस्फुटितं यश: । मन्ये यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारतां गतं ॥ [१६*] कारापंजरवद्धकी-[13]

18 रनृपतिर्द्दीप्तोद्ग्रलक्ष्मीचयै:[14] तस्मात्कुन्तलभङ्गभङ्गिरसिको गाङ्गेयदेवोभवत[15] । येना-कारि करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना

19 निर्जित्योत्कलमवधिसीम्नि[16] जयस्तम्भ: स्वकीयो भुज: ॥ [१७*] अगुणत्वेति लोलेति ख्यातं यदिह दुर्यश: । [17]लक्ष्मास्तदधुना धौतं दिव्यमादाय

20 त्तद्वपु: ॥ [१८*] अतिमनोरथमर्थिजने धनं दिशति यत्तस्[18] कल्पतरुस्तरु: । रिपुयश:कुसुदाकरभास्कर:[19] सुतमसूत स कर्ण्णनराधि-

21 पम् ॥ [१९*] आक्रान्तदृप्तसामन्तप्रतापप्रसरादिव । चरणौ रणशौण्डस्य सोष्माणौ यस्य रेजतु: ॥ [२०*] स्फुरद्भ्यां वज्रचक्राभ्यामेक[व्य]ाजेन ह-

22 स्तयो: । वभार[20] य: श्रियं सा[क्ष]ादिन्द्रोपेन्द्रविजृंभिनीं[21] ॥ [२१*] [22]सूर्व्वोद्धृ-तधराभारदिक्कुंजरकराय[तौ] । आनद्यतां[23] भुजौ यस्य हेलोद्धतवसु-[24]

23 न्धरौ ॥ [२२*] त्याग[व्य]सनिनो यस्य विपुलं शंखयोर्द्वयं । निधानं विधिना मन्ये द्विगुणीकृतमर्पितं ॥ [२३*] उद्दण्डसुण्डाग्रविमि[स्रि]ते-

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1 The Benares plates (above, Vol. II, p. 307, verse 16) read °इक्.

2 Read °मालंबमान°.

3 Read विद्विष:.

4 Read °मार्ग्गांग°.

5 Read °खात°.

6 Read भृशं.

7 Read भाशा°.

8 Read फूत्कार°.

9 Read °निधौ.

10 Read तत्त्वे.

11 Read प्रलीना.

12 Read °दूर्ध्वं ब्रह्माण्ड°.

13 Read °बद्ध°.

14 Read °चर्येसख्या°.

15 Read °भवत्.

16 Read °मब्धिसीमनि or °मब्धिसीम्नि वि°.

17 Read लक्ष्म्या°.

18 Instead of त्त of यत्तस्य the metre requires a short syllable.

19 Read °कुमुदा°.

20 Read बभार.

21 Read °भिणीं.

22 Read मूर्ध्वो°.

23 Read भ्यानंदेतां.

24 Read हेलोद्धृत°.

36 न्त्री महासान्धिविग्रहिको महामात्यो महाधर्म्माधिकरणिको महाप्रतीहारो
महाचपटलिको महाभाण्डागारिको महासामन्तो महाप्र-(।)
37 मत्तवारो महाश्वसाधनिक: एतानन्यांश्च[।*]कीर्त्तितान[1] यथास्थाननियुक्तराजपुरु-
पान्यथाप्रतिस्थान[2] कोशम्बपत्तलायं[3] (॥) चन्दपहाग्रामनि-
38 वासिनो निखिलजनपदान्यथार्हं मानयति वोधयति[4] समाजापयति[5] [॥*]
विदितमस्तु भवतां यथा ग्रामोयमस्माभिश्चतुराघाटविशुद्ध: सजल-
39 स्थल: साम्व्रमधूक[:*][6] सगर्त्तोषर: सलोहलवणाकर: स्वसोमापर्यन्त[:*][7]
सवनतृणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्त: (।) विदभो कौण्डिन्यगोत्रायाङ्गिरसाम्ब-[8] (।)
40 रोषयौवनास्वत्रि(:)प्रवराय[9] वाजसनेयसाखिने[10] उपाध्यायसीलूपौत्राय आवसथिक-
माल्हूपुत्राय पंडितश्रीशान्तिसर्म्मणे[11] व्राह्मणाय
41 ग्रामोयं एतेषां पवं[12]कृत्वा श्रीमत्कर्णप्रकाशे व्यवहरणे सप्तमसंवत्सरे
कार्त्तिके मासि [13]सुक्लपक्षकार्त्तिकीपौर्णमास्यां तिथौ गुरुदि-
42 ने एवं संवत्सरमासपक्षतिथिवारानुक्रमेणाद्येह श्रीमतअर्घतीर्थे[14] गंगायां स्नात्वा
भगवन्तं शिवभट्टारकं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रोरा-
43 त्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये चंद्रार्कक्षितिपर्यन्तं शासनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा
यथादीयमानभागभोगहिरण्यादिसमस्तराजप्र-(।)
44 त्यादाया: एतस्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयीभूय दातव्या: । तदपचिकोर्षया न केनापि
(न)' गन्तव्यमिति ॥ छ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यश्लोका: ।
45 सर्व्वानेतान् भाविन: पार्थिवेन्द्रान[15] भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्र: [।*]
सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि: ॥ [३१*] व[16]-
46 हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजति:[17] सगरादिभि: । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फलं ॥ [३२*] भूमिं य: प्रतिग्टह्णाति[18] यश्च भूमिं प्रयछति[19]
47 उभौ तौ पुण्यक्रर्माणौ[20] नियतं स्वर्ग्गगातिनौ[21] ॥ [३३*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद: । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके व-(।)
48 सेत[22] ॥ [३४*] अस्मिन्वंसे[23] द्विजन्नोपि यश्चान्यो नृपतिर्भवेत[24] । तस्यापि
करलग्नोहं शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत[25] ॥ [३५*] सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्ये-

[1] Read °तान्.
[2] Read °पुरुषा° and °स्थानं.
[3] Read कौशाम्बपत्तलायां.
[4] Read बोध°.
[5] Read समाज्ञा°.
[6] Read साम्र°.
[7] Read °सीमा°.
[8] Read °साम्ब°.
[9] Read °यौवनाश्व°.
[10] Read °शाखिने.
[11] Read °शर्म्मणे ब्राह्म°.
[12] Read एवं.
[13] Read शुक्ल°.
[14] Read श्रीमदर्घ°.
[15] Read °वेन्द्रान्.
[16] Read बहुभि°.
[17] Read राजभि:.
[18] Read °ग्टह्णाति.
[19] Read प्रयच्छति.
[20] Read °कर्म्माणौ.
[21] Read °गामिनौ.
[22] Read वसेत्.
[23] Read °वंशे.
[24] Read °वेत्.
[25] Read °मेत्.

49 कमङ्कुलं । स नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतसंप्लवं[1] ॥ [३६*] लिखितं चेदं करणिकश्रीसर्व्वानन्देन[2] । उत्कीर्ण्णं[3] च विद्यानन्देन ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥

REMARKS BY DR. FLEET ON THE DATE OF THE RECORD PUBLISHED ABOVE.

The record is dated "in the administration (*vyavaharaṇa*) renowned by the glorious Karṇa," in the seventh year, and on the full-moon *tithi*, coupled with a Thursday, of the month Kārttika. Karṇadēva's predecessor was his father Gāṅgēyadeva, who was reigning, we know, in A.D. 1030,[4] and for whom we have perhaps also a date in A.D. 1037-38.[5] For Karṇadēva as king we have the date Phālguna vadi 9, answering to 18 January, A.D. 1042.[6] On that day he made a grant, having bathed in the river Vēṇi on Phalguna vadi 2 on an occasion which the record mentions as *saṁvatsarē srāddhē* (read *śrāddhē*) of his father Gaṅgēyadēva. The editor emended the text here into *saṁvatsara-śrāddhē*, and interpreted the phrase as meaning "at the annual funeral ceremony" in honour of his father Gāṅgeyadeva. The emendation hardly seems necessary. However, in any case, the text appears to indicate distinctly, not some indefinite anniversary of the death of Gāṅgēyadēva, but the first anniversary of his death; and it is at any rate fully capable of being understood in this sense. Accordingly, Gāṅgeyadeva died on Phālguna vadi 2,=22 January, A.D. 1041.[7] The month Kārttika in A.D. 1041 was, therefore, in the first year of Karṇadēva. The month Kārttika in his seventh year came in A.D. 1047. In this year the given *tithi* was connected quite regularly with a Thursday: it ended at about 11 hours 45 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), that is, at about 5.45 P.M., on Thursday, 5 November; and, being current at sunrise, it gave its number to that same day. And this date, **Thursday, 5 November, A.D. 1047,** seems clearly to be the date of the record.

The result stated above is in agreement with the points, that the record gives the full titles of paramount sovereignty to Karṇadēva in lines 33-4, and that it does not contain anything to suggest that Gāṅgēyadēva was living when it was drawn up. The following remarks, however, may be added, in case it might be thought that the use of the term *vyavaharaṇa*, 'transaction of business, management, administration,' instead of *rājya* or *vijaya-rājya*, implies that Karṇadēva was reigning as the representative of his father, the latter being still alive. As we have seen, Gāṅgēyadēva was dead by 22 January, A.D. 1041. Before that, the nearest occasions on which the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika can be connected with a Thursday are as follows:—In A.D. 1026 it began at about 21 hours 5 minutes after mean sunrise on Thursday, 27 October; but the lateness of the time (3 hours 5 minutes after midnight) precludes the possibility that the *tithi* should have been cited with that day. In A.D. 1023 it ended at about 11 hours 35 minutes after mean sunrise, that is, at about 5.35 P.M., on Thursday, 31 October, and consequently, being current at sunrise, gave its number to the day: but this is altogether too early a date for Karṇadēva to have been associated with his father in the administration for already six years; especially in view of the points, that for Karṇadēva's son and successor Yaśaḥkarṇa the earliest known date is in A.D. 1120, and that for Yaśaḥkarṇa's son and successor Gayakarṇa we have dates in A.D. 1151 and 1155-56.

[1] Read °भूत°. [2] Read 'र्व्वा'. [3] Read उत्कीर्ण्णं.

[4] Albērūnī tells us this: *India*, trans. Sachau, Vol. I. p. 202.

[5] Kielhorn's List of Northern Inscriptions, above, Vol. V. Appendix, No. 406.

[6] *Ibid.*, No. 407: edited above, Vol. II. p. 305.

[7] Or on 23 December, A.D. 1040, = Māgha vadi 2, if this *tithi* is preferred in consequence of what the editor pointed out in connexion with the weekday being not correct for Phālguna vadi 2 in A.D. 1042, and being correct for Māgha vadi 2, = 12 December, A.D. 1041. But it seems probable that the mistake lies in the weekday (or else in the *tithi*), rather than in the month.

Compare *-nirjit-*, l. 33; *-varjitaḥ*, l. 55; *=arthibhyaḥ*, l. 24; *pārthivaiḥ*, l. 27; *maṇēr=bhagavatā*, l. 8; *-tir=bhuvam*, l. 30; *krimir=bhūtvā*, l. 71. Between *m* and *r* a *v*, *i.e.* a *b*, is inserted in *tāmrra-*, l. 61. There are besides, several other mistakes which may be due either to the writer or to the engraver. Thus we find *a* for *ā* in *-prakshyalita-*, l. 4; *Gaṅg-*, ll. 13, 26, 44; *samriddhiman=*, l. 30; *-gīyaman-*, l. 36; *-chaṭṭa-*, l. 55; *a* for *i* in *-krita*, l. 39; *a* for *u* in *=ācharitam*, l. 41; *ā* for *a* in *ānu-*, l. 48; *gaurāvāta*, l. 64 f.; *ā* for *ō* in *-kul-āttamasya*, l. 44; *i* for *ī* or *ai* in *isānyē*, l. 69; *ī* for *i* in *sāśanīka-*, l. 71 f.; *ū* for *u* in *-sūdūrāya*, l. 61; *u* for *ō* in *=ēkūna-*, l. 34; *j* for *jj* in *-ujrala-*, ll. 10, 30; *-vā[j*=]jātō*, l. 22; *ṭṭ* for *ṭ* in *-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-*, l. 55; *t* for *tt* in *-chchhatra-*, l. 10; *-ōtuṅga-*, l. 12; *t* for *d* in *-samutbhavāyāś=*, l. 37; *d* for *t* in *praśchyadan-*, l. 23; *y* for *yy* in *nyayēna*, l. 41; *ś* for *s* in *āśīnē*, l. 48; *-śīm-*, l. 54; *śūnu*, l. 59; *śīmāmā*, l. 65; *s* for *ś* in *-rimsatim*, l. 34; *-māhēsvara-*, l. 49; *-pravēsō*, l. 55; *-yasō-*, l. 57; *kāsyapa-*, l. 57; *sāsanī-*, l. 61; *vamsa-*, l. 68; *-sila*, ll. 68, 70; *isānyē*, l. 69; *sāśanīka-*, instead of *śāsanika-*, l. 71 f.; *s* for *sh* in *-visayasya*, l. 65, and so forth. Mistakes such as *sē* for *tsa* in *prasādāsēm-(-dat=sam-)*, ll. 8 f., the numerous instances where an *anusvāra* (cf. ll. 27, 39, 42, 53, 56, 72, 74) or a *visarga* (cf. ll. 21, 28, 51, 54) has been omitted; the omission of *jō* in *tasy=ānu[jō*]*, l. 21; of *r* in *-karishṇa[r*]*, l. 14; *suna[r*]*, l. 58; of *s* in *samā[s*]*, l. 21; of *sa* in *śā[sa*]nam=*, l. 73, and the many mistakes in l. 62, are probably due to the engraver, while the long omissions in ll. 34 and 65 just as well can be due to the writer of the draft.

There are several instances of wrong or irregular *saṁdhi*: compare *-dattam=ra*, l. 70; *-nirahān śrī-*, l. 17; *=gajānn=arthibhyaḥ*, l. 24; *saḥ śrī-*, l. 25; *prasiddhaḥ chaturh-*, l. 51; *-ādityāta Rūpadēvyāḥ jātaḥ*, l. 58; *-pūrvvan=tā-*, l. 61 f.

In l. 51 several dots indicate a correction. The engraver probably had to copy a corrected draft, and has reproduced it as he found it. The original reading of the passage was probably *samastāmātyapramukhajanapadān=* as in the Naḍagām and Madras Museum plates, or perhaps, *sāmantāmātyapramukhajanapadān=*; see the footnote to the passage.

The language is Sanskṛit, but the construction in ll. 58 ff. is very loose and shows that the composer of the grant was not very well versed in the sacred tongue. With the exception of one imprecatory stanza, the body of the grant is written in prose. The introduction contains the same twelve verses as the Naḍagām and Madras Museum plates, with only one slight variation in verse 2, where our grant has *mahīpatiḥ* while the other two read *-svarapatiḥ*. In the grant itself we find the curious expression *bhūmichchhidrapidhānanyāyēna*[1] instead of the common *bhūmichchhidranyāyēna*, l. 55. The epithet *paramamāhē(sva)varaṁ* used of one of the donees in l. 60 f., is also curious.

The grant was issued from **Dantipura** by the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* **Vajrahasta (III)**, the overlord of the three **Kaliṅgas**, and bestows some land on Irugana [*alias*] Śrī-Mānāditya Chotta and Vīra-Bhairava. The name of the former was perhaps not Mānāditya Chotta but Āditya Chotta, though this reading would imply a serious grammatical slip in l. 60. He was the son of Mānāditya or Āditya Chotta, the son of Chotta Vādayarājā and Rūpadēvī of the Vaidumba family, to which Vajrahasta's mother Vinayamahādēvī likewise belonged. The donee Irugana Mānāditya Chotta was consequently a relative of the king.

The land granted comprised the **Gōrasatta** district with, *i.e.* including thirty-five villages outside **Tampavā**. Its boundaries are given in ll. 65 ff.: to the east **Vistirṇaśila**, to the south-east a banyan tree sacred to Gaṇēśa (*Vināyaka-vaṭa*); to the south a hill with the temple of Ṭaṅku-Bhaṭṭārikā, probably some form of Durgā; to the south-west the **Andharavēṇi** hill; to the west Kāñchaśilā on the **Vaṁśadhārā**; to the north-west **Amrapathara**; to the north

[1] *Bhūmichchhidr-āpirāna-* and *bhumichchhitr-āpidhāna-* occur in the two grants of Daṇḍimahādēvī published by the late Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI., p. 139, text line 31 and p. 142, text line 29), who has corrected them into *bhūmichchhidr-ābhidhāna-*.

21 mśatam=avdāna[1] | Tasy=ānu[3] Vinayāditya[ḥ*] samā[s*]=tiraḥ
22 || [2]Tataḥ Kāmārṇṇavā jātō jagatī-kalpabhūruhaḥ [|*] yō=rājad=rājita-
23 chchhāyō Vajrahastō mahīpatiḥ[4] || [2*] [5]Praśchyōdan-mada-gandha-luvdha(bdha)-madhu-
24 pa-vyālīḍha-gaṇḍān=gajānn[6]= arthibhyaḥ

Third Plate; First Side.

25 samadāt=sahasram=atulō yas=tyāginām=agraṇīḥ [|*] saḥ[6a] śrī-
26 mān=Aniyaṅkabhīma-nṛipatir=[7]Ggaṅg-ānvay-ōttaṁsakaḥ pa-
27 ñchatri[ṁ*]śatam=avda(bda)kān=samabhunak pṛithivīṁ[8] stutaḥ pārthi-
28 vaiḥ || [3*] [9]Tad-agrasūnu[ḥ*] Surarāja-sūnunā samaḥ sama-
29 stāṁ śamit-āri-maṇḍalaḥ [|*] sma pāti Kāmārṇṇava-bhūpa-
30 t[i]r=[bhu]vaṁ samṛiddh[i]man[10]=ar[ddha]samāṁ [11]samujvalaḥ || [4*] [12]Tad-anu tad-anu-
31 janmā chittajanm-ōpamānō guṇanidhir=anavadyō Guṇḍam-ā-
32 khyō mahīśaḥ | sakalam=idam=ara-

Third Plate; Second Side.

33 kshat=tri[ṇi] varshā[ṇi] dhātriṁ(trī)-valayam=alaghu-tējō-nirjit-ārāti-
34 chakraḥ || [5*] [13]Tatō [dvai]mātura[s=tasya*] Madhukāmārṇṇavō nṛipa[ḥ | avati sm=āvanīm=ētām=avdān*] ēkūnaviṁśatiṁ[14] || [6*] [15]Atha Va-
35 jahasta-nṛipatēr=ag[r]a-sutād=akhila-guṇi-jan-āgraṇyaḥ [|*] Kāmārṇṇavāt=kav-i-
36 ndra-p[r]agīyaman[16]-āvadāta-śubha-kīrttēḥ |(||) [7*] [17]Śriya iva Vaidumv(mb)-ānva-
37 ya-payaḥ-payōnidhi-[18]samutbhavāyāś=cha [|*] yaḥ samajani Vina-
38 ya-mahādēvyāḥ śrī-Vajrahasta iti tanayaḥ || [8*] [19]Viyad-ṛitu-nidhi-
39 sa[ṁ*]khyāṁ yāti Śak-āvda(bda)-saṁghē Dinakrita[20] Vṛishabha-sthē Rōhiṇī-bhē su-
40 lagnē [|*] Dhanushi cha sita-pakshē Sūryyavārē tṛitīyā-yuji sakala-dhari-
41 triṁ rakshituṁ yō=bhishiktaḥ || [9*] [21]Nyāyēna yatra samam=[22]ācharitam tri-va-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

42 rg[ga][ṁ*] mārgēṇa rakshati ma[hiṁ] mahita-pratāpē | nirvyādhayaś=cha
43 niraghāś=cha nirāpadaś=cha śaśvat=prajā bhuvi bhavanti vibhūti-
44 matyaḥ || [10*] [23]Vyāptē Gaṅga-kul-ōttamasya yaśasā dik-chakravāl[ē] śaśi-pra-
45 dyōt-āmalinēna ya[sya bhu]vana-prahlāda-sampādinā [|*] sāndrū-
46 [rair=a]tisāndra-paṅka-paṭalaiḥ kumbhasthalī-paṭṭakēshv=ālimpa-

[1] Read =abdān.

[2] Metre: Ślōka; read -vāj=jātō.

[3] Read, with the Naḍagām and Madras Museum plates, tasy=ānujō.

[4] The Naḍagām and Madras Museum plates read =vanīpatiḥ.

[5] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; read praśchyōtan-.

[6] Read =gajān=.

[6a] Cancel the visarga.

[7] Read =Gyāṅg-.

[8] Read pṛithvīṁ, to suit the metre.

[9] Metre: Vaṁśastha.

[10] Read samṛiddhimān=.

[11] Read samujjvalaḥ.

[12] Metre: Mālinī.

[13] Metre: Ślōka.

[14] Read ēkūna- viṁśatim.

[15] Metre: Gīti; read Vajra°.

[16] Read -pragīyamāna-.

[17] Metre: Gīti.

[18] Read -samudbha-.

[19] Metre: Mālinī.

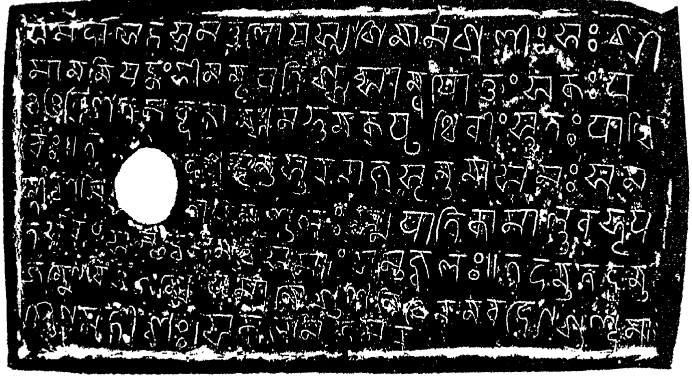
[20] Read -kṛitē.

[21] Metre: Vasantatilaka; read nyāyyēna.

[22] Read =ācharitam.

[23] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; read Gāṅga-kul-ōtta-.

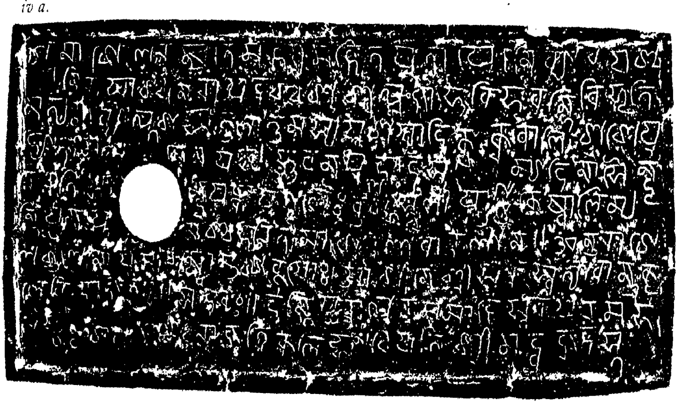
iii a.



iii b.



iv a.



Fifth Plate; Second Side.

69 m[r]āpātharaḥ | uttarē Madhupapālīḥ || (1) isānyē[1] Tālañjara-
70 silā[2] || Svadattāṁ paradattāṁ=vā[3] harēt=kaśchid=vasundl
sa vi-
71 shṭhāyāṁ krimir=bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha pachyatē ||
grāma-sāśa-[4]
72 nika-kāyastha-śrī-sandhivigrahi-Dhavalēna likhita[ṁ*]
73 śā[sa*]nam=idaṁ || Śakāvda(bda) 967 || iti kāraki-Mē-
74 ṇṭōjun=āpi likhita[ṁ]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōṁ! Hail. The son of the *Mahārāja* Guṇamahārṇava, who by his quered the circle of the earth, as (*the god*) Vishṇu by his strides, wishing to adorn of the glorious G[ā]ṅgas, the lords of the three Kaliṅgas, who were purified by *shape*) of virtues praised over the whole earth, such as prudence, good breeding charity, courtesy, truthfulness, purity, valour and firmness; who were of the A who washed off the stains of the impurities of the Kali age by the holy wat taintless thoughts and deeds; the grandeur of whose universal sovereignty was re the unique conch-shell, the drum, the five *mahāśabdas*, the white parasol, the gold and the excellent bull crest which they had obtained by the favour of the blessed Gok who resides on the summit of the lofty Mahēndra mountain, the lord of wha what cannot move, the sole architect in the creation of all the worlds, whose cr the moon; who were adorned by lofty staff-like arms which were embraced by th victory won in the scuffles of many battles,—

(Verse 1.) The glorious Vajrahasta [I.], of exalted conduct, protected the ea for forty-four years, after he, the very valiant one, had, himself single-handed by t of his arm, conquered the hosts of his foes and united the earth, which had formerly b and enjoyed in five parts by five kings.

(L. 19.) His son king Guṇḍama [I.] protected the earth for three years; his youn Kāmārṇavadēva [I.] for thirty-five years; his younger brother Vinayāditya for thre

(V. 2.) Thereafter king Vajrahasta [II.] who was born of Kāmārṇava [I.], shone like a wishing-tree on earth, with radiant lustre,

(V. 3.) the incomparable head of liberal men, who gave to mendicants a elephants, whose temples were sucked by bees attracted by the smell of the rut flow them), he who was praised by kings, the glorious king Aniyaṅkabhīma, the orn the family of the G[ā]ṅgas, enjoyed the earth for thirty-five years.

(V. 4.) His eldest son, who was like the son of the king of gods, king Kāmārṇ protected the whole earth for half a year, prosperous and resplendent, after he had the circle of (*his*) foes.

(V. 5.) After him his younger brother who was comparable to the mind-born ((blameless treasure of virtues, the king named Guṇḍama [II.], protected this whole circ earth for three years, after he had vanquished the host of (his) enemies with (his) migh dour.

(V. 6.) Then his brother from a different mother, king Madhu-Kāmārṇava, [this earth for nineteen years].

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[1] Read *aiśānyē*.

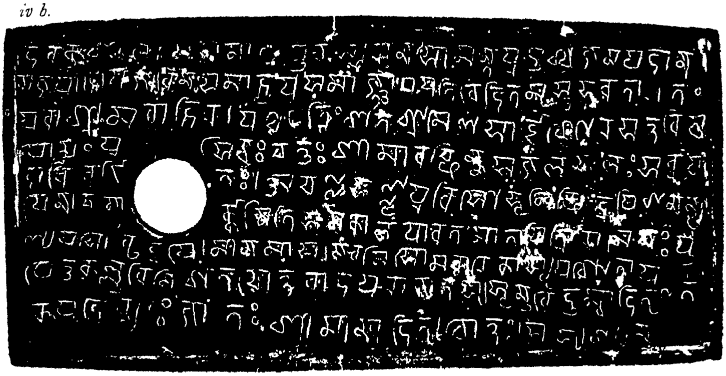
[2] Read *-śilā*.

[3] Read *-dattāṁ vā*.

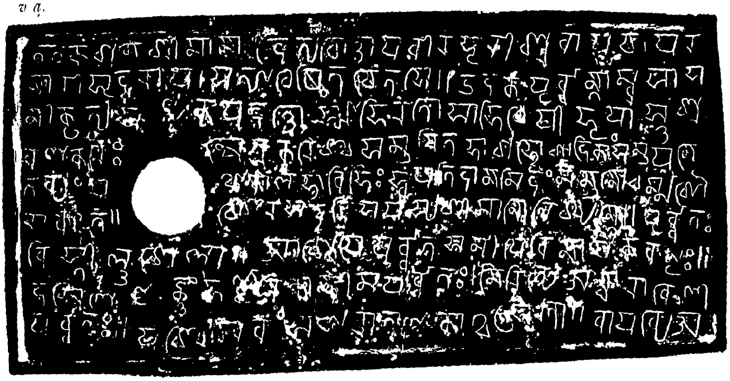
[4] Read *-śāsanika-*.

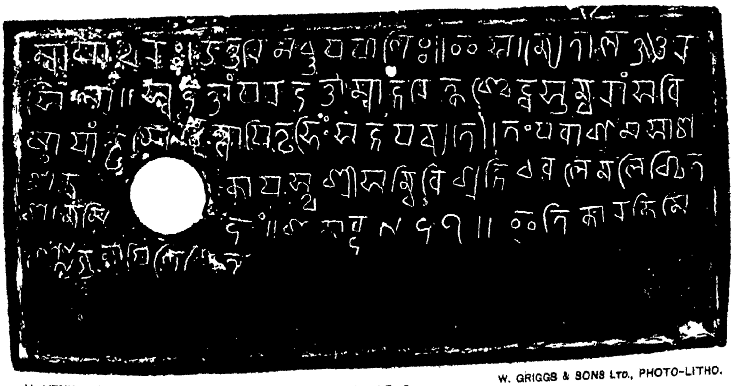
Narasapatam Plates of Vajrahasta III.—Saka-Samvat 967.

iv b.



v a.





V. VENKAYYA. SCALE ·8 W. GRIGGS & SONS LTD., PHOTO-LITHO.

(V. 7-8.) Then the son, named the glorious Vajrahasta [III.], born from Kāmārṇava [II.], the foremost of all virtuous men, the eldest son of king Vajrahasta [II.], whose pure and shining fame was praised by the chiefs of poets, and from Vinayamahādēvī, who had sprung from the family of the Vaidumbas, as Śrī from the milk-ocean,

(V. 9.) he who was anointed to protect the whole earth when the aggregate of Śaka years reached the number of the sky (0), the seasons (6) and the treasures (9), while the sun was standing in Taurus, under the Rōhiṇī *nakshatra*, in the auspicious *lagna* of Dhanus, in the bright fortnight, on a Sunday, combined with the third (*tithi*) ;

(V. 10.) whose subjects are always enjoying wealth without ailments, sins and misfortunes, while (*he*), whose prowess is praised, protects the earth on the right path in order to get the three objects of life accomplished simultaneously ;

(V. 11.) while the circle of the (eight) quarters is being filled with the fame, spotless as the light of the moon and procuring joy to the earth, of him (*who was*) the best of the G[ā]ṅga family, the mahouts of the quarters over and over again anoint (their) elephants on the surface of (their) frontal globes with masses of thick red-lead paste ;

(V. 12.) through love of which virtuous man Śrī and Sarasvatī, sitting in (*his*) bosom and lotus-like mouth (respectively), shine in concord,

(L. 49.) he, the king, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the lord of the three Kaliṅgas, the glorious king Vajrahasta, being in good health, issues the (following) order from Dantipura, having called together the people headed by the feudatories, preceded by the high ministers, who live at the king's feet,—

(L. 52.) Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourself, the well known Gōrasatta district (*vishaya*) with (its) thirty-five villages outside (*bāhira*) Taṁpavā village, circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, not to be entered by district officers (*chāṭas*) and *bhaṭas*, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, by means of a charter, after having made (*it*) into a copper-plate grant, according to the maxim of the covering of a hole in the ground (*bhūmi-chhidrapidhāna-nyāya*) to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, on the ninth day of the month Mīna, on a Monday, to Irugana śrī-Mānāditya Chotta, of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, the son of śrī-Mānāditya Chotta, the son of Chotta Vādayarājā, who came from Pettakallu, born of Rūpadēvī, the sun of the Vaidumba family,[1] and to Vīra-Bhūriśrava (Bhūriśravas), who keeps far off from the wives of others, whose mind is set on truthfulness. Therefore, being obedient to him, the proper *bhāgabhōga* and other (*income*) should be brought to him, together with the *pravaṇikara* and the *kshētrakara*. Future kings [should preserve] this (*my*) gift, from reverence for the law of Manu, from time to time.

(L. 65.) The boundaries of the Gōrasatta district (*vishaya*) are (here) written : to the east Vistīrṇaśilā ; to the south-east the Vināyaka-vaṭa (tree) near the hills ; to the south the border hill of Ṭaṅku-Bhaṭṭārikā ; to the south-west the Andhārāvēṇī hill ; to the west Kāñchaśilā, on the bank of the Vaṁśadhārā ; to the north-west Amrāpāthara ; to the north Madhupapāli ; to the north-east Tālāñjaraśilā. [Here follows one of the customary verses].

(L. 72.) This charter was written by the illustrious *sandhivigrahin* Dhavala, the grant-writer (*śāsanika-kāyastha*) of Taṁpavā village. The Śaka year 967. Thus also written by the *kāraki* Mēṇṭōju.

[1] [It is difficult to reconcile the fact that Rūpadēvī, a lady, is called the 'Sun' of the Vaidumba family. Perhaps Vaidumbāditya is to be taken as a proper name.—H. K. S.]

No. 15.— TIRUVELLARAI INSCRIPTION OF DANTIVARMAN.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

The subjoined inscription[1] is engraved on some of the stones forming the margin of the well on the southern side of the Puṇḍarīkāksha-Perumāḷ temple at Tiruveḷḷaṟai. This village is at a distance of 12 miles to the north of Trichinopoly and has several interesting ancient monuments. Among them may be mentioned (1) the rock-cut Śiva temple of Jambunātha[2] called in its inscriptions the Tiruvāṇaikkal-Perumāṇaḍigaḷ, with an inscribed boulder in front;[3] (2) the Vishṇu temple of Puṇḍarīkāksha-Perumāḷ with another rock-cut cave[4] on the southern side of its first *prākāra;* and (3) the well on which the subjoined inscription is engraved.[5] Besides the above, there are the ruins of another Śiva temple in that part of the village where the Pallava well is situated. A big *liṅga* and a large sized Nandi are still to be seen in a field not far from the well.

The stones bearing the record under notice are not in proper order, but as none of them is missing, it has been possible to piece them together and make out the inscription completely. It is in an excellent state of preservation, having been engraved after the stones had been dressed for the purpose. The engraver seems to have taken great care as the record is almost free from any mistakes. The letters are cut deeply and the inscription is written in two sections of two lines each. The language of the record is Tamiḷ prose and verse with an admixture of Sanskṛit words and phrases written in Grantha characters.

The following peculiarities of the alphabet deserve notice. The vertical line to the right of *va* in *sva* reaches the full height of the top letter *sa*. The secondary *i* is written from the right to the left and touches the consonant on the right side only. The secondary *ā* is denoted by a short vertical stroke added to the right of the letter so as to touch it by a small horizontal line at the top. The length of the vowel *ā* and the *ū* of the combined consonant *vū* are as distinctly marked as in the modern characters. *Va* presents an early type. The bottom portion of *ḍu* is drawn out into a flourish as sometimes to completely cover the letter that precedes it. All the *ya's* occurring in this inscription have a big loop at the beginning. The *ē* symbol

[1] No. 541 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

[2] The inscriptions on the outer walls of this temple which may be considered not so old as the cave itself, belong to the time of Rājakēsarivarman, Parāntaka I. and Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. (Nos. 512 to 514 of 1905). The cave consists of a cell cut into the rock with two niches on either side. Of the two to the right, the first contains an image of Vishṇu, while the second enshrines the god Gaṇēśa. In the two niches on the left side are put in stone images of a later date. The front part of the cave may be described as a verandah with four pillars cut out of the same rock.

[3] As many as 16 inscriptions have been copied from this boulder (Nos. 515 to 530 of 1905). They range in date from the time of a Pallava king whose inscription is partially built in by a modern platform raised in front of the shrine of the goddess, to those of the early Chōḷa sovereigns Rājakēsarivarman, Parakēsarivarman, Parāntaka I. and Vikrama-Chōḷa. The texts of 13 of these records have been printed by the late Pandit Natesa Sastri (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 265 ff.).

[4] Ten inscriptions of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 (Nos. 531 to 540) are from this cave, the kings represented being Nandivarman, Rājakēsarivarman, Parakēsarivarman, Rājarāja I., and Parakēsarivarman 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya.' One of the inscriptions (No. 534 of 1905) dated in the 8th year of a Parakēsarivarman is interesting as it refers to gifts made by the queen of Uḍaiyār-Āṇaimēṟṟuñjiṉār (*i.e.* the king who died on an elephant's back) to the god Śrī-Kṛishṇa and his consort Rukmiṇī of the big temple at Tiruveḷḷaṟai. At present there is no shrine in the Puṇḍarīkāksha-Perumāḷ temple dedicated to Śrī-Kṛishṇa but there is an image of that god found on the outer *gōpura,* right of entrance. We cannot be certain if this is the image referred to.

[5] Nos. 541 and 542 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905 are engraved on stones forming the margin of this well.

touches the consonant that follows it. One graphic peculiarity of the record is that the loops of *ṇ* and *ṉ* are fully developed and the consonant *rai* resembles to a great extent the letter *ṉa*. The *puḷḷi* (or *virāma*) is invariably marked by a slightly curved line cut on the top of the letters. It is wrongly marked on *pe* in *peruṅgiṉaṟu* (l. 2, section 1) and on *ṉē* in *vaimmiṉēy* (end of l. 2, section 2). The Sanskrit words and letters that occur in the inscription are: *svasti* and *śrī* at the beginning of the record, *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*, *Dantivarmma* and *Pallava-tilatakulōrbhava* in line 1; *ratshi* of *ratshippār* in line 2 and *śrī* at the commencement of the Tamiḻ verse in section 2, line 1.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of the well called **Mārppiḍugu-peruṅgiṉaṟu** by one **Kambaṉ-Araiyaṉ**, the younger brother of a certain **Viśaiyanallūḷāṉ** of **Ālambākkam**. The work was commenced in the **4th year** of **Dantivarman**, who belonged to the **Pallavatilata** (°tilaka) family which is said to have sprung from the **Bhāradvāja**-*gōtra*, and completed in his **5th year**. The capacity of the well accounts for the time taken in its construction. There are four entrances leading into the well and they are so constructed as to give it the shape of the *svastika* symbol 卐 [1]. The Tamiḻ verse in section 2 is written in the *Āśiriyaviruttam* metre, each line containing six feet (*śīr*). It declares that no object in this world is permanent, that life is sure to decay, and that, therefore, if one commands wealth, he must, after taking what is required for his maintenance, utilise the remainder in doing works of charity.

An inscription dated in the 8th year (=A.D. 1262-3) of the **Hoysaḷa** king **Vīra-Rāmanāthadēva** found on the margin of the same well records that a merchant (*vāṇiyaṉ*) repaired it as it had suffered considerable damage from floods and other causes.[2] The same record refers to the well as having been built by a merchant. In the 13th century A.D. the builder of the well was believed to have been a private individual and not a chief, as the title *Araiyaṉ* appended to his name would lead one to believe.[3] It is also interesting to learn that repairs were executed to it in A.D. 1262. It was perhaps then that the inscribed stones got out of order.

The proper names that occur in this record are of special interest. **Ālambākkam** may be identified with the village of the same name situated at a distance of 12 miles from Lālguḍi on the road to Ariyalūr. **Dantivarmamaṅgalam** and **Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** were its other names in ancient times, and it was situated in Poygai-nāḍu which was a subdivision of **Rājēndrasiṅgavaḷanāḍu**.[4] **Tiruveḷḷaṟai** is said to have been a village in **Vaḍavaḷi-nāḍu**, a district of Rājāśraya-vaḷanāḍu[5]. The members of the village assembly of **Tiruveḷḷaṟai** are referred to in two records of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. found in the Rājarājēśvara

[1] From each of the entrances, a flight of steps leads to the interior of the well. Midway between the entrance and the bottom of the well, on what may be described as the portal, is a piece of sculpture which was, in all probability, carved at the time when the well was constructed and hence synchronous with it. There are thus four groups of sculptures in all, on the four sides. The principal figures on the northern side are Śiva and Pārvatī seated on a pedestal with attendant deities, flanked on either side by a *nandi*. A number of female figures, probably the *saptamātṛis*, are found on the southern side. With an attendant deity on the right side, the god Yōga-Narasiṁha is figured on the eastern side in a sitting posture with legs folded and crossed and with something like a cloth passing round them. This group is flanked on the left by a lion while to the right is a *yāḷi*. I am not able to identify the images on the western side. Here are the figures of a warrior armed with a sword, a horse and a few other images.

[2] No. 542 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 and *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-06, p. 63, paragraph 4.

[3] In spite of this belief it is not impossible that the builder Kambaṉ-Araiyaṉ was a chief who belonged to the Muttaraiyaṉ family.

[4] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1909-10, Part II., paragraphs 14 and 25.

[5] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. Part III. p. 338.

temple at Tanjore and were required to supply two *brahmachārins* as temple-servants and tw other persons as watchmen to that temple.[1]

The well Mārppiḍugu-peruṅgiṇaṟu should have been named either after the reigning kin or a local chief under him. That it was not called after the builder is evident from the fact tha he bore a different name. Nor do we know that Dantivarman had the surname Mārppiḍugu It may be pointed out here that there was in ancient times a family of kings called **Muttaraiyaṉ** ruling over a portion of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts and a part at least of the Pudukkōṭṭai State.[2] Some of the members of this family had for their surnames Perumbiḍugu, Viḍēlviḍugu, *etc.* Śendalai, one of the places where their inscriptions have been found, is not far off from Ālambākkam whence the builder of the Tiruveḷḷaṟai well hails. It may further be noticed that at Ālambākkam, there was, according to its inscriptions a big tank called **Mārppiḍug-ēri.** It is just possible that both the Mārppiḍug-ēri of Ālambākkam and the Mārppiḍugu-peruṅgiṇaṟu of Tiruveḷḷaṟai came into existence at the same time and were named after the same person who, to judge from the similarity of the name, might have been a member of the Muttaraiyaṉ family and a feudatory of the Pallava king Dantivarman of our record.

From the Tamiḻ work *Nālāyiraprabandham*, it appears that the Vishṇu temple at Tiruveḷḷaṟai was in existence from an early period,[3] as the Vaishṇava saints **Periyāḻvār** and **Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār** composed hymns in its praise. The latter saint mentions the village not less than four times in his compositions and there is not much doubt that one of these references, *viz. Veḷḷaṟaiyuḷ kallaraimēl*[4] has to be taken to denote the rock-cut cave in the Puṇḍarīkāksha-Perumāḷ temple. From the fact that Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār mentions in his hymn on Paramēśvara-viṇṇagar some of the battles where the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla gained victories over the Pāṇḍya sovereign and refers to another Pallava king Vayiramēgaṉ, it has been surmised that the Āḻvār was a contemporary of the latter and lived in the period immediately following the reign of the former whose achievements were fresh in the saint's mind.[5] Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār[6] has thus been assigned to the 3rd quarter of the 8th century A.D. Accordingly, the cave in the Puṇḍarīkāksha-Perumāḷ temple probably came into existence before that time. One of the earliest inscriptions in the cave belongs to the time of a **Pallava tilaka** king **Nandivarman.** This record mentions a certain Viśaiyanallūḻāṉ, who is perhaps the same as that Viśaiyanallūḻāṉ whose younger brother was Kambaṉ-Araiyaṉ, the builder of the well at Tiruveḷḷaṟai. If this be the case, it may be concluded that Nandivarman was perhaps the predecessor of Dantivarman. At any rate he could not be far removed in point of time from the other.

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[1] *Ibid* pp. 326 and 338.

[2] Inscriptions of this family have been found at Śendalai and Tiruchchatturai in the Tanjore District where there was a village called Viḍēlviḍugu-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. Tirumaiyam and Malaikkōyil in the Pudukkōṭṭai State also contain their records. The cave at Nārttāmalai was excavated by the son of Viḍēlviḍugu-Muttaraiyaṉ. A weight called *Viḍēlviḍugu-kal* was in use at Uyyakkoṇḍāṉ-Tirumalai near Trichinopoly.

[3] From some of these stanzas, it appears that the god in the Vishṇu temple was in a standing posture in ancient times also.

[4] *Miṉṉaiy-iru-śuḍarai Veḷḷaṟaiyuḷ-kallaraimēl* occurs in the *Periyatirumoḻi* of Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār.

[5] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 293-4.

[6] One other king referred to by this saint is the ancient Chōḻa Kō-Chcheṅgaṇṇāṉ who is mentioned both in the large Leyden and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. Tamiḻ literature speaks of this sovereign as having fought with the Chēra Kaṇaikkāl-Irumboṟai whom he eventually took prisoner and confined in a place called Kuḍavāyil-kōṭṭam (*Puṟam* 74). The poet Poygaiyār celebrates the valour of this king in his *Kaḷavaḻi-nāṟpadu*. *Puṟam* 48 and 49 contain stanzas composed by the same author in honour of another Chēra king Kō-Kkōdai-mārbaṉ who, if not identical with Kaṇaikkāl-Irumboṟai, must have been a near relation of his and a contemporary of the Chōḻa Kō-Chcheṅgaṇṇāṉ. It is worthy of note that the *Periyapurāṇam* refers to the extensive building operations of this ancient Chōḻa king. The Śaiva saint Tiruñāṇaśambandar alludes to the construction of the temple at Tiruvaigaṉmāḍakkōyil and other places by the same king.

King Dantivarman of the subjoined record is stated to have been born in the Pallavatilaka family which had sprung from the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*. In editing the Triplicane inscription of **Dantivarma-Mahārāja,** Mr. Venkayya remarked that he was perhaps the immediate successor of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and added in a note that his successors probably spoke of themselves as belonging to the "family of the Pallavatilaka." And *Pallavatilaka* is a shortened form of *Pallavakulatilaka* which was actually borne as a title by Dantivarma-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription.[1] Nandivarman Pallavamalla was a usurper as we know from the Kāśā-kuḍi plates. Subsequent kings (there are at least two known so far) claiming descent in the Pallava line, trace their ancestry apparently to Dantivarman of the Triplicane inscription as evidenced by the epithet *Pallavatilaka-kulōdbhava* prefixed to their names. The application of this epithet to the king of the present record necessitates our distinguishing him from Danti-varma-Mahārāja, "the ornament of the Pallava race." That such a distinction has to be made is also evident from the fact that this is not the only inscription which introduces this family. Not less than five records have, so far, been found where members belonging to the Pallavatilaka family are mentioned,[2] and it is therefore difficult to suppose that all the writers did not intend any difference between the terms *Pallavakula* and *Pallavatilakakula.*

From the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I., we know that **Āditya I,** father of **Parāntaka I.** (A.D. 907—947) fought with the **Gaṅga-Pallava** Aparājita.[3] This king may be supposed to be the son of Nṛipatuṅgavikramavarman and his successor. In two records of the 18th and 22nd years of Nṛipatuṅga, **Aḍigaḷ-Kambaṉ-Māṟambāvai,** queen of **Nandivarman** of the Pallavatilaka family makes grants and there is a much damaged inscription in the Airāvatēśvara temple at Niyamam apparently dated during the reign of a Chōḷa king also registering a grant made by the same queen.[4] From these facts it may be concluded that, of the two kings of the Pallavatilaka family hitherto known, Nandivarman was either a con-temporary of the Gaṅga-Pallava Nṛipatuṅgavikramavarman or lived prior to his time by a few years. As Dantivarman of the subjoined inscription has been shown to be closer in point of time to this Nandivarman, he may be assigned roughly to the beginning of the 9th century A.D.

TEXT.

First Section.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Bhāradvāja-gōtrattiṉ vaḻi=ttōṉṟiya **Pallava-tilata[5]-kulōrbhavaṉ Dantivarmmaṟku yāṇḍu nāṉgāvad=eḍuttukkoṇḍu** [aiṉ]dāvadu muṟṟuvittāṉ **Ālamb[ā]kka-Viśaiyanallūḻāṉ**

2 tambi **Kambaṉ Araiyaṉ** Tiruveḷḷaṟai=Ttеṉṉūr=pperuṅ-giṇaṟu [|*] Idaṉ piyar **Mārppiḍugu-[pe]ruṅgiṇaṟ=eṉbadu** |— Idu ratshippār[6] ivv=ūr-Mūvāiratt-[6a] eḻunūṟṟuvarum |—

Second Section.

1 Śrī [||*] Kaṇḍār kāṇāv=ulagattiṟ=kādalśeydu nillādēy[7] paṇḍēy[7] Paramaṉ paḍaitta nāḷ pārttu niṉṟu naiyyādēy[7]

2 taṇḍār[8] mūppu vand-uṉṉai=ttaḷara=chcheydu nillāmaṉṉ=uṇḍell[9]=uṇḍu mikkadu ulagamm=aṟiya [v]aimminēy[7]

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[1] Above, Vol. VIII. p. 292.

[2] Nos. 16 of 1899, 300 and 303 of 1901 and 537 and 541 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[3] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-06, p. 66, paragraph 10. [4] *Ibid.* for 1898-9, p. 7, paragraph 18.

[5] *Tilata* is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *tilaka.* [6] Read *rakshi*°. [6a] Read *Mūvāyi*°.

[7] In these four instances the final *y* seems to have been inserted to represent the full sound produced in pro-nouncing the words.

[8] *Taṇḍu* is a variant of the Sanskrit *daṇḍa.*

[9] The doubling of the consonant *l* is a mistake. The first of them has to be deleted.

TRANSLATION.

First Section.

Hail! Prosperity! In the **fourth year** (*of the reign*) of **Dantivarman** who was born in the **Pallavatilaka** family which had sprung from the **Bhāradvāja**-*gōtra*, **Kamban Araiyan**, the younger brother of **Viśaiyanallūḻān** of **Ālambākkam**, commenced (*to build*) the big well at **Tennūr**[1] in **Tiruveḷḷarai** and completed (*it*) in the fifth (*year of the same reign*). **Mārppiḍugu-peruṅgiṇaṟu** is the name of this (*well*). The three-thousand and seven hundred[2] of this village shall protect this (*charity*).

Second Section.

Prosperity! Without being (*passionately*) attached to this world where men seen (*today*) are not seen (*tomorrow*); without giving (*yourself*) up to despair looking for the (*final*) day appointed by the Creator; and before your (*limbs*) become weak at the appearance of old age with its (*appendage of a*) stick; if you have (*wealth*) maintain (*yourself*) and devote (*what remains to charity*) so that (*all*) the world may know (*it*).

No. 16.—NEW SPECIAL TABLES FOR THE COMPUTATION OF HINDU DATES.

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The new Special Tables which I publish now are intended to supplement the General Tables in the same way as the old Special Tables do, which were published in Vol. I. above, p. 450 ff., *i.e.* they are intended to test, according to one of the principal *siddhāntas* named at the head of the several Tables, the approximate result calculated previously by the General Tables. To these new Tables the remark in § 4, p. 403 *l. c.* applies also. "The General Table is to be used first; and only when by that table the end of the *tithi* falls very near the beginning of the day, and the week day comes out in error by one day only, need the Special Tables for the several *siddhāntas* be tried to see if one of them will furnish the desired result."

The plan on which the new Tables have been constructed is the same as in the General Tables, as far as their object, the highest possible degree of accuracy, will allow. Therefore the new Tables (1) refer throughout to mean sunrise at Laṅkā, not, as the old Special Tables do, to the beginning of the Solar year; (2) they furnish the quantities on which the *tithi* depends, in decimals of the circle and not in degrees, minutes and seconds as is the case in the old Tables. These innovations render the working of the new Tables very easy and almost mechanical.

The Special Tables differ from the General Tables in two points; (1) They contain three columns headed *a*, *b*, *c* instead of the two in the General Tables headed '*Tithi*' and '☾'s anomaly'. *a* denotes mean distance of Sun and Moon, expressed in five decimals of the circle. By Tables XVIII, XIV, XV *a* can be converted into *tithis*, *ghaṭikās*, and *palas*; *b* denotes the mean anomaly of the moon in four decimals of the circle; and *c* the mean anomaly of the Sun, also in

[1] The southern part of Tiruveḷḷarai was probably called Tennūr in ancient times.

[2] The signatory in one of the inscriptions of Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1013) found at Māmallapuram in the Chingleput District is a certain Tiruvaḍigaḷ Maṇikaṇṭhan, a native of Tiruveḷ[*]ḷarai. He calls himself as one of the 3,700 of that village (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I., p. 65). This seems to indicate that at an early period there was a body of 3,700 persons at Tiruveḷḷarai to whom later members traced their descent. Reference to another such body of men is found in the expression *Tillai-mūvāyiravar*.

four decimals. (2) To the sum of a (mean distance of Sun and Moon) *two* corrections (equations) must be applied, while in the General Tables only one equation is needed. The arguments of these equations are the sums of b and c, respectively, and they are to be looked out in the tables of equations under the several *siddhāntas*. In order to calculate the value of the equation for an argument not entered in the table, but lying between two table values, a column headed Δ 10 has been inserted in the middle of these tables, which gives the increase or decrease of the equation for a difference of ten in the argument.

I now proceed to illustrate the working of the new Tables by a few examples.

First example.—Let it be proposed to verify the date: Kali-Yuga 4198, Chaitra *su. di.* 2 *ravau*, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta. We first calculate the date according to the General Tables, and write down the calculation in the proper form (see above, Vol. I. p. 410).

4100 K.Y.	(1)	5·58	111	Ind. ● =20·43
98 years	(4)	3·99	59	Ind. su. di. 2 =22·43
4198 K.Y.	(5)	9·57	170	
15th sol. Chaitra	(4)	22·52	593	
	(2)	2·09	763	
	eq. 763=0			
		2·09		

Result: On the Monday (2) in question, the third *tithi* was running; it commenced on the preceding day (Sunday), about $5\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise. Now in order to calculate the result according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, proceed as follows. Look out K. Y. 4100 or 41st century K. Y. in table I, 98 years in table II, and 15th Chaitra in table XIII (which is the same for all Siddhāntas) and sum up the quantities in the several columns (rejecting integers); thus:—

	w	a	b	c
41st century	(1)	18563	6157	7863
98 years	(4)	13299	571	9990
15th sol. Chaitra	(4)	75053	5932	9500
K. Y. 4198, 15 Chaitra	(2)	6915	2660	7353

Now find the equation for b 2660 from table III, *viz.* 5, and the equation for c=7353 from table IV, *viz.* 3; then add these equations to a, *viz.* 6915+5+3=6923. Table XVIII gives 6667=*su. di.* 2; the difference from a just found, 6923—6667=256; this is according to tables XIV and XV equal to 4 *ghaṭikās* (a=226) and 32 *palas* (a=30). Therefore, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, the 2nd *tithi* ended 4 *ghaṭikās* 34 *palas* before mean sunrise. This result is very nearly right, and we may in most cases rest satisfied with it. If the highest degree of accuracy be required we subtract the increase of a b c for 4 *ghaṭikās* 2 *palas* from tables XIV and XV to the result found before; *viz.* from 6915 22—

4 *ghaṭikās*	226	24	2	6915	2660	7353
32 *palas*	30	3	—	—256	27	2
	256	27	2	6659	2633	7351

TABLE II.—*Sūrya-Siddhānta: Years of the century.*

year	w	a	b	c	corr.		year	w	a	b	c	corr.	
					gh.	p.						gh.	p.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	0	44349	7931	2	— 3	44
1	1	36006	2464	9993	+15	32	51	1	80356	395	9995	+11	47
2	2	72013	4928	9986	+31	3	52	2	16362	2860	9987	+27	12
3	4	11406	7756	6	—13	25	53	4	55755	5687	8	—17	10
4	5	47412	220	9999	+ 2	6	54	5	91762	8151	1	— 1	38
5	6	83419	2684	9992	+17	38	55	6	27768	616	9994	+13	54
6	0	19426	5148	9985	+33	9	56	0	63775	3080	9987	+29	25
7	2	58818	7976	5	—11	19	57	2	3168	5907	7	—15	3
8	3	94825	440	9998	+ 4	12	58	3	39174	8371	0	— 0	28
9	4	30831	2904	9991	+19	44	59	4	75181	836	9993	+16	0
10	5	66838	5368	9984	+35	15	60	5	11187	3300	9986	+31	31
11	0	6231	8196	4	— 9	13	61	0	50580	6127	6	—12	57
12	1	42237	660	9997	+ 6	18	62	1	86587	8591	9999	+ 2	34
13	2	78244	3124	9990	+21	50	63	2	22593	1056	9992	+18	6
14	4	17637	5951	10	—22	39	64	3	58600	3520	9985	+33	37
15	5	53643	8416	3	— 7	7	65	5	97993	6347	5	—10	51
16	6	89650	880	9996	+ 8	24	66	6	33999	8811	9998	+ 4	41
17	0	25657	3344	9989	+23	56	67	0	70006	1276	9991	+20	12
18	2	65049	6171	9	—20	32	68	1	6012	3740	9984	+35	44
19	3	1056	8636	2	— 5	1	69	3	45405	6567	4	— 8	45
20	4	37062	1100	9995	+10	30	70	4	81412	9031	9997	+ 6	47
21	5	73069	3564	9988	+26	2	71	5	17418	1496	9990	+22	18
22	0	12462	6391	8	—16	26	72	0	56811	4323	10	—22	10
23	1	48468	8856	1	— 2	55	73	1	92818	6787	3	— 6	39
24	2	84475	1320	9994	+12	37	74	2	28824	9251	9996	+ 8	53
25	3	20482	3784	9987	+28	8	75	3	64831	1716	9989	+24	24
26	5	59874	6611	7	—16	20	76	5	4224	4543	9	—20	4
27	6	95881	9076	0	— 0	49	77	6	40230	7007	2	— 4	33
28	0	31887	1540	9993	+14	43	78	0	76237	9471	9995	+10	59
29	1	67894	4004	9986	+30	14	79	1	12243	1936	9988	+26	30
30	3	7287	6831	6	—14	14	80	3	51636	4763	8	—17	58
31	4	43293	9296	9999	+ 1	17	81	4	87643	7227	1	— 2	27
32	5	79300	1760	9992	+16	49	82	5	23649	9691	9994	+13	5
33	6	15307	4224	9985	+32	20	83	6	59656	2156	9987	+28	36
34	1	54699	7051	6	—12	8	84	1	99049	4983	7	—15	52
35	2	90706	9516	9998	+ 3	13	85	2	35055	7447	0	— 0	21
36	3	26712	1980	9991	+18	55	86	3	71062	9911	9993	+15	11
37	4	62719	4444	9984	+34	26	87	4	7068	2376	9986	+30	42
38	6	2112	7271	5	—10	2	88	6	46461	5203	6	—13	46
39	0	38118	9736	9997	+ 5	29	89	0	82468	7667	9999	+ 1	45
40	1	74125	2200	9990	+21	1	90	1	18474	131	9992	+17	17
41	2	10132	4664	9983	+36	32	91	2	54481	2596	9985	+32	49
42	4	49524	7491	4	— 7	56	92	4	93874	5423	5	—11	40
43	5	85531	9956	9996	+ 7	35	93	5	29880	7887	9998	+ 3	52
44	6	21537	2420	9989	+23	7	94	6	65887	351	9991	+19	23
45	1	60930	5247	10	—21	22	95	0	1893	2816	9984	+34	55
46	2	96937	7711	3	— 5	50	96	2	41286	5643	4	— 9	34
47	3	32943	176	9995	+ 9	41	97	3	77293	8107	9997	+ 5	58
48	4	68950	2640	9988	+25	13	98	4	13299	571	9990	+21	29
49	6	8343	5467	9	—19	16	99	5	49306	3036	9983	+37	1

TABLE III.—*Sūrya-Siddhānta.*

Equation b.

argument : b		equation.	Δ 10.	equation.	argument : b	
0	5000	1402	8·92	1402	0	5000
104	4896	1307	8·83	1495	9896	5104
208	4792	1215	8·74	1587	9792	5208
313	4687	1124	8·64	1678	9687	5313
417	4583	1035		1767	9583	5417
			8·54			
521	4479	947	8·35	1855	9479	5521
625	4375	861	8·06	1941	9375	5625
729	4271	777	7·78	2025	9271	5729
833	4167	696	7·40	2106	9167	5833
938	4062	619		2183	9062	5938
			7·20			
1042	3958	546	6·81	2258	8958	6042
1146	3854	473	6·53	2329	8854	6146
1250	3750	407	6·04	2393	8750	6250
1354	3646	344	5·57	2458	8646	6354
1458	3542	286		2516	8542	6458
			5·09			
1562	3438	233	4·60	2569	8438	6562
1667	3333	185	4·13	2617	8333	6667
1771	3229	142	3·64	2660	8229	6771
1875	3125	104	3·07	2698	8125	6875
1979	3021	72		2730	8021	6979
			2·60			
2083	2917	45	1·81	2757	7917	7083
2187	2813	25	1·44	2777	7813	7188
2292	2708	10	0·77	2792	7708	7292
2396	2604	2	0·38	2800	7604	7396
2500	2500	0		2804	7500	7500

TABLE IV.—*Sūrya-Siddhānta.*

Equation c.

argument : c		equation.	Δ 10.	equation.	argument : c	
0	5000	604	3·84	604	0	5000
104	4896	644	3·84	564	9896	5104
208	4792	684	3·84	524	9792	5208
313	4687	724	3·74	484	9687	5313
417	4583	763		445	9583	5417
			3·65			
521	4479	801	3·65	407	9479	5521
625	4375	839	3·45	369	9375	5625
729	4271	875	3·36	333	9271	5729
833	4167	910	3·17	298	9167	5833
938	4062	943		265	9062	5938
			3·07			
1042	3958	975	2·88	233	8958	6042
1146	3854	1006	2·69	202	8854	6146
1250	3750	1034	2·60	174	8750	6250
1354	3646	1061	2·40	147	8646	6354
1458	3542	1086		122	8542	6458
			2·11			
1562	3438	1108	2·01	100	8438	6562
1667	3333	1129	1·79	79	8333	6667
1771	3229	1147	1·54	61	8229	6771
1875	3125	1163	1·34	45	8125	6875
1979	3021	1174		31	8021	6979
			1·02			
2083	2917	1188	0·86	20	7917	7083
2187	2813	1197	0·58	11	7813	7187
2292	2708	1203	0·29	5	7708	7292
2396	2604	1206	0·20	2	7604	7396
2500	2500	1208		0	7500	7500

ĀRYA-SIDDHĀNTA.

TABLE V.—Centuries of Kali-Yuga.

A.—Original Ārya-Siddhānta.

cent.	n	a	b	c	sol. corr.	
					gh.	p.
36	1	76166	6718	7826	+15	0
37	1	63891	2580	7830	+ 7	5
38	1	52615	8442	7834	— 0	50
39	1	41310	4304	7837	— 8	45
40	1	30064	166	7841	—16	40
41	1	19789	[illegible]	7845	—24	35
42	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	7848	—32	30

B.—The same with Lalla's corrections.

cent.	n	a	b	c	sol. corr.	
					gh.	p.
36	1	76166	6718	7826	+15	0
37	1	63844	2596	7830	+ 7	5
38	1	52523	8175	7834	— 0	50
39	1	41201	4353	7837	— 8	45
40	1	29880	232	7841	—16	40
41	1	18558	6110	7844	—24	35
42	1	7236	1988	7848	—32	30
43	0	92528	7504	7824	+19	35
44	0	81206	3383	7828	+11	40
45	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	7832	+ 3	15
46	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	7835	— 4	10
47	0	47241	1018	7840	—12	50
48	0	35919	6896	7843	—20	0
49	0	24597	2775	7847	—27	55
50	6	9890	8291	7823	+24	10

For mean Distance ☾—⊙ add 1987 to a.

For mean Longitude of the Sun add 2167 to c.

For true Longitude of the Sun add 2227 to c and subtract tenth part of equation c.

TABLE VI.—*Ārya-Siddhānta*: *Years of the Century.*

year	w	a	b	c	sol. corr. gh.	p.	year	w	a	b	c	sol. corr. gh.	p.
0	0	0	0	0		0	50	0	44339	7939	2	− 3	58
1	1	36006	2464	9993	+15	31	51	1	80345	404	9995	+11	34
2	2	72013	4928	9986	+31	2	52	2	16312	2868	9988	+27	5
3	4	11405	7756	61	—13	26	53	4	55744	5695	8	—17	24
4	5	47412	220	9999	+ 2	5	54	5	91751	8160	1	— 1	53
5	6	83418	2685	9992	+17	36	55	6	27757	624	9994	+13	39
6	0	19424	5149	9985	+33	7	56	0	63763	3089	9987	+29	10
7	2	58817	7977	5	—11	21	57	2	3156	5916	7	—15	[illegible]
8	3	94823	441	9998	+ 4	10	58	3	39162	8380	0	+ 0	12
9	4	30830	2906	9991	+19	41	59	4	75169	845	9993	+15	44
10	5	66836	5370	9984	+35	12	60	5	11175	3309	9986	+31	15
11	0	6228	8197	4	— 9	16	61	0	50568	6136	6	—13	14
12	1	42235	662	9997	+ 6	15	62	1	86574	8601	9999	+ 2	17
13	2	78241	3126	9990	+21	46	63	2	22580	1065	9992	+17	49
14	4	17634	5953	10	—22	43	64	3	58587	3530	9985	+30	20
15	5	53640	8418	3	— 7	11	65	5	97979	6357	5	—11	9
16	6	89646	882	9996	+ 8	20	66	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
17	0	25653	3347	9989	+23	51	67	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
18	2	65045	6174	9	—20	37	68	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
19	3	1052	8639	2	— 5	6	69	3	[illegible]	[illegible]	4	— 5	[illegible]
20	4	37058	1103	9995	+10	25	70	4	81397	9042	9997	+ 6	27
21	5	73064	3567	9988	+25	56	71	5	17404	1507	9990	+21	59
22	0	12457	6395	8	—18	33	72	0	56796	4334	10	—22	30
23	1	48464	8859	1	— 3	1	73	1	92803	6799	3	— 6	59
24	2	84470	1324	9994	+12	30	74	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
25	3	20476	3788	9987	+28	1	75	3	64816	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
26	5	59869	6615	7	—16	28	76	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
27	6	95875	9080	0	— 0	56	77	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
28	0	31882	1544	9993	+14	35	78	0	70221	9481	[illegible]	+16	[illegible]
29	1	67888	4009	9986	+30	6	79	1	12227	1948	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
30	3	7281	6836	7	—14	23	80	3	51620	4775	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
31	4	43287	9301	9999	+ 1	9	81	4	87626	7240	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
32	5	79293	1765	9992	+16	40	82	5	[illegible]	9704	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
33	6	15300	4229	9985	+32	11	83	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	9997	[illegible]	[illegible]
34	1	54692	7057	6	—12	18	84	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	7	[illegible]	[illegible]
35	2	90699	9521	9999	+ 3	13	85	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
36	3	26705	1986	9991	+18	45	86	3	71044	9525	[illegible]	+14	47
37	4	62711	4450	9984	+34	16	87	4	7051	2389	9986	+30	19
38	6	2104	7277	5	—10	13	88	6	46443	5217	6	—14	10
39	0	38110	9742	9998	+ 5	19	89	0	82450	7681	9999	+ 1	21
40	1	74117	2206	9990	+20	50	90	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
41	2	10123	4671	9983	+36	21	91	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
42	4	49516	7498	4	— 8	8	92	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
43	5	85522	9962	9997	+ 7	24	93	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
44	6	21528	2427	9990	+22	55	94	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
45	1	60921	5254	10	—21	33	95	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
46	2	96927	7719	3	— 6	3	96	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
47	3	32934	183	9996	+ 9	28	97	3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
48	4	68940	2647	9989	+25	0	98	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
49	6	8333	5475	9	—19	29	99	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+30	51

TABLE VII.—*Ārya-Siddhānta :*

Equation b.

argument : b.		equation	Δ 10	equation	argument : b	
0	5000	1390	8·74	1390	0	5000
104	4896	1299	8·74	1481	9896	5104
208	4792	1208	8·64	1572	9792	5208
313	4687	1118	8·54	1662	9687	5313
417	4583	1029		1751	9583	5417
			8·35			
521	4479	942	8·16	1838	9479	5521
625	4375	857	7·97	1923	9375	5625
729	4271	774	7·68	2006	9271	5729
833	4167	694	7·59	2086	9167	5833
938	4062	626		2164	9062	5938
			7·10			
1042	3958	542	6·72	2238	8958	6042
1146	3854	472	6·43	2308	8854	6146
1250	3750	405	5·95	2375	8750	6250
1354	3646	343	5·57	2437	8646	6354
1458	3542	285		2495	8542	6458
			5·09			
1562	3438	232	4·61	2548	8438	6562
1667	3333	184	4·03	2596	8333	6667
1771	3229	152	3·64	2638	8229	6771
1875	3125	104	3·07	2676	8125	6875
1979	3021	72		2708	8021	6979
			2·69			
2083	2917	46	2·02	2734	7917	7083
2187	2813	25	1·44	2755	7813	7187
2292	2708	10	0·77	2770	7708	7292
2396	2604	2	0·19	2778	7604	7396
2500	2500	0		2780	7500	7500

TABLE VIII.—*Ārya-Siddhānta :*

Equation c.

argument : c.		equation	Δ 10	equation	argument : c	
0	5000	597	3·74	597	0	5000
104	4896	636	3·74	558	9896	5104
208	4792	675	3·64	519	9792	5208
313	4687	713	3·64	481	9687	5313
417	4583	752		442	9583	5417
			3·55			
521	4479	789	3·46	405	9479	5521
625	4375	825	3·46	369	9375	5625
729	4271	861	3·26	333	9271	5729
833	4167	895	3·26	299	9167	5833
938	4062	929		265	9062	5938
			2·98			
1042	3958	960	2·88	234	8958	6042
1146	3854	990	2·78	204	8854	6146
1250	3750	1019	2·59	175	8750	6250
1354	3646	1046	2·40	148	8646	6354
1458	3542	1071		123	8542	6458
			2·11			
1562	3438	1093	2·02	101	8438	6562
1667	3333	1114	1·73	80	8333	6667
1771	3229	1132	1·63	62	8229	6771
1875	3125	1149	1·25	45	8125	6875
1979	3021	1162		32	8021	6979
			0·96			
2083	2917	1174	0·77	20	7917	7083
2187	2813	1182	0·66	12	7813	7187
2292	2708	1189	0·38	5	7708	7292
2396	2604	1193	0·10	1	7604	7396
2500	2500	1194		0	7500	7500

BRAHMA-SIDDHĀNTA AND SIDDHĀNTA-ŚIRŌMAṆI.

TABLE IX.—*Centuries of Kali-Yuga.*

A.—BRAHMA-SIDDHĀNTA.

cent.	*w*	*a*	*b*	*c*	sol. corr. gh.	p.
37	1	63840	2581	7857	+13	7
38	1	52564	8469	7861	+ 3	45
39	1	41287	4358	7866	− 5	37
40	1	30010	247	7870	−14	59
41	1	18734	6135	7874	−24	22
42	1	7458	2024	7878	−33	44
43	0	92795	7550	7855	+16	53

B.—SIDDHĀNTA-ŚIRŌMAṆI.

cent.	*w*	*a*	*b*	*c*	sol. corr. gh.	p.
42	1	7263	1995	7849	−33	44
43	0	92595	7520	7825	+16	53
44	0	81114	3408	7828	+ 7	31
45	0	70033	9296	7832	− 1	52
46	0	58752	5184	7836	−11	14
47	0	47471	1072	7839	−20	37
48	0	36190	6960	7841	−29	59
49	0	24909	2848	7846	−39	22
50	6	10241	8373	7822	+11	16

For mean Distance ☾ − ☉ add 1999 to *a*.

For *mean* Longitude of the Sun add to *c*: 2164 before 4100 K. Y. and 2165 after 4100 K. Y.

For *true* Longitude of the Sun add 2224 to *c* and subtract tenth part of equation *c*.

NOTE.—The beginning of the Solar month according to the Brahma-Siddhānta and the Siddhānta-Śirōmaṇi is earlier by one day than according to the other Siddhāntas.

47 [nti] punaḥ punaś=cha [hā]ritām=ā[dhōra]ṇā vāraṇān || [11*] [1]Anurāgē-
48 ṇa guṇinō ya[sya va]kshō-mukh-āvja(bja)yōḥ | [2]āśinē Śrī-Sarasvatyāv=[3]ānukū-
49 lē vi[r]ājataḥ || [12*] Sa dēvaḥ || **Dantipurāt**=parama-[4]māhēsvara-paramabha-
50 [5]ṭṭārakō mahārājādhirāja-**Trikaliṅg**-ādhipati-śrīmad-**Vajrahasta**-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

51 dēva[ḥ*] kuśalī ma[h-ā]mātya-purassarāna(n) sāmanta-pramukha-janapadāna(n)
52 rāja-pād-ōpajīvinaḥ[6] samāhūya samājñāpayati viditam=astu bhavatā[ṁ] | **Taṁ-**
53 **pavā**-grāma-vāhira-(|)pañchatriṁśata[7] grāmēṇa sārddha[ṁ*] **Gōrasatta-visha**-
54 yō=yaṁ [8]prasiddhaḥ chatuḥ-śīm-āvachchhinna[ḥ*] sajala-sthalaḥ sarvva-pa(pī)-
55 ḍā-vivarjitaḥ (|) [9]achaṭṭa-bhaṭṭā-prav[ē]sō bhūmi-chhidra-pidhāna-nyā-
56 yēn=āchandr-ārkka-kshiti-sama-kāla[10] yāvata mātā-pitrōr=ā[tma]naḥ pu-
57 ṇya-yasō[11]-vṛiddhayē (|) **Mīnamāsa**-(|)**navam[ē]**[12] **Sōmavārē** [13]Kāsyapa-gōtrāya
58 **Pettakallu**-vinirgata-Chotta-Vādayarājā tasya sūnu[14] Vaidumvādityāta
59 Rūpadēvyāḥ[14a] jātaḥ [15]śrī-Mānāditya-Chottaḥ | asya śūnu[16]

Fifth Plate; First Side.

60 Irugana-śrī-Mānāditya-Chottaya Vīra-Bhūriśravāya cha | para-
61 nārīsūdūrāya[17] (|) saty-ādhishṭhita-chētasē || udaka-pūrvvan=tāmvrasāsa-[18]
62 nī-kṛitya paṭṭaka-p[r]adattō=smābhir=atōsābhidhēyībhūyāstuśra-[19]
63 vaṇakaraiḥ kshētrakaraiś=cha samuchita-bhāga-bhōgādikaṁ samupanē-
64 tavyaṁ yathākāla-bhāvibhiḥ[20] svapati dānam=idaṁ Manunō dharmma-gau-
65 rāvāta[21] || **Gōrasatta**-visayasya[22] śimānō likhyantē || pūrvvataḥ
66 **Vistīrṇṇaśilā** || āgnēyē parvvata-samīpē **Vināyaka-vaṭaḥ** ||
67 dakshiṇē **Ṭaṅku-Bhaṭṭārikā**-[sī]ma-parvvataḥ | nairityē[23] **Andhārāvēṇī-**
68 **parvvataḥ** || paśchi[m]ē [24]**Vaṁsadhārā**-taṭē **Kāñchas[a]lā**[25] || vāyavyē **A-**

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[1] Metre: Ślōka. [2] Read *āsīnē.* [3] Read *=anukūlē* or *=ānukūlyē.*

[4] Read *-māhēśvara-.* [5] The aksharas *ṭṭārakō mahārājā* are in Telugu characters.

[6] It looks as if the engraver has placed two dots under *hā* in *mahā-*, three under *ssa* in *purassarāna*, one before and one after *sā* in *sāmanta* and three under *i* in *-jīvinaḥ.* The *mā* of *mahā* seems to have been cancelled. I take the three dots under *purassarāna* and *rājapādōpajīvinaḥ* to signify that these words should be cancelled. The two dots under *hā* perhaps correspond with the two dots, before and after *sā*, and indicate that *-hā-* should be replaced by *sāmanta.* We would then arrive at the reading *sāmantāmātyapramukhajanapadān=samāhūya.* The Naḍagām and Madras Museum Plates read *samastāmātyapramukhajanapadān= samāhūya*, which may also be the reading intended.

[7] Read *-bāhira-pañcha-triṁśatā.* [8] Read *prasiddhaś=chatuḥ-sīm-.*

[9] Read *achāṭabhaṭapravēśō.* [10] Read *-kālaṁ yāvan=.*

[11] Read *-yaśō-.*

[12] The *ē* of *mē*, the *ē* of *pravēsō* in line 55 and the *ē* of *chakravālē* in line 44 look like *i*; also the *ē* of *Mēṇṭōju* in line 73 f.

[13] Read *Kāśyapa-.* [14] Read *sūnur=Vaidumbādityād=.* [14a] Cancel the *visarga.*

[15] In spite of *śrī-Mānādityachottāya*, (l. 60) which begins a verse in the ślōka metre, we should perhaps read *śrīmān=Āditya-Chottaḥ.*

[16] Read *sūnava.* [17] Read *-sudūrāya.* [18] Read *tāmraśāsa-*

[19] Read *=atō=sya vidhēyī-bhūya samasta-pravaṇikaraiḥ.* [It is not impossible that *-bhūy=ājñā-śravaṇakaraiḥ* was meant; see above, Vol. IX. p. 173, text l. 10 f.—H. K. S.]

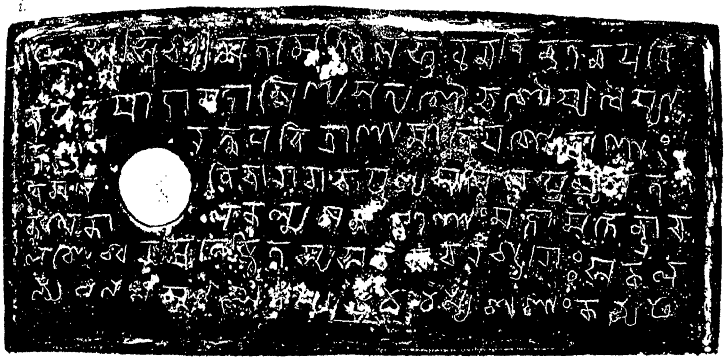
[20] Read *-bhāvibhir=bhūpatibhir=.* [21] Read *-gauravāt=paripālanīyam=iti.*

[22] Read *-vishayasya sīmānō.* [23] Read *nairṛityē.* [24] Read *Vaṁśa°.*

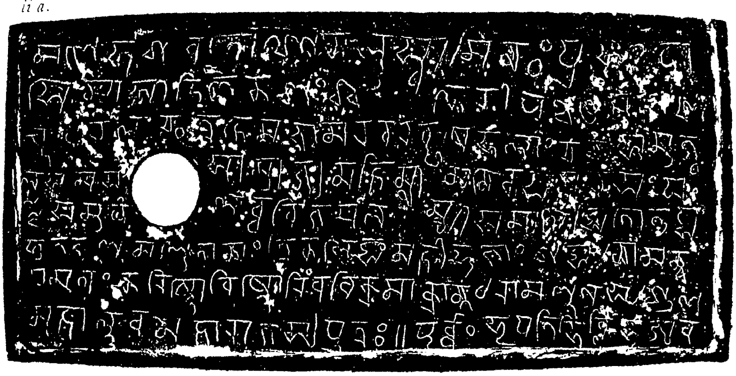
[25] Read *-śilā.*

Narasapatam Plates of Vajrahasta III. - Saka-Samvat 967.

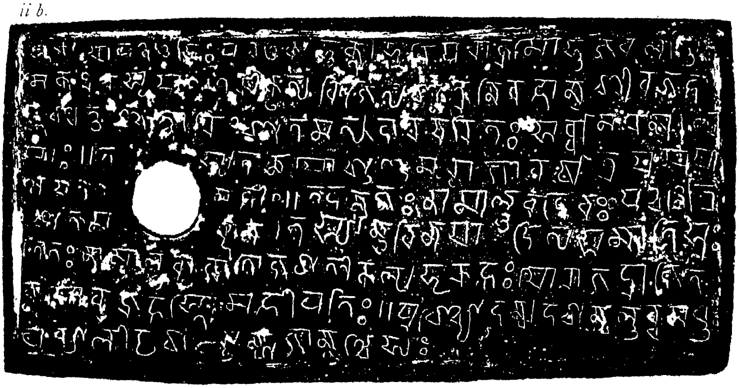
i.



ii a.



ii b.



V. VENKAYYA.

SCALE ·8

W. GRIGGS & SONS LTD., PHOTO-LITHO.

Madhupapāli; to the north-east **Tālañjaraśilā.** I cannot localise any of these names with the exception of the river Vaṁśadhārā, which flows through the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. On it is a village which in the Indian Atlas is called Varanasy, situated in 18° 51″ N. and 83° 56″ E., and which I would identify with the Vārāṇasi-kaṭaka mentioned in the Purī plates of Narasiṁhadēva IV.[1] Another locality mentioned in Gāṅga plates, the Varāhavartanī,[2] I would look for in the course (*vartanī*) of the Varāhanadī, which rises in the Golkonda hills to the north of Narasapatam and flows into the Bay of Bengal at Vātāda.

The date of our grant is **the Śaka year 967, on the ninth day of the (solar) month Mīna, on a Monday.** It is consequently the oldest known grant of Vajrahasta III.

The writers of the grant, the *sandhivigrahin* **Dhavala,** who is described as the grant writer (*śāsanika kāyastha*) of Taṁpavā, and the *kāraki* **Mēṇṭōju,** are not elsewhere known.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[3] svasti [||*] Srīmatām=akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vi-
2 naya-dayā-dāna-dākshiṇya-satya-śaucha-śauryya-dhairyy-ā-
3 di-gu[ṇa]-ratna-pavitrāṇām=Ātrēya-gōtrāṇāṁ
4 vimala-vichār-ā[ch]ā[ra]-puṇya-salila-pra[kshyali]ta-[4]
5 Kali-kāla-kalmasha-mashīṇāṁ mahā-Mahēndr-ācha-
6 la-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya sa[charā]chara-gurōḥ sakala-
7 bhuvana-[nirmmāṇ-aika]-su(sū)tradhārasya śaśāṁka-chu(chū)ḍā-[5]

Second Plate; First Side.

8 maṇēr=bhagavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāminaḥ prasādā-
9 [6]semāsādit-aikaśaṁkha-bhērī-pañcha-mahāśa-
10 vda(bda)-dhavalachchhatra[7]-hēmachāmara-varavṛishabhalāṁchana[8]-samujva-
11 la-samasta[9]-sāmrājya-mahimnām=anēka-samara-saṁgha-
12 ṭṭa-samupalavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakshmī-samāliṅgit-ōtuṅga-[10]
13 bhuja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānāṁ Trikaliṅga-mahībhujāṁ [11]Gaṅgānām=anva-
14 yam=alaṁkarishṇō[r*] Vishṇōr=iva[12] vikram-ākrānta-[dha]rā-maṇḍalasya **Guṇa-**
15 **mahārṇṇava-mahārājasya** putraḥ || [13]P[ū]rvvaṁ bhūpatibhir=vvibhajya va-

Second Plate; Second Side.

16 sudhā yā pañchabhiḥ pañchadhā bhuktā bh[ū]riparākramō bhuja-va(ba)lāt=tā-
17 m=ēka ēva svayaṁ | ōkīkṛitya vijitya śatru-nivahān[14] śrī-**Vaj[ra]ha-**
18 **[sta]ś**=chatuścha[tvā]riṁśatam=atyudāra-charitaḥ sarvvām=arakshit=sa-
19 māḥ || [1*] Tasya tanayō **Guṇḍama-rājā**[15] varsha-trayam=apā-
20 layata mahīṁ || tadanujaḥ **Kāmārṇṇavadēvaḥ**[16] pañchatri-

[1] *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, pp. 136 ff.; 151 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. III, p. 127, note 5; Vol. IV, p. 185, note 5; Vol. IX, p. 95.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read *-prakshālita-*.

[5] This line, with the exception of the syllables *rmmā*, *ṇai*, and *śaśāṁka*, is written in Telugu characters.

[6] Read *prasādāt=sam-*.

[7] Read *-chchhattra-*.

[8] Read *-lāṁchhana-samujjvala-*.

[9] The *ta* of *-samasta-* has been engraved over the *pa* of *-samupalavdha-*, l. 12.

[10] Read *-ōttuṅga-*.

[11] Read *Gāṅgānām=*.

[12] [There is a superfluous *anusvāra* over the akshara *ri* of °*riva*.—Ed.]

[13] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[14] Read *-nivahāñ=*.

[15] Read *-rājō*.

[16] Close to the upper circle of the *visarga* there is another circle whose significance is not clear.

No. 14.—NARASAPATAM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III.; SAKA-SAMVAT 967.

BY PROFESSOR STEN KONOW, PH.D.; CHRISTIANIA.

The grant inscribed on these plates was first brought to light by Mr. Appa Rao, and a short note on it appeared on page 111 of Mr. Krishna Sastri's Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1908-1909. I now edit it from ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, who has kindly sent me the following description of the plates:—

"These are five copper-plates with slightly raised rims, of which the first bears writing only on the inner side. They measure roughly 7¾″ in length and fluctuate between 3¼″ and 3½″ in breadth. The plates are held together by a circular ring, which measures 4¾″ in diameter and is nearly ½″ thick. The edges of the ring are secured in the bottom of an oval seal, which measures roughly 2½″ and 2¼″ in its diameters. The seal is surmounted by a high recumbent bull with various emblems around it, which Mr. Appa Rao says represent a conch, an elephant-goad, a *triśūla*, a battle-axe, a crescent, a mace, a rope, and a drum. The plates with seal and ring weigh 295 *tolas*. The plates were received from the Narasapatam tāluka of the Vizagapatam district".

The inscription consists of 74 lines and is in a fair state of preservation.

The alphabet is the same kind of Nāgarī as in Vajrahasta's Naḍagām plates of Śaka-Saṁvat 979,[1] and in his Madras Museum plates of Śaka 984.[2] The *ñ* in conjuncts such as *ñch* and *ñj* is placed after the consonant. The compound *ñj*, which occurs in l. 69, is not used in any of the other known plates of Vajrahasta. It will be seen that the form of the *j* of this compound is slightly changed. There is almost no difference between *ḍā* (l. 55) and *dā* (l. 51); between *tu* (cf. l. 25) and *tta* (cf. l. 26); between *lu* (cf. l. 23) and *ṇṇ* (cf. l. 22). The *anusvāra* is usually denoted by a circle after the consonant. At the end of line 3 and before the sign of interpunction in l. 52, a *virāma* is added underneath. The sign of the *virāma* is also found in *-nivahān*, l. 17; *samabhunak*, l. 27. It has been omitted in *=avdāna*, l. 21; *-puras-sarāna- . . . janapadāna*, l. 51; *yāvata*, l. 56; *-ādityāta*, l. 58; *-gaurāvāta*, l. 64 f. In *=avdāna*, l. 21, and *-janapadāna*, l. 51, the bottom of the letter *n* has been somewhat lengthened. There are several superfluous signs of interpunction in the grant itself, ll. 53 ff. The numerical figures 967 occur in l. 73.

In ll. 7 and 50 some syllables and words are written in Telugu letters.

With regard to orthography we may note forms like *-prakshyalita-* instead of *-prakshālita-*, l. 4; *nairityē* instead of *nairṛityē*, l. 67, and the use of *v* instead of *b*; compare *-śavda-*, l. 9 f.; *-lavdha-*, l. 12; *-valāt=*, l. 16; *=avdāna*, l. 21; *=avdakān=*, l. 27; *-luvdha-*, l. 23; *Vaidumv-*, ll. 36, 58; *-āvda-*, ll. 39, 73; *-āvjayōḥ*, l. 48; *-vāhira-*, l. 53. The class nasal and not the *anusvāra* is regularly written before surds. Before *k* and *p* we also find the *anusvāra*; thus, *śaśāṁka-*, l. 7; *=alaṁkarishṇō*, l. 14; but *=Aniyaṅka-*, l. 26; *-paṅka-*, l. 46; *Taṁpavā-*, ll. 52 f., 71; but *=ālimpanti*, l. 46. Before *kh*, *gh* and *chh* there are no instances of the class nasal, but the *anusvāra* is used in all cases; thus, *-śaṁkha-*, l. 9; *-saṁghaṭṭa-*, l. 11; *-saṁghē*, l. 39; *lāṁchana*, *i.e.* *lāñchhana*, l. 10. In all other nasal compounds, the class nasal is used.

The consonants *k*, *ṇ*, *t*, *dh*, *m*, *y*, and *v* are doubled in all the instances where they occur after an *r*; thus, *-ārkka-*, l. 56; *-karṇṇa-*, l. 8; *-kīrttēḥ*, l. 36; *sārddha*, l. 53; *dharmma-*, l. 64; *sūryya-*, l. 40; *sarvva-*, ll. 18, 54. A *g* after *r* sometimes remains single and is sometimes doubled; thus, *mārgēṇa*, l. 42; *-vinirgata-*, l. 58; but *nṛipatir=Ggaṅg-*, l. 26; *-varg[ga]*, l. 42. The other consonants which are used after *r* in these plates, *viz.* *j*, *th* and *bh*, are never doubled.

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[1] Above, Vol. IV, p. 183 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. IX, p. 94 ff.

24 म[1] पूत्कारचू[र्णी]क्षतशीकरेण । मुक्तातपत्रायितमम्बरार्द्धे[2] यस्य प्रयाणे पृथुक-
गजानाम् ॥ [२४*] नाहं नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवस-

Second Plate; First Side.

25 तिर्न [त्य]क्तपूर्व्वस्थितिर्यस्याख्यातुमितीव चेदिदिनपतेर्द्दिक्चक्रमाक्रामत[:*][3] ।
प्राप्त(:)श्चान्तवरूथिनीकरिकरास्फाला-
26 वर्त्तिलोलासितकल्लोलावलिर्व्वाहुदण्डमुदधिस्त्वक्रंद[4] सान्द्रस्वनैः ॥ [२५*] यत्कुन्त-
प्रोतशत्रु(:)स्रुतरुधिरसुरापानमत्तप्रनृत्यतवेता-[5]
27 लोत्तालतालारवभरितककु[प्च]क्रपर्या(र्य)न्तसीम्नि । अन्योन्यालक्ष्यवाणा[6] स्रमिति
सुरभसं[7] दत्तहस्तादिसंज्ञाव्यापारेणामराणां वररम-
28 णविधिः कुसमासीन्मुहूर्त्तं[8] ॥ [२६*] आनन्दमन्दसुमनस्सुमनोवकीर्ण(:)संग्राम-
रङ्गभुवि भूमिभृतां पुरस्तात[9] । वीरस्य वीरचरितं नन्दये[10] क्षयं-
29 वैरिश्रीहठग्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य ॥ [२७*] नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना
प्रागुग्रचारिव्रतं[11] सार्द्धं वन्धुतया[12] गृहस्थपदवीं का[र]ागृहस्थापनात् [।*] वा-
30 नप्रस्थपदं वनाश्रयवशात[13] भैक्षाच्च तिक्षोः स्थितिः[14] (।) येनैवं[15] चतुरा-
श्रमैकगुरुता स्पष्टाक्षता[16] शत्रुषु ॥ [२८*] यस्यार्थिव्रजवाञ्छिताधिकफल-
31 प्राप्त्यै निसन्थभूः[17] प्राकप्रत्यग्धरणीधरान्तरस्यपरत[18] स्फुरद्घोषणाः । एते[19] निर्मि-
तमाः [पु]रा परिनिते व्रह्माण्डे अस्मिन कथ[20] सम्मा[स्य]-
32 न्ति यशांसि[21] चेदिदिनपतेराकुलोभूच्चिरं ॥ [२९*] किं तस्य कर्ण[नृ]पते-
र्व्वंत वर्णयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनताम्रपट्टैः[22] । उत्कीर्यमाणनिधि-
33 [illegible]चक्रवालवाचालितैर्व्वधिरभावमियाज[23] विश्वं ॥ [३०*] छ ॥ स एष[24]
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानु-(।)
34 ध्यात(।)परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपर[म]माहेश्वरत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमत्क-
र्ण्णदेव[25] निजभुजोपार्जिताश्वपतिगजप-[26]
35 तिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिः[27] श्रीमत्कर्णदेवः कुशली (॥ छ ॥) जयस्कन्धावार[28]
श्रीमत्कर्णतीर्थाधिवासिते महादे[वो] महाराजपुत्रो महाम-

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[1] Read °[illegible] फूत्कार°.

[2] Read °मम्बरार्द्धे.

[3] Read चेदिदिनपतेर्द्दिक्चक्र°.

[4] Read °[illegible]°.

[5] Read °स्रुत° and °नृत्यद्वेता°.

[6] Read °लक्ष्य°.

[7] Read [illegible].

[8] Read क्षण भासी°.

[9] Read °स्तात.

[10] Read [illegible].

[11] Read प्रागुग्रब्रह्म°.

[12] Read बन्धु°.

[13] Read °[illegible].

[14] Read भिक्षोः स्थितिं.

[15] Read येनैवं.

[16] Read °[illegible] [illegible].

[17] Read निशस्यात्मभूः प्राक्°.

[18] Read °धरान्तर[illegible]

[19] Read [illegible].

[20] Read परिमितं ब्रह्माण्डमस्मिन्कथं.

[21] Read [illegible] चेदिदिनपतेरिवाकुलो°.

[22] ताम्र looks like ताम्बु; read °ताम्र°.

[23] Read °[illegible].

[24] Read एष.

[25] Read °देवो.

[26] Read °[illegible]°.

[27] Read °पत्यः.

[28] Read °वारे.

in the mountainous part of Surāshṭra. The latter event is alluded to in the Nāḍōl copper-plate inscription of **Kīrtipāla** noted above. The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* speaks of Kumārapāla as having sent his general **Udayana** against **Sausara**, king of **Surāshṭra**, with whom he was at war. In this fight Kumārapāla's army was defeated, and Udayana was mortally wounded. In the end, however, **Samara** (Sausara), as the *Kumārapālacharita* says, was defeated and his son placed on the throne. It was probably Ālhaṇa who proved instrumental in securing this victory for Kumārapāla. Ālhaṇa seems to have suffered for his allegiance to the Chaulukya dynasty at the hands of **Vigraharāja**, son of **Arṇōrāja** of the imperial **Chāhamāna family.** For the latter, as the Bijōliā inscription[1] informs us, made **Naddūla** (Nāḍōl) a *naḍvala*, *i.e.* a bed of reeds and **Jābālipura** (Jālōr) *jvālāpura*, *i.e.* a city of flames. Ālhaṇa is there said to have married **Annalladēvī**, daughter of **Sahula** of the **Rāshṭrauḍa**[2] **family.** Ālhaṇa had three sons by her, *viz.* Kēlhaṇa, Gajasiṁha and Kīrtipāla. Ālhaṇa appears to have given a share in the administration of his kingdom to his first two sons. For, in No. XII, the sign-manual of Ālhaṇadēva is followed up by the approval of both his sons, Kēlhaṇadēva and Gajasiṁha. Even the villages round about Nāḍlāī, made over to Kīrtipāla for his maintenance in the Nāḍōl plate, were granted to him not by his father Ālhaṇa alone, but also by Kēlhaṇa, his brother. It is curious that Gajasiṁha is not mentioned in this connection. He must doubtless have been alive at this time; otherwise his name would not have been specified in this inscription in l. 14.[3] Probably Kēlhaṇa's name alone is here mentioned because he was the *yuvarāja* or heir-apparent, as is quite clear from l. 16 of the record.

Of Kēlhaṇa no less than six inscriptions were found by me with dates ranging from V.E. 1221 to 1236. Ālhaṇadēva thus died in some year between V.E. 1218 and 1221. Kēlhaṇa appears to have remained tributary to Kumārapāla, for No. XIV refers itself to the reign of Kumārapāla, and speaks of Kēlhaṇa as ruler of **Nāḍūlya** (Nāḍōl). This record is dated in Saṁvat 1228, which is, in fact, the latest authentic date we have for the Chaulukya sovereign, who, according to Gujarāt chronicles, died a year later. The Sūndhā hill inscription represents Kēlhaṇa to have routed a **Turushka** king and erected a golden *tōraṇa*, "like a diadem for the abode of the holy Sōmēśa." His brother Kīrtipāla also is spoken of in the same inscription as having vanquished a Turushka army at **Kāsahrada.** Both these descriptions must refer to one and the same event, for about this time only one

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1 No. 154 of Professor Kielhorn's Appendix to Vol. V., above.

2 Rāshṭrauḍa, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is the same as Rāshṭrakūṭa. There were two Rāshṭrakūṭa families reigning in Rājputānā. Munshi Devi Prasad, in his Hindi work entitled "Antiquarian Discoveries in Rājputānā" tells us that at Dhaṇōpa, 16 miles north of Shāhpurā, two inscription stones had been found as early as A.D. 1873, which gave an account of a Rāshṭrakūṭa family ruling there. Four names had therein been traced, *viz.* those of Bhallīla, his son Dantivarmā, and his sons Buddharāja and Gōvinda. One of the inscriptions was dated *Saṁvat 1063 Vosāga sudi 5 Saurē* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XL. p. 175). Another inscription was found at Hāthuṇḍī near Bijāpur in the Bālī District which describes a new Rāshṭrakūṭa family. This has been referred to above. A part of this inscription was published by Professor Kielhorn in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXVII, part 1, pp. 309-314, and the complete text has recently been edited by Pandit Ram Karna of Jodhpur (above, Vol. X. pp. 17 ff.). This contains three dates, the last of which is V.E. 1053 (A.D. 997), and pertains to the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍi (Hāthuṇḍi). It is reasonable to suppose that the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, to which Annalladēvī belonged, was the one reigning at Hāthuṇḍī in Gōḍvāḍ, and not the other one reigning so far north as Shāhpurā. We have already seen that it was a king of this Hāthuṇḍī Rāshṭrakūṭa family, *viz.* Dhavala, who helped no less than two princes of the Mārwār Chāhamāna dynasty. The two families were thus reigning close to, and were also allied to, each other. But this matter is placed beyond all doubt by No. XIII, which records a grant of Ānaladēvī, unquestionably the same as Annalladēvī, who is called mother-queen (*mātṛi-rājñī*) of Kēlhaṇa. This inscription also records a benefaction by certain Rāshṭrakūṭa princes. The mention of Rāshṭrakūṭa in the same epigraph with that of Ānaladēvī or Annalladēvī, who was of the Rāshṭrauḍa dynasty shows that Rāshṭrauḍa is the same as Rāshṭrakūṭa and that these Rāshṭrakūṭas were not far from Sāṇḍērāv where No. XIII. was found. It is, therefore, perfectly reasonable to suppose that these Rāshṭrauḍas or Rāshṭrakūṭas, of whom Sahula, father of Ānaladēvī, was one, reigned at Hāthuṇḍī, or Hastikuṇḍī as it is called in inscriptions.

3 Above, Vol. IX. p. 69.

and V.E. 1132 (A.D. 1075) is the earliest hitherto known date for a Mārwār Chāhamāna king derived from a contemporary record.

His son and successor was **Pṛithvīpāla**, who defeated an army of the Gūrjara king **Karṇa**, *i.e.* the **Chaulukya king Karṇa-Trailōkyamalla**, son of Bhīmadēva I, a contemporary of Ahila, Aṇahilla and Bālaprasāda. Like many of his predecessors, he too seems to have erected a temple to Śiva at Nāḍōl and called the deity **Pṛithvīpālēśvara** after himself. He was succeeded by his brother **Yōjaka**, also known as **Jōjala, or Jōjalla.** He is mentioned as having by force occupied Aṇahillapura (Aṇhilvāḍā). Nos. I and II give for him the date V.E. 1147, *i.e.* A.D. 1090, which contain his mandate for the observance of festivals in connection with the gods **Lakshmaṇasvāmin** and others at Nāḍōl. Jōjala seems to have dedicated a temple to Śiva at Nāḍōl, and named the latter **Jōjalēśvara** after himself. After him came to the throne his brother **Āśārāja,** also called **Aśvarāja and Āśvāka.** Three inscriptions of his time (Nos. III-V) have so far been discovered, with dates ranging from A.D. 1110 to 1143. Of these, two were found at Sēvāḍi in the temple of Mahāvīra and the third at Bālī in the temple of Bōlā or Bahuguṇa *mātā*. The last speaks of him as subsisting on the lotus-like feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayasīha. We have already seen that up to the time of Jōjala, brother of Aśvarāja, the Mārwār Chāhamānas were constantly at war with the Chaulukyas. They were consequently till then not subordinate to the Chaulukyas, but owed fealty to some other supreme power. And it was Jayasiṁha, son of Karṇa, who appears for the first time to have subjugated Gōḍvāḍ and made the Mārwār Chāhamānas his tributaries. Of the two Sēvāḍi [illegible] is dated in A.D. 1110 and the later in A.D. 1115. The former [illegible] Aśvarāja and speaks of his son Kaṭukarāja as *yuvarāja* or heir [illegible] a grant made by Kaṭukarāja, but as he is not mentioned as king and as [illegible] (Sēvāḍi) is stated to have been in his *bhukti*, *i.e.* the district assigned to him for maintenance, it seems that even in A.D. 1115 he was not reigning as a ruler, but was merely, as *yuvarāja*, holding the province round about Sēvāḍi. But, from No. VI, it is evident that he did reign as king at Naḍūla. He is there called *mahārājādhirāja* Kaṭudēva, and his son, Jayatasīha, is mentioned as *yuvarāja*. The date of this inscription is Saṁvat 31, which, as stated above, must be taken to be Siṁha Saṁvat. It thus becomes equivalent to V.E. [illegible] A.D. 1143,—exactly the year in which the Bālī inscription of his father [illegible] must, therefore, be supposed [illegible] same year, *viz.* A.D. [illegible] For no less than [illegible] ranging from A.D. 1132 to 1145, which refer themselves to the reign of one [illegible] These overlap the period which other inscriptions give for the reigns of both the father and the son. In point of rank and dignity as determined by his titles, Rāyapāla appears to be in no way inferior to either Aśvarāja or Kaṭukarāja, and in No. VII. he is spoken of as belonging to the Chāhamāna lineage.[1] It is thus inexplicable how he reigned at the same place and synchronously with the father and son. Perhaps the following explanation may be offered for what it is worth. Instances are not wanting of friction taking place between a feudatory chieftain and his overlord, and consequently of the former being ousted by the latter, for some time at least, from the province held by him. Such a thing might perhaps have taken place here. **Aśvarāja** or Kaṭukarāja might have for some time lost the favour of their paramount sovereign **and for**

[1] During the excavations at Maṇḍōr, 6 miles north of Jōdhpur, a few fragments of an inscription stone were found, which show that Pṛithvīpāla, the eldest brother of Aśvarāja, had a son named Ratnapāla. Ratnapāla's son was Rāyapāla, and Rāyapāla's son was Sahajapāla, who apparently was reigning at Maṇḍōr and to whose reign the inscription referred itself. There can hardly be a doubt as to the Rāyapāla of Nos. VII—XI. being this Rāyapāla, grandson of Pṛithvīpāla.

35 पट्टराज्ञी [1]ऊमटवंशभूषणराजश्रीसुहड-
36 सलसुता बाईकामलदेविनाम्नी भगवती
37 वायेश्वरस्य प्रासादस्य जीर्णोद्धारं करी-
38 ति स्म । अयं प्रासादः कामलदेवीसंतानेन स-
39 ह आचंद्रार्कं मंदतु ॥ तस्य देवस्य नित्यं पु[जा]-
40 नैवेद्यार्थं कृतो ग्रासः(।) एकक्षेत्रं ॥०॥
41 मंडपिकायां वस्तु(?)मणं प्रति पाइला२ षडा स-
42 वैं: पालनीयं । से० परमारवद्रडामतं । सं०
43 चरडामतं । से० प्रतीहारसामलम[तं] । श्रीसत्य-
44 पुरज्ञातीय व्या श्रीरामोऽत्राचार्यः । [व्य]ा
45 नारायणदेवः प्रशस्तिकर्त्ता[2] । व्या० कान्हा-
46 को लेखकः । सूत्रधारमाधवस्य कृतिः [।*]
47 क्षेमं कल्याणं भवंतु । शुभं भवतु ॥श्रीः॥

HISTORY OF THE MĀRWĀR CHĀHAMĀNAS.

All records—epigraphic and bardic—agree in looking upon **Lakshmaṇa** as the founder of the **Mārwār** branch of the Chāhamānas. The Nāḍōl plates of Kīrtipāla[3] inform us that in the town of Śākambharī, *i.e.* Sāmbhar in the Jōdhpur State, there was formerly, in the Chāhamāna lineage, king **Vākpatirāja**, and his son was Lakshmaṇa, who was king at **Naddūla** (Nāḍōl). This Vākpatirāja was, in all likelihood, the Châhamâna king of that name mentioned as the grandfather of **Vigraharāja**, for whom we have an inscription dated V.E. 1030 in a temple on the Harsha hill in the Śekhāvāṭi province of the Jaipur State.[4] No record of Lakshmaṇa has as yet come to light. But on the Sūraj-pōḷ at Nāḍōl is an inscription of the time of **Kēlhaṇa,** dated V.E. 1223, which incidentally mentions the name Lākhaṇa and the date V.E. 1039 for him.[5] The latter thus appears to have made some conquests for himself in Gōḍvāḍ and established himself at Nāḍōl where his memory is still preserved. The Sūraj-pōḷ just alluded to is said to have been erected by him. The fort of Nāḍōl also bears his name, and he is supposed to have constructed it. In his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan,*[6] Colonel Tod says: "I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society two inscriptions from Nadole, one dated S. 1024, the other 1039. They are of Prince Lakha, and state as instances of his power, that he collected the transit duties at the further barrier of Putun, and levied tribute from the prince of Cheetore." But it is by no means clear how far Tod's statement as to the contents of these inscriptions is to be trusted.

Lakshmaṇa's son was **Śōbhita,** also called **Sōbhita** and **Sōhiya.** He is represented in the Sūndhā hill inscription to have taken away the glory of the lord of Himādribhava, *i.e.* Ābū.[7] From him sprang **Balirāja,** who is represented in the same inscription to have defeated an army of **Muñjarāja.** The latter must be the same as the **Paramāra Vākpatirāja II. Amōgha-**

[1] From here the rules of *saṁdhi* have been neglected.

[2] Read °कर्ता.

[3] Above, Vol. IX. p. 63.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 119 ff.

[5] *Director General's Annual* for 1907-8, Part II. p. 228.

[6] Vol. I. p. 232, note (*S. K. Lahiri & Co.'s edition, 1894*).

[7] Above, Vol. IX. p. 71.

PLATES.

TABLE XIII.

For the months and days.

1 CHAITRA OF PRECEDING YEAR.

day	w	a	b	c
0	2	88251	8024	9096
1	3	91638	8387	9124
2	4	95024	8750	9151
3	5	98410	9112	9179
4	6	1797	9475	9206
5	0	5183	9838	9233
6	1	8569	201	9261
7	2	11956	564	9288
8	3	15342	927	9316
9	4	18728	1291	9343
10	5	22115	1653	9370
11	6	25501	2016	9398
12	0	28887	2379	9425
13	1	32274	2742	9452
14	2	35660	3105	9480
15	3	39046	3467	9507
16	4	42433	3830	9535
17	5	45819	4193	9562
18	6	49205	4556	9589
19	0	52591	4919	9617
20	1	55978	5282	9644
21	2	59364	5645	9671
22	3	62750	6008	9699
23	4	66137	6371	9726
24	5	69523	6734	9753
25	6	72909	7097	9781
26	0	76296	7460	9808
27	1	79682	7822	9836
28	2	83068	8185	9863
29	3	86455	8548	9890

2 VAIŚĀKHA

day	w	a	b	c
0	4	89841	8911	9918
1	5	93227	9274	9945
2	6	96614	9637	9973
3	0	0	0	0
4	1	3386	363	27
5	2	6773	726	55
6	3	10159	1089	82
7	4	13545	1452	110
8	5	16932	1815	137
9	6	20318	2177	164
10	0	23704	2540	192
11	1	27090	2903	219
12	2	30477	3266	246
13	3	33863	3629	274
14	4	37249	3992	301
15	5	40636	4355	329
16	6	44022	4718	356
17	0	47408	5081	383
18	1	50795	5444	411
19	2	54181	5807	438
20	3	57567	6170	465
21	4	60954	6533	493
22	5	64340	6895	520
23	6	67726	7258	548
24	0	71113	7621	575
25	1	74499	7984	602
26	2	77885	8347	630
27	3	81272	8710	657
28	4	84658	9073	684
29	5	88044	9436	712
30	6	91431	9799	739

3 JYAISTHA

day	w	a	b	c
0	0	94817	162	767
1	1	98203	525	794
2	2	1590	887	821
3	3	4976	1250	849
4	4	8362	1613	876
5	5	11749	1976	903
6	6	15135	2339	931
7	0	18521	2702	958
8	1	21907	3065	986
9	2	25294	3428	1013
10	3	28680	3791	1040
11	4	32066	4154	1068
12	5	35453	4517	1095
13	6	38839	4879	1122
14	0	42225	5242	1150
15	1	45612	5605	1177
16	2	48998	5968	1205
17	3	52384	6331	1232
18	4	55771	6694	1259
19	5	59157	[illegible]	[illegible]
20	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
21	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
22	1	69316	8146	[illegible]
23	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
24	3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
25	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
26	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
27	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
28	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
29	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
30	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

4 ĀSHĀḌHA

day	w	a	b	c
0	3	99793	1412	1615
1	4	3179	1775	1643
2	5	6566	2138	1670
3	6	9952	2501	1697
4	0	13338	2864	1725
5	1	16724	3227	1752
6	2	20111	3589	1780
7	3	23497	3952	1807
8	4	26883	4315	1834
9	5	30270	4678	1862
10	6	33656	5041	1889
11	0	37042	5404	1916
12	1	40429	5767	1944
13	2	43815	6130	1971
14	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
15	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
16	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
17	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
18	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
19	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
20	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
21	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
22	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
23	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
24	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
25	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
26	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
27	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
28	3	[illegible]	1274	[illegible]
29	4	[illegible]	1637	[illegible]
30	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	2487
31	6	4760	[illegible]	[illegible]

5 ŚRĀVAṆA

day	w	a	b	c
0	0	8155	3025	2491
1	1	11541	3388	2519
2	2	14928	3751	2546
3	3	18314	4114	2574
4	4	21700	4477	2601
5	5	25087	4840	2628
6	6	28473	5203	2656
7	0	31859	5566	2683
8	1	35246	5929	2710
9	2	38632	6292	2738
10	3	42018	6654	2765
11	4	45405	7017	2793
12	5	48791	7380	2820
13	6	52177	7743	2847
14	0	55563	[illegible]	2875
15	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
16	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
17	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
18	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
19	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
20	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
21	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
22	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
23	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
24	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
25	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
26	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
27	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
28	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
29	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
30	2	9745	[illegible]	[illegible]

6 BHĀDRAPADA

day	w	a	b	c
0	3	13131	4276	3340
1	4	16517	4639	3367
2	5	19904	5002	3395
3	6	23290	5364	[illegible]
4	0	26676	5727	[illegible]
5	1	30063	6090	[illegible]
6	2	33449	6453	[illegible]
7	3	36835	6816	[illegible]
8	4	40221	7179	[illegible]
9	5	43608	7542	[illegible]
10	6	46994	7905	[illegible]
11	0	50380	[illegible]	[illegible]
12	1	53767	[illegible]	[illegible]
13	2	57153	[illegible]	[illegible]
14	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
15	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
16	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
17	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
18	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
19	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
20	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
21	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
22	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
23	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
24	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
25	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
26	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
27	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
28	3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
29	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
30	5	14720	5163	[illegible]

Table XIII.

For the months and days.

7 Āśvina.					8 Kārttika.					9 Mārgaśira.				
day	w	a	b	c	day	w	a	b	c	day	w	a	b	c
0	6	18168	5526	4189	0	2	23083	6776	5038	0	4	24672	7664	5859
1	0	21493	5889	4216	1	3	26469	7139	5065	1	5	28059	8027	5886
2	1	24879	6252	4244	2	4	29855	7502	5092	2	6	31445	8390	5914
3	2	28266	6615	4271	3	5	33242	7865	5120	3	0	34831	8753	5941
4	3	31652	6978	4298	4	6	36628	8228	5147	4	1	38218	9116	5968
5	4	35038	7341	4326	5	0	40014	8591	5174	5	2	41604	9479	5996
6	5	38425	7704	4353	6	1	43401	8954	5202	6	3	44990	9842	6023
7	6	41811	8066	4380	7	2	46787	9317	5229	7	4	48377	204	6051
8	0	45197	8429	4408	8	3	50173	9680	5257	8	5	51763	567	6078
9	1	48584	8792	4435	9	4	53560	43	5284	9	6	55149	930	6105
10	2	51970	9155	4463	10	5	56946	406	5311	10	0	58535	1293	6133
11	3	55356	9518	4490	11	6	60332	769	5339	11	1	61922	1656	6160
12	4	58743	9881	4517	12	0	63719	1131	5366	12	2	65308	2019	6187
13	5	62129	244	4545	13	1	67105	1494	5393	13	3	68694	2382	6215
14	6	65515	607	4572	14	2	70491	1857	5421	14	4	72081	2745	6242
15	0	68902	970	4599	15	3	73878	2220	5448	15	5	75467	3108	6270
16	1	72288	1333	4627	16	4	77264	2583	5476	16	6	78853	3471	6297
17	2	75674	1696	4654	17	5	80650	2946	5503	17	0	82240	3834	6324
18	3	79061	2059	4682	18	6	84036	3309	5530	18	1	85626	4196	6352
19	4	82447	2421	4709	19	0	87423	3672	5558	19	2	89013	4559	6379
20	5	85833	2784	4736	20	1	90809	4035	5575	20	3	92399	4922	6406
21	6	89220	3147	4764	21	2	94195	4398	5612	21	4	95785	5285	6434
22	0	92606	3510	4791	22	3	97582	4761	5640	22	5	99171	5648	6461
23	1	95992	3873	4818	23	4	968	5124	5667	23	6	2558	6011	6489
24	2	99378	4236	4846	24	5	4354	5486	5695	24	0	5944	6374	6516
25	3	2765	4599	4873	25	6	7741	5849	5722	25	1	9330	6737	6543
26	4	6151	4962	4901	26	0	11127	6212	5749	26	2	12717	7100	6571
27	5	9537	5325	4928	27	1	14513	6575	5777	27	3	16103	7463	6598
28	6	12924	5688	4955	28	2	17900	6938	5804	28	4	19489	7826	6625
29	0	16310	6051	4983	29	3	21286	7301	5831					
30	1	19696	6414	5010										

10 Pausha.					11 Māgha.					12 Phālguna.				
day	w	a	b	c	day	w	a	b	c	day	w	a	b	c
0	5	22876	8188	6653	0	6	21079	8713	7447	0	1	22668	9601	8268
1	6	26262	8551	6680	1	0	24465	9076	7474	1	2	26055	9963	8295
2	0	29648	8914	6708	2	1	27851	9439	7502	2	3	29441	326	8323
3	1	33035	9277	6735	3	2	31238	9802	7529	3	4	32827	689	8350
4	2	36421	9640	6762	4	3	34624	165	7556	4	5	36214	1052	8376
5	3	39807	3	6790	5	4	38010	528	7584	5	6	39600	1415	8405
6	4	43193	366	6817	6	5	41397	891	7611	6	0	42986	1778	8432
7	5	46580	729	6844	7	6	44783	1253	7638	7	1	46373	2141	8460
8	6	49966	1092	6872	8	0	48169	1616	7666	8	2	49759	2504	8487
9	0	53352	1455	6899	9	1	51556	1979	7693	9	3	53145	2867	8515
10	1	56739	1818	6927	10	2	54942	2343	7720	10	4	56532	3230	8542
11	2	60125	2181	6954	11	3	58328	2705	7748	11	5	59918	3593	8569
12	3	63511	2543	6981	12	4	61715	3068	7775	12	6	63304	3956	8597
13	4	66898	2906	7009	13	5	65101	3431	7803	13	0	66691	4318	8624
14	5	70284	3269	7036	14	6	68487	3794	7830	14	1	70077	4681	8651
15	6	73670	3632	7063	15	0	71874	4157	7857	15	2	73463	5044	8679
16	0	77057	3995	7091	16	1	75260	4520	7884	16	3	76849	5407	8706
17	1	80443	4358	7118	17	2	78646	4883	7912	17	4	80236	5770	8734
18	2	83829	4721	7146	18	3	82033	5246	7940	18	5	83622	6133	8761
19	3	87216	5084	7173	19	4	85419	5608	7967	19	6	87008	6496	8788
20	4	90602	5447	7200	20	5	88805	5971	7994	20	0	90395	6859	8816
21	5	93988	5810	7228	21	6	92192	6334	8021	21	1	93781	7222	8843
22	6	97375	6173	7255	22	0	95578	6697	8049	22	2	97167	7585	8870
23	0	761	6536	7283	23	1	98964	7060	8076	23	3	554	7948	8898
24	1	4147	6898	7310	24	2	2350	7423	8104	24	4	3940	8311	8925
25	2	7534	7261	7337	25	3	5737	7786	8131	25	5	7326	8673	8953
26	3	10920	7624	7365	26	4	9123	8149	8159	26	6	10713	9036	8980
27	4	14306	7987	7392	27	5	12509	8512	8186	27	0	14099	9399	9007
28	5	17692	8350	7419	28	6	15896	8875	8213	28	1	17485	9762	9035
					29	0	19282	9238	8241	29	2	20874	125	9062

TABLE XIII.
(Continued from p. 177.)

13
CHAITRA.

day	w	a	b	c
0	3	24260	488	9089
1	4	27646	851	9117
2	5	31033	1214	9144
3	6	34419	1577	9172
4	0	37805	1940	9199
5	1	41192	2303	9226
6	2	44578	2665	9254
7	3	47964	3528	9281
8	4	51349	3391	9308
9	5	54735	3754	9336
10	6	58121	4117	9363
11	0	61507	4480	9391
12	1	64894	4843	9418
13	2	68280	5206	9445
14	3	71666	5569	9473
15	4	75053	5932	9500
16	5	78439	6295	9527
17	6	81825	6658	9555
18	0	85212	7020	9582
19	1	88598	7384	9610
20	2	91984	7746	9637
21	3	95371	8109	9664
22	4	98757	8472	9692
23	5	2143	8835	9719
24	6	5530	9198	9747
25	0	8916	9561	9774
26	1	12302	9923	9801
27	2	15689	287	9829
28	3	19075	650	9856
29	4	22461	1013	9883
VAIŚĀKHA OF FOLLOWING YEAR.				
0	5	25848	1375	9911
1	6	29234	1738	9938
2	0	32620	2101	9965
3	1	36007	2464	9993
4	2	39393	2827	20

TABLE XIV.—*For Ghaṭikās.*

gh	a	b	c	gh	a	b	c
1	56	6	0	31	1750	187	14
2	113	12	0	32	1806	194	15
3	169	18	1	33	1862	200	15
4	226	24	2	34	1919	206	16
5	282	30	2	35	1975	212	16
6	339	36	3	36	2032	218	16
7	395	42	3	37	2088	224	17
8	451	48	4	38	2145	230	17
9	508	54	4	39	2201	236	18
10	564	60	5	40	2257	242	18
11	621	66	5	41	2314	248	19
12	677	73	5	42	2370	[illegible]	[illegible]
13	734	79	6	43	2427	[illegible]	[illegible]
14	790	85	6	44	2483	[illegible]	[illegible]
15	847	91	7	45	2540	272	21
16	903	97	7	46	[illegible]	278	21
17	959	103	[illegible]	47	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
18	1016	109	[illegible]	48	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
19	1072	115	[illegible]	49	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	121	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
21	[illegible]	127	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
23	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE XV.—*For Palas.*

pala	a	b	pala	a	b
1	1	0	31	29	3
2	2	0	32	30	3
3	3	0	33	31	3
4	4	0	34	32	3
5	5	0	35	33	3
6	6	1	36	34	4
7	7	1	37	35	4
8	7	1	38	36	4
9	8	1	39	37	4
10	9	1	40	38	4
11	10	1	41	39	4
12	11	1	42	[illegible]	4
13	12	1	43	40	4
14	13	1	44	41	4
15	14	1	45	42	[illegible]
16	15	2	46	43	5
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	44	5
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	48	[illegible]	5
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE XVI.—*For converting Decimals of the circle into Degrees, Minutes and Seconds.*

1st Decim.	°	2nd Decim.	°	′	3rd Decimal.	°	′	″	4th Decimal.	′	″	5th Decimal.	′	″
0·1	36	0·01	3	36	0·001	0	21	36	0·0001	2	10	0·00001	0	13
0·2	72	0·02	7	12	0·002	0	43	12	0·0002	4	19	0·00002	0	26
0·3	108	0·03	10	48	0·003	1	4	48	0·0003	6	29	0·00003	0	39
0·4	144	0·04	14	24	0·004	1	26	24	0·0004	8	38	0·00004	0	52
0·5	180	0·05	18	...	0·005	1	48	...	0·0005	10	48	0·00005	1	5
0·6	216	0·06	21	36	0·006	2	9	36	0·0006	12	58	0·00006	1	18
0·7	252	0·07	25	12	0·007	2	31	12	0·0007	15	7	0·00007	1	31
0·8	288	0·08	28	48	0·008	2	52	48	0·0008	17	17	0·00008	1	44
0·9	324	0·09	32	24	0·009	3	14	24	0·0009	19	26	0·00009	1	57

TABLE XVII.—*For converting Degrees, Minutes and Seconds into Decimals of the circle.*

Degrees.		Minutes.		Seconds.	
1	0·00277·8	1	0·00004·6	1	0·00000·1
2	0·00555·6	2	0·00009·3	2	0·00000·2
3	0·00833·3	3	0·00013·9	3	0·00000·2
4	0·01111·1	4	0·00018·5	4	0·00000·3
5	0·01388·9	5	0·00023·1	5	0·00000·4
6	0·01666·7	6	0·00027·8	6	0·00000·4
7	0·01944·4	7	0·00032·4	7	0·00000·5
8	0·02222·2	8	0·00037·0	8	0·00000 6
9	0·02500·0	9	0·00041·7	9	0·00000·7
10	0·02777·8	10	0·00046·3	10	0·00000·8
20	0·05555·6	20	0·00092·6	20	0·00001·5
30	0·08333·3	30	0·00138·9	30	0 00002·3
40	0·11111·1	40	0·00185·2	40	0·00003·1
50	0·13888·9	50	0·00231·5	50	0·00003·8
60	0·16666·7				
70	0·19444·4				
80	0·22222·2				
90	0·25000·0				
100	0·27777·8				
200	0·55555 6				
300	0·83333·3				

TABLE XVIII.—*Tithi Table.*

(Argument A = *a* corrected by eq. *b* and eq. *c*.)

Tithi.	Bright fort-night.	Dark fort-night.
	A	A
0	0	50000
1	3333	53333
2	6667	56667
3	10000	60000
4	13333	63333
5	16667	66667
6	20000	70000
7	23333	73333
8	26667	76667
9	30000	80000
10	33333	83333
11	36667	86667
12	40000	90000
13	43333	93333
14	46667	96667
15	50000	00000

No. 17.—NAVALAKHI PLATES OF SILADITYA I.—[GUPTA-] SAMVAT 286.

BY PROFESSOR H. M. BHADKAMKAR.

I edit the following plates from two impressions kindly sent to me by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Archæological Superintendent, Western Circle. The two impressions together leave no doubt as to the correct reading of the original, with the exception of two names at the beginning of the second plate. In the case of these two names, the original itself seems to be damaged.

The plates were first found in 1904-5 at Navalākhī, near Shahāpūr, a village about 8 or 10 miles from Junāgaḍh, and are now preserved in the Bahadur Museum, Junāgaḍh. They are two in number, each inscribed on one side only. The edges are fashioned into rims on the four margins. The plates appear to have been held together by thick rings passing through two holes at the bottom of the first plate and at the top of the second. The holes are nearly ¼" in diameter, and seem to have been bored before the grant itself was inscribed. The usual seal must have been attached to one of these copper rings, but as it is not forthcoming, I presume it has been lost. The plates measure about 10·8" by 9". The first bears 21 lines and the second 16. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$".

The subjoined inscription is comparatively free from mistakes and differs in this respect from other records of the same dynasty, *e.g.* the Rājkōṭ Museum plates of the same reign dated in Gupta-Saṁvat 290, published by Dr. Bühler[1] (referred to in the sequel for the sake of brevity as '*the grant of 290*'). The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. As regards palæography, it is enough to note that the aksharas *ph* and *ḍh* are hardly distinguished (*e.g. kāryya-phalaḥ*, l. 7, and *pīṭhōḍūḍha*, l. 14). The language is Sanskṛit prose with the exception of three imprecatory verses at the end. The rules of *sandhi* are followed in many places but neglected in others. As regards orthography, the following points may be noted:—

The letter *gh* is used instead of *h* in *saṁghatis* (l. 5), and *saṁghatārāti*° (l. 11). The guttural *ṅ* is used instead of the *anusvāra* in *chatvāriṅśatē* (l. 25) according to the practice of the Yajurvēdi Brāhmaṇas in their Vedic recitations; and the dental *n* takes its place in °*bhāsuratarансa* (for °*tarāṁsa*) as is the practice with the Gujarātis of the present day. The final *m* of a word is changed only once into the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs in *sāmānyañ=cha* (l. 30), while in other cases it is generally changed into an *anusvāra*. The letters *tri* in °*tṛidaśaguru*° (l. 6), and *tṛi* in *trinavad*° (l. 7) are both wrong and should be corrected by a reciprocal interchange. Consonants conjunct with the *rēpha* are generally doubled (according to *Pāṇini* VIII, 4. 46) except in the case of sibilants, *e.g. darśayitā* (l. 11), and *varsha* (l. 33). When the letter *dh* is conjunct with *ya*, the unaspirated *d* is also prefixed, *e.g.* °*pādānuddhyāta* (ll. 12-13), in °*saṁbaddhyamānakān* (l. 18), and in °*suddhyāya*° (ll. 19-20). The double *ṇṇa* is written as *ṇna* in °*chandrārkārṇnava*° (l. 28). The sign of *jihvāmūlīya*, which, in form, is just the letter *m*, is written conjunct with *kh* in l. 16, and *k* in l. 17, and to the group so formed the vowel signs of *i* in the first case, and of *u* in the second are added in the way usual with other conjunct letters. These are the only two occasions for this sign in the whole of this inscription, but while there are about half a dozen cases where the *upadhmānīya* symbol may be expected, it is written only twice in conjunction with *p* in *mātāpitrōḥpunyāpyāyanāya*, l. 19, and *sādhuḥpunarādadīta*, l. 33. This sign is like the letter *chh*. Final *t* is denoted by the usual sign for the syllable *ta* with a slight stroke at the top slanting to the right.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX. p. 237, *et seq.*

This inscription is one of the *Paramamāhēśvara* **śrī-Śīlāditya I.** *alias* **Dharmāditya,** the son of **śrī-Dharasēna,** and grandson of **śrī-Guhasēna** who belonged to the royal family founded by **Bhaṭārkka.** It is dated in the year **286 (A.D. 605)** on the **8th day of the dark half of Āshāḍha.** The date furnishes the numerical symbols for 200, 80, 6, and 8. The preamble of this grant, including the description of each one of the kings, is, as is quite natural, exactly the same as that of the grant of 290, referred to above.[1] A comparison of the copper-plate records of the family shows that Śīlāditya I. was the first king who omitted the names of the kings intervening between Bhaṭārkka, the founder, and Guhasēna, the grandfather of the present donor,—a practice which was subsequently adopted in all the later grants of this family.

The subjoined inscription records the gift of a village called **Bhōṇḍānaka,** situated within the provincial limits of **Vaṭanagara.** I am not certain whether this Vaṭanagara is the same as Vadnagar in the Baroda State, or is the Vaṭapadra which Dr. Bühler took to be the modern Vaḍōdrā or Baroda.[2] In any case, the village cannot be identified. The gift was made to forty-four Brāhmaṇas who had emigrated from **Saṁgapurī,** which is believed to be the same as the present **Shahāpūr** near Junāgaḍh. The cause of the immigration is not recorded. Probably they were induced to settle in this place by the present gift.

The names of the Brāhmaṇas are curious. Some look like surnames or family names, while others are clearly the names of particular individuals. The name Boppasvāmi may show that he was very likely a Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇa.[3] Some are Prākṛit forms of Sanskṛit names, *e.g. Khanda=Skanda, Sīha=Siṁha, Naṭṭaka=Nartaka, Gōvaśarmmā=Gōpaśarmmā,* as also *Bhaṭṭi* which seems to be derived from *Bhartṛi.* The last name is familiar as the one borne also by the author of the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya.* It is probable that the names Bappaṭaka, Nāvuvaka, Khokkhaka, Giṁjaka, and Goggaka are also similar in origin, though I am unable to suggest the precise derivation.[4] Other names are pure Sanskṛit. *Vatsa* is a gōtra or family name of several Brāhmaṇas even at present. The names Drōṇa, Bhaṭṭi, Āditya, Bhadra, Bappaṭaka and Gōpa appear to belong to more persons than one among the donees of the present grant, and hence the individual of the same name subsequently mentioned is distinguished from the first named person, by prefixing *dvi, tri* as may be required. The prefixes mean, I believe, the second and the third.[5]

The following officials are mentioned in the grant :—

(*a*) *Āyuktaka.*—This word appears to be very old being found in Pāṇini II. 3, 40, where it signifies a person appointed to some small work of a special character, and from the nature of the example given in the *Kaumudi* to illustrate the rule, it seems probable that these may be Brāhmaṇas employed for religious or charitable purposes, such as the *pūjāris* or the worshippers at temples, *etc.*, or the *āśritas, i.e.* the learned men patronised by the king for holy merit.

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1 [The text follows more closely the Walā plates of Śīlāditya I. dated in Gupta-Saṁvat 286.—Ed.]

2 The fact that the grant of 290 records the names of several villages ending in *ānaka,* gives greater probability to the second alternative. The fame, however, of Vaḍnagar as an early residence of Brāhmaṇas is yet preserved in the name of the local caste of Brāhmaṇas, and hence one feels inclined to the first supposition. I cannot decide the matter for want of more accurate information.

3 Compare the name of Bōpadēva, the grammarian.

4 It is not unlikely that they are derived from the names of the villages to which their families originally belonged. The name *Guhilābhaṭṭi* (l. 20) may be traced to Gohilwad-prānta of Kāṭhiāwāḍ.

5 This leads to the inference that these may be family names. It is worthy of remark that among these names we recognise two of the modern ones of the Kōkaṇastha families, *viz.* Bāpaṭ and Bhānu. These are now met with only amongst the so-called Dakshiṇī Brāhmaṇas and I believe are not to be found amongst the original residents of Gujarāt or Kāṭhiāwāḍ at present. [In later inscriptions, *e.g.*, the Māndhātā plates (above, Vol. IX, p. 106), the abbreviations *dvi* and *tri* stand for *dvivēda* and *trivēda.*—H. K. S.]

(b) *Viniyuktaka.*—This may be the officer in charge of the village as *pāṭīl* (the headman), *kuḷakarṇī* (the clerk of the village) or some such village officer.

(c) *Drāṅgika.*—The word *draṅga* means 'a town,' and *drāṅgika* may denote a town officer or merely an inhabitant of it.

(d) *Mahattara.*—This is often used to signify men of special respectability in a place, such as the heads of particular communities. It is also possible that this may form one word with the previous one and the two together may then mean 'the respectable inhabitants of the town.'

(e) *Chāṭa.*—Monier Williams' Dictionary raises the query whether this should properly be *chāra* (a spy). As, however, the word occurs in this form in almost all the grants of this family, this explanation is not tenable. Dr. Bühler renders it by 'fortune-teller' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 106, note) though he is not certain of it. Yājñavalkya speaks[1] of *chāṭas* along with thieves, etc., as men who are likely to be injurious to the public. In *Mrichchhakaṭika*, Act V, the friend of the hero remarks in Prākṛit that "even dogs won't go to a place where the chāṭas, courtesans, *etc.* reside" (Bombay Sanskrit series, Vol. I, p. 223, line 63). The similarity in sound with *chāṭu*, 'flattery' which this word presents is so close as to lead one to translate the word by 'flatterer'; and the word may in that case denote the attendants of the king who are very likely to misuse their position by being harmful to others. Or they may be the servants whose duty is to sing the praises of the king and his forefathers. [For other explanations of the term *chāṭa*, see above, Vol. IX, p. 284, note 10, and p. 296.—Ed.]

(f) *Bhaṭa* means 'a soldier.' Perhaps the word is connected with *Bhāṭa*—the herald attendant on a king, whose duty is to sing his praises.

(g) *Kumārāmātyas* is rendered by Dr. Bühler as 'the princes and ministers' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 175). As, however, the word *rājasthānīya* occurs before the expression under consideration, I believe it should be rendered as one word by 'the princes, the noble lords of *Rājasthāna*.' Dr. Bühler, however, translates the epithet as 'representing royalty.' The princes of the royal blood are even now given the epithet of *kumāra*, and I believe in old times they formed a council of the nobles, and were consulted by the ruling chiefs on points of imperial importance. [For a different explanation of the word *kumārāmātya*, see above, Vol. X, p. 50, note 2.—Ed.]

The requirements of a formal *śāsana* include also an accurate description of the granted land, which should be declared as given free of all dues for ever. The subjoined attributes of the word *grāma*, should accordingly be interpreted as supplying these requirements :—

sōdraṅgaḥ.—The word *udraṅga* is given in the Petersburg Dictionary as a synonym of *draṅga* (a town) and hence this adjective of *grāma* may be rendered by 'together with the hamlets.'

sōparikaraḥ.—Possibly means 'together with its appurtenances' as timber, trees, *etc.* standing on the land. Drs. Bühler and Fleet, however, suggest that all these attributes signify different sorts of land and other revenue. In that case, this adjective may mean 'together with municipal taxes levied on tradesmen, etc. for the management of the town' in accordance with Manu VII, 137.[2] It appears to

[1] चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः ।
पीड्यमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत्कायस्थैश्च विशेषतः ॥ Yāj. Sm. I. 334-5.

[2] यत्किंचिदपि वर्षस्य दापयेत्करसंज्ञितम् ।
व्यवहारेण जीवन्तं राजा राष्ट्रे पृथग्जनम् ॥

me, however, that all such dues accruing from the village are mentioned by the adjective *sadhānyahiraṇyādēyaḥ*. Hence it seems preferable to take the first three adjectives as referring to the description of the gift.

savātabhūtapratyāyaḥ.—Several grants read °*pratyayaḥ* instead of *pratyāyaḥ*. The meaning of both seems to be nearly the same. The compound word may be translated by 'as determined by wind and other marks of the limits of a place.' I am told that this word is actually used in the *Narmadāmāhātmya* to signify the extent of the region on either bank as belonging to the Narmadā, where the distinctive breeze from the river is recognised. The boundary marks are, broadly speaking, described by Nārada,[1] quoted in many other *smṛitis*, as fivefold: *viz.* (1) huge trees or mountains; (2) rivers or tanks, (3) underground signs, (4) artificial marks made by men, and (5) by the order of the king. It is, I believe, to all these that this adjective refers. See, however, Dr. Bühler's note on the word (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 106). He understands the word as referring to certain dues from the village. Dr. Fleet also, in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 170, note 9, appears to agree with Dr. Bühler.

sadhānyahiraṇyādēyaḥ is clearly 'together with the revenues in grain and gold.'

sadaśāparādhaḥ—'with the right to the fines for the ten offences,' see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 189, note 4.

sōtpadyamānavishṭiḥ.—*vishṭi* yields *vēṭha* in Marāṭhī. The adjective means 'with the right to forced labour as occasion for it occurs' as prescribed by Manu VII, 138.[2]

ahastaprakshēpaṇīyaḥ.—This word is equivalent to the Marāṭhī idiom *hāta ghālaṇē* (lit. to put one's hand in a matter). The phrase, therefore, should be rendered 'not to be meddled with' by any of the royal officers.

bhūmichchhidranyāyēna.—'according to the principle of a hole in the earth.' This popular maxim is variously explained by Dr. Bhandarkar (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 46) and by Dr. Bühler (*ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 106, note). In the uncertainty thus caused I may propose a third explanation. The word usually occurs after *pūrvapratta-dēvabrahmadēyavarjitaḥ*, though sometimes without it, and is to be connected grammatically with *nisṛishṭaḥ* that follows. It appears from this that both these words signify the reservations from the gift. The previous attribute having reserved the gifts to temples or Brāhmaṇas previously made, this word seems to reserve the right of the grantor to the mineral resources and treasure-trove, *etc.* The right of the king to these[3] is always urged against a gift unless it is expressly transferred. The word, therefore, may reserve this right in favour of the royal donor in spite of the gift of the land.

The word *dūtaka* (l. 34) is translated by some as 'messenger.' Seeing, however, that in several cases, princes of the royal blood are styled in this manner, I believe this must be a responsible officer who had to attest such *śāsanas* as required by the Smṛitis. In Manu VII, 63-5 the *dūta* is spoken of as a chief minister in special confidence with the king. His counsel was always sought on matters of utmost importance like peace and war. The word, therefore, should

[1] ध्वजिनी मत्स्यिनी चैव नैधानी भयवर्जिता।
राजशासननीता च सीमा पञ्चविधा स्मृता॥

[2] कारुकान् शिल्पिनश्चैव शूद्रांश्चात्मोपजीविनः।
एकैकं कारयेत्कर्म मासि मासि महीपतिः॥

[3] See Ānandarāmāyaṇa, Sārakāṇḍa III, 264.
यद्भूम्यां वर्तते वित्तं तन्नृपस्य न संशयः।

be translated with Dr. Bhandarkar as 'the minister, the executive officer.' In this sense the word may perhaps be derived from द्वितीय, a joint officer.[1]

The word *divīrapati*[2] seems to signify the head-clerk or at the most the chief secretary of the king. According to the Smṛitis, a *śāsana* had to be in the handwriting of the clerk whose business was to draft the important orders of peace and war; so it must be such an officer who is spoken of as *divīrapati*.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 ओं[3] स्वस्ति [4]वलभीत: प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां [5]मैत्रकाणामतुलबल[6]संपन्नमण्ड-
लाभोगसंसक्त[7]प्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापा[त्प्र]-

2 तापोपनतदानमानार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृत[श्रे]णीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रिय: प-
रममाहेश्वरश्री-

3 भटार्क्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवंशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मष: शैश-
वात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबा-

4 हुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्व[7a]निकषस्तत्प्रभावप्रणताराातिचूडारत्नप्रभासं-
सक्तपादनखरश्मि-

5 [8]संघतिस्सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्ग्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरंजनान्वर्थ्थराजशब्द: रूप-
कान्तिस्थैर्य्यधैर्य्य[9]गा-

6 म्भीर्य्यबुद्धिसंपद्भि: [10]स्मरशशङ्काद्रिराजोदधि[11]त्रिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानश्शरणागता-
भयप्रदान°परतया

7 [12]त्रिणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफल[13] प्रार्त्थनाधिकार्त्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृप्रणयि[14]हृदय:
पादचारीव[15] सकलभुवन-

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[1] See also Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, page 100, note 3.

[2] It is interesting to note that this word *divīra* presents a close similarity to the word *ḍabīra*, and is possibly a Sanskritised form of the latter. *Ḍabīra*, I learn, is an Arabic word meaning 'manager' or 'secretary.' It was the official name of one of the eight ministers of Shivāji and is equivalent to the title *sumanta* of Sanskrit origin. This officer was very much the same as a "foreign secretary" and had charge of all the records concerning treaties, etc. with foreign powers.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] For the position, etc. of this city, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 165, and note.

[5] For *Maitrakas* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 361, note.

[6] For °*sampanna*° here and in later grants; the earlier reading is °*sapatna*°, on which see Dr. Hultzsch's interesting remarks in Vol. III, p. 319, above.

[7] For °*prahāra*° here and in later grants; the earlier ones of the same family read °*samprahāra*°.

[7a] Read °सत्त्व°.

[8] Read ° संहति°.

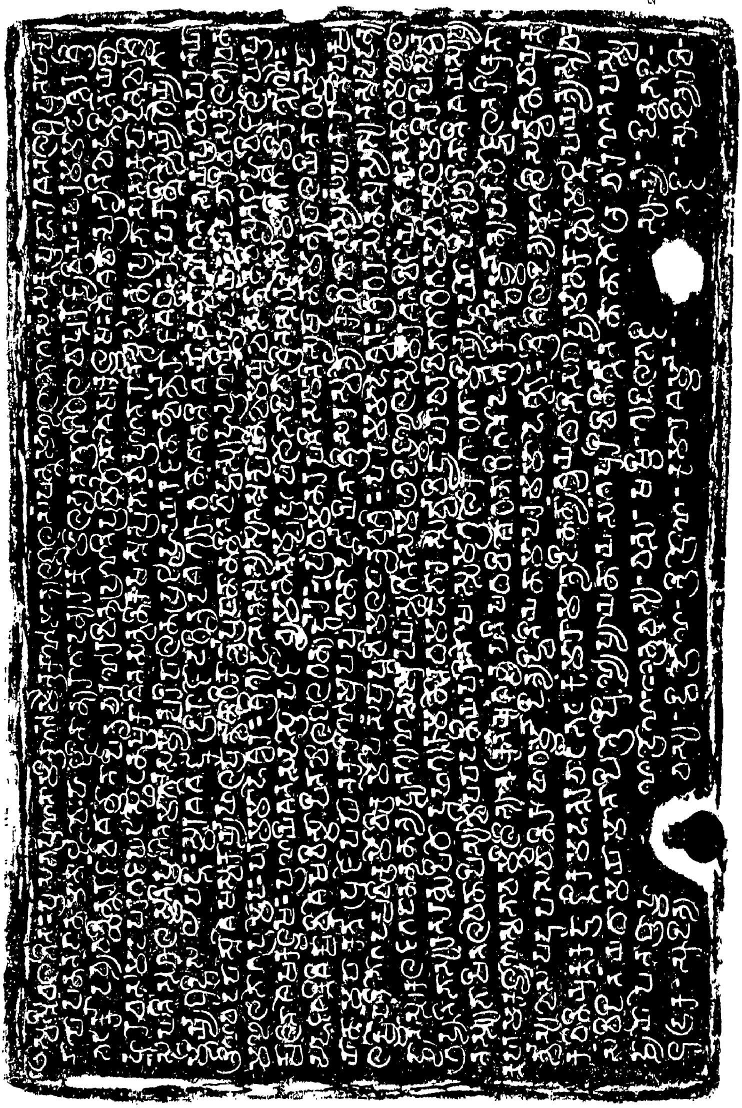
[9] The word *dhairyya* does not occur in this compound in any of the Valabhī grants except the present one, the grant of 290, and that of Dharasēna II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 71). In its absence the word *adrirāja* in the following compound means *Himālaya*, but when the word occurs, the phrase *adrirāja* has to be split into two to correspond to the two qualities *sthairyya* and *dhairyya*. In that case *adri* may mean any mountain as a type of steadiness (*sthairyya*) and *rāja* may perhaps denote *Dharmarāja* as a type of courage (*dhairyya*), as suggested by his name *Yudhishṭhira*.

[10] Read ° शशाङ्क°.   [11] Read ° त्रिदशगुरु°.   [12] Read ° तृणवद°.

[13] Read फल:. The reading *phala* is also found in other grants.   [14] Read °त्सुहृत्प्रणयि°.

[15] *Pādachārīva* means 'personified as it were'; *cf.* प्रकृष्टस्येव धर्मस्य प्रसादो मूर्तिसंचर:; *Uttararāmacharita*, VI. 10.

Navalakhi Plates of Siladitya I.—[Gupta-] Samvat 286.



ii.



नण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तान-
विसृतजाह्न[वी]जलौघप्र-

क्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितस्सरभसमा-
भिगामिकैर्गुणैः[1]

सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलबलधनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपाल-
यिता धर्म्मदा-

यानामपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवा-
सस्य [2]संघतारातिपक्ष-

लक्ष्म[ीपरि]भोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रिः[3] परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध-
रसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पदानु-

ध्यातस्सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलस्समरशतविजयशो-
भासनाथमण्डला-

ग्रद्युतिभासुरतरन्सपिठो[4]दूढगुरुमनो[र]थमहाभारस्सर्व्वविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविम-
लमतिरपि सर्व्व-

तस्सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषस्समग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि
सुचरितातिशयसुव्य-

क्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावःखिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिर्द्धर्म्मानुप-
रोधोज्वल[5]तरीकृता-

र्थसुखसंपदुपसेवानिरूढधर्म्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यःकु-
शली सर्व्वानेवायुक्त-

कविनियुक्तकद्राङ्गिकमहत्तरचाटभटकुमारामात्यादीनन्यांश्च यथाभिसंबद्ध्यमानका-
न्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः

संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोःपुण्याप्यायनाय संगपुरीविनिर्ग्गतनाना-
गोत्रचरणतपस्व-[6]

ध्यायोपेतब्राह्मणद्रोण-[7]इब्रवसु-वत्स-षष्ठि-गुहिला-भट्टिसूर्य्य-दिन्नभट्टि-

क्षुद्रक-आदित्यवसु-द्विद्रोण-त्रिद्रोण-कुमारशर्म्म-भट्टि-आदित्यरवि-

Second Plate.

[गणर्क?][8]उ[ञ्क]क[9]-गोपाध्यक-खन्द-शर्म्म-भद्र-आदित्य-द्विआदित्य-बप्पटक-मतृश-[10]
र्म्मा-ईश्वर-बोप्पस्वामि-द्विबप्पटक-गोप-दाम-द्विभद्र-खोक्खक-केशव-

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[1] ...higāmikāḥ guṇāḥ, 'inviting virtuous qualities'; see *Gupta Inscr.* p. 169, note 2.
[2] ...ead संहतारातिº.
[3] Read ºपार्थिवश्रीः.
[4] Read ºभासुरतरांसपीठोº
[5] ...ad ºज्वलº
[6] Read ºस्स्वाध्यायोपेतº.
[7] Read इन्द्रवसु (?).
[8] ...m not able to make out the name. It may be *Gaṇaka*, or *Gaṇarkka* (a mistake for *Gaṇārkka*). But ...after *ṇa* is more probably *tna*, in which case it may be *Gaṇatna* (a mistake for *Gaṇaratna*).
[9] ...m not sure whether I have read the name correctly, nor can I make out anything of it.
[10] ...ead मातृशर्म्मा.

Line 31 contains the date: **Saṁvat 1076 Māgha su di 5.** A facsimile of the royal signature: "this (is) the own hand of śrī-Bhōjadēva" is affixed at the end of either plate (ll. 15 and 32).

The **date** does not include any details which admit of actual verification. But Dr. Fleet tells me that, with the year 1076 taken as expired, as in the Ujjain record, the details which are given take us to **3rd January, A.D. 1020.** The localities named in the grant cannot be identified, because there is no clue as to the exact neighbourhood in which we are to look for them, and because enough of them are not mentioned.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate; Second Side.

1 ओं[2] [॥*] जयति व्योमकेशौसौ[3] यः सर्गाय बिभर्ति[4] तां । ऐंदवीं शिरसा लेखां ज-

2 गद्बीजांकुराकृतिं[5] ॥ [१*] तन्वंतु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः ॥ क-

3 ल्पांतसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिंगलाः ॥ [२*] परमभट्टारकमहारा-

4 जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री[सी]यकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकम-

5 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभ-

6 ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिंधुराजदेवपादानुध्यात-

7 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवः कुशली ॥

8 स्थलीमंडले घाघदोरभोगांतःपातिवटपद्रके [6]समुपगतान्समस्तराजपु-

9 [7]रुषान्ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिजनपदादींश्च समादिशत्यस्[8] वः संविदितं ॥

10 यथाऽस्माभिः कोंकणविजयपर्व्वणि स्नात्वा[9] चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं

11 समभ्यर्च्य सं[स]ारस्या[स]ारतां दृष्ट्वा । वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमा-

12 त्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलबिंदुसमा[10] नराणां (।) धर्म्मः सखा

13 परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ [३*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं । प्राप्य ये न

14 ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं ॥ [४*] इति जगतो विनश्वरं स्वरूपमा-कलय्योपरि-[11]

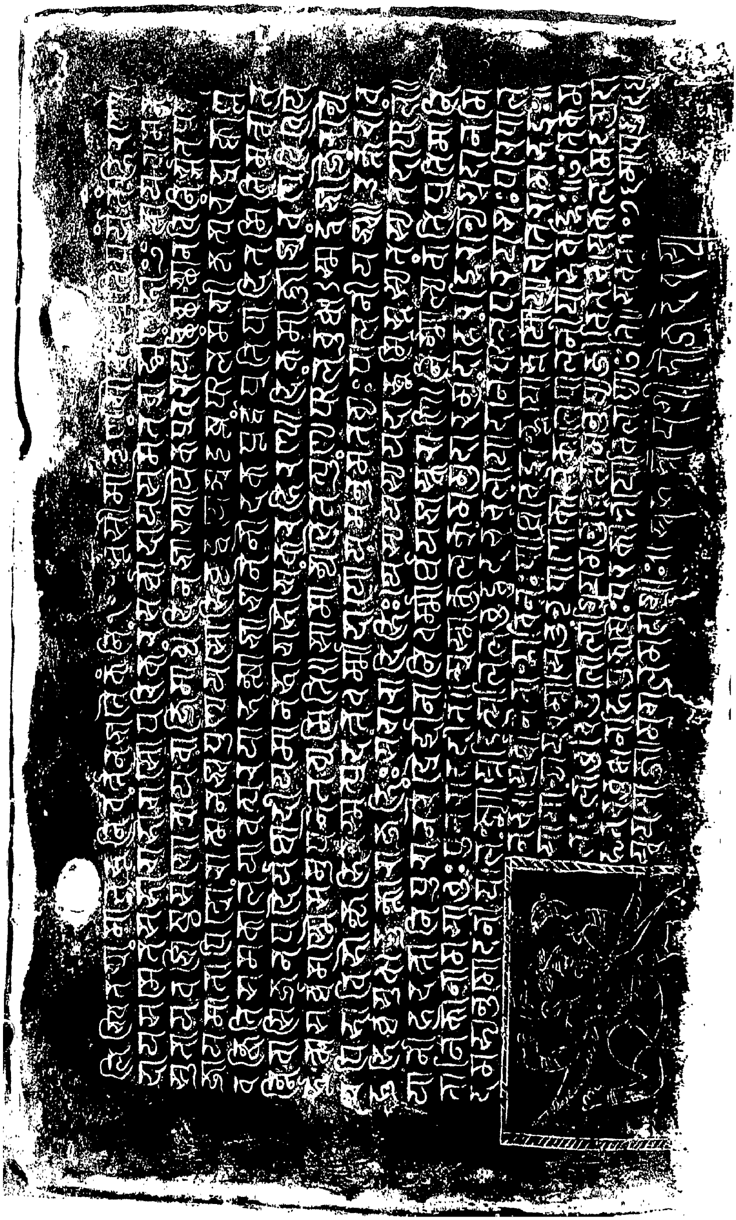
15 स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [॥*]

Second Plate; First Side.

16 लिखितग्रामात[12] भूनिवर्त्तनशतैकं नि १०० स्वसीमातृणगोचरयूतिपर्यंतं हिरण्या- (।)

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[1] From the ink-impression.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] Read °केशोसौ.
[4] Read बिभर्त्ति.
[5] Read जगद्बीजा°.
[6] Read समुप°.
[7] Read °कृषान्ब्रा°.
[8] Read °स्तु.
[9] Read स्नात्वा.
[10] Read °णाग्रजलबिंदु°.
[11] This line is continued on the next plate (l. 16).
[12] Read °ग्रामाद.



17 दायसमेतं सभागभोगं सोपरिकरं सर्व्वादायसमेतं [1]व्राह्मणभाइलाय वामन-

18 सुताय [2]वशिष्ठसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यंदिनशाखायैकप्रवराय च्छिंच्छास्थानविनिर्ग्ग-तपूर्व्व-

19 जाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययसोभिवृद्धये[3] अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चंद्राक्कार्ण्ण-[4]

20 वक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या [5]शाशनेनोदकपूर्व्वं प्रतिपादितमिति मत्वा त-

21 न्निवासिजनपदैर्य्यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयै-

22 र्भूत्वा सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यमिति ॥ सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं [6]वुध्वाऽस्मद्वंशजै-रन्यै-

23 रपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मादायोयमनुमंतव्यः[7] पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च । व-[8]

24 हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [५*]

25 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवांतिप्र-तिमानि

26 तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [६*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भि-रन्यैश्च दानमि-

27 दमभ्यनुमोदनीयं । लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलवुद्वुदचंचलाया[9] दानं फलं परयशः-परिपाल-

28 नं च ॥ [७*] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥

29 सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्न्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [८*] इति कम-

30 लदलांवुविंदुलोलां[10] श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदा-

31 हृतं च वुध्वा[11] न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या इति ॥ [९*] संवत् १०७६ माघ शु दि ५ [।*]

32 स्वयमाज्ञा । मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [॥*]

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[1] Read ब्राह्मण°.
[2] Read वसिष्ठ°.
[3] Read °यशो°.
[4] Read चंद्रार्क्का°.
[5] Read शासने°.
[6] Read बुद्ध्वा.
[7] Read °धर्म्मदायो°.
[8] Read ब°.
[9] Read °बुद्बुद°.
[10] Read °दलांबुबिंदु°.
[11] Read बुद्ध्वा.

No. 19.—THE SIRPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHASIVA-GUPTA.[1]

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

Sirpur is a small village on the right bank of the Mahānadī in the Mahāsamunda tahsīl of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It is 37 miles north-east of Raipur and 15 miles from Āraṅg. Sirpur was once the capital of **Mahā-Kōsala**[2] and was then known as **Śrīpura**,[3] as given in the stone inscriptions found there, and also in the copper plates found in Rājim[4] and Baloda.[5] The ruins in and around the village indicate that it was once a great city and there are scores of temple sites, the identification of which is now rendered impossible by the removal of the idols they contained to a place near a brick temple, which is the only one now standing as it was originally built. It is popularly known as the 'Lakshmaṇa temple.' Writing of the bricks with which it is built, Mr. Cousens who visited it in 1904 remarked[6] that they were of a finer make than any he had till then seen, either ancient or modern. They are moulded and carved with considerable artistic skill. About a third of the temple tower was gone, while the *maṇḍapa* had totally collapsed and was a heap of ruins when it was taken under Government conservation. It was while removing the *debris* of this *maṇḍapa* that the subjoined inscription was found and removed to the Raipur Museum where it is at present deposited. Sir A. Cunningham visited Sirpur in 1881-82 and noticed all the inscriptions he found there, remarking that *one of them* must belong to this temple. He was right in supposing that the temple must have had some inscription but it had not come to light then and it was about 2 years[7] ago that it was accidentally discovered.

It is perhaps the biggest inscription yet found in Sirpur. It is engraved on a thick reddish stone, which is not exactly rectangular, the breadth of the upper corner being 3′ 8½″ and that of the lower 3′ 9″, while the height at the right side is 2′ 3½″ and at the left 2′ 1½″. The writing covers a space 3′ 8″ by 2′ 1″. There are altogether 26 lines of writing, but some parts of the stone coming in contact with others have peeled off, and portions of lines 3, 4, 5, 6 at the left hand top corner and the last 4 lines have been partially damaged. The **characters** are **Nāgarī**, beautifully engraved, their average height being ¾″. They belong to the Northern class of alphabets of about the 8th or 9th century A.D. The most noticeable peculiarities are the antiquated forms of the letters *i*, *ṇa*, *sa*, *dha*, *tha*, *bha* and *ja*. The *mātrā* of *ā* is represented by a top stroke, and *ē* by a small stroke prefixed to the letter. The sign of *u* is added in the middle of the letter *ra* as usual, but when made long it is bent upwards as in *gurūpacharaṇē* in line 7 and *-rūpaiḥ* in line 12. In the case of the short *ru* in Purushōttama in line 1, the bend is upwards instead of downwards, but this is probably a mistake as other short *rus* have it in the usual way downwards. The signs for *ñ* and *ṇ* when joined to a class letter appear to be identical: compare *puñja* in line 1 and *maṇḍanam* in line 12. Forms of final *m* occur in ll. 4, 11, 12, 13 and 14 and of *t* and *n* in ll. 6 and 16 respectively.[8] The **language** is excellent **Sanskṛit**, highly rhetorical, containing 42 verses in various metres.

The record consists of two parts, *viz.* a eulogy in 23 verses and rules for the temple management from line 16 to the end. The inscription begins with an invocation to Purushōttama, which is in prose. The first three verses are devoted to the praise of the Nṛisiṁha or man-lion incarnation of Vishṇu. King **Mahāśivagupta**, his mother and two ancestors

[1] [This paper was partially prepared for the Press by Dr. Sten Konow when he was Government Epigraphist in 1908 and by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri when he officiated in that post for two months, from 17th July to 17th September 1911.—Ed.]

[2] [On this name and its denotation, see Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XVII. p. 68 f. —Ed.]

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 179, and Cunningham's Reports, Vol. XVII. p. 25 ff.

[4] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 291.

[5] Above, Vol. VII. p. 102.

[6] *Progress Report* of the Archæological Survey of Western India for the year 1904, p. 20.

[7] That is calculating from the date this article was given for publication in 1908.

[8] [Final *n* occurs in line 6 also.—Ed.]

(father and grandfather), are next mentioned. The historical information which is here furnished is that, in the lunar race, there was a hero whose name is illegible (v. 4). His son was **Harshagupta** (v. 9). From him was born **Mahāśivagupta** (v. 12) who was also known as **Bālārjuna** owing to his proficiency in the use of arms (v. 13). He apparently had a younger brother named **Raṇakēsarin** (v. 12). We are then informed that his mother, named **Vāsaṭā** (v. 15), was the daughter of **Sūryavarmā**, king of **Magadha** (v. 16). She became a widow (v. 17) and caused to be constructed a temple of Hari (v. 20), the same to which this inscription was affixed. She and her acts are praised in seven verses (vv. 17 to 23).

The writer of this eulogy who calls himself *praśastikāraḥ kaviḥ* was **Chintāturāṅka Īśāna** (v. 24)[1], who in the second part proceeds to lay down the regulations for the management of the temple as follows:—Five villages, *viz.* **Tōḍaṅkaṇa, Madhuvēḍha, Nālīpadra, Kurapadra,** and **Vāṇapadra,** were given (v. 25) for the maintenance of the temple to which apparently a *sattra* or an almshouse was attached. The villages were divided into four shares, three of which (subdivided into three separate parts) were to be reserved for the maintenance of the almshouse, repairs (to the temple) and for the support of the servants attached to the sanctuary (v. 26). The fourth share was divided into fifteen parts, of which twelve were to be enjoyed by a corresponding number of Brāhmaṇas fully conversant with the Vēdas, each of the three Vēdas (Rik, Yajus and Sāman) having four experts. The remaining three parts were to be enjoyed by a sacrificial priest and two others who were Bhāgavatas.[2] The names of these fifteen persons are duly recorded and it is enjoined that their descendants should inherit the gift if properly qualified for it, otherwise the grant should go to some other relatives by their own selection and not by order of the king (vv. 27 to 34). An additional village named **Vargullaka** is stated to have been given separately to the god himself, for meeting the expenses of offerings to him (v. 36). The engraver was a certain **Ārya Goṇṇa** (v. 35), the same who wrote the slab built flat into the pavement of the new work outside the court wall of the Gandhēśvara temple at Sirpur.[3]

Like other inscriptions of Sirpur this is also undated, and therefore its age can only be determined from its characters, which, as stated before, belong to the 8th or 9th century A.D. Mahāśivagupta who is mentioned in almost all the inscriptions so far found in Sirpur, seems to have been a temple-builder, or at least he encouraged others to build them. Apparently he was a Śaiva, although his mother was a Vaishṇava and so was his father who is described in verse 20 as *upāsitāchyutaḥ*, i.e. by whom Vishṇu was worshipped. From an inscription[4] in the temple of Gandhēśvara (correctly Gandharvēśvara as given in an inscription affixed to the parapet there) we know five ancestors of Mahāśivagupta, so that our inscription gives no additional information about the family, as it only takes us back to his grandfather. But verse 6 leads us to the important inference that **Mahāśivagupta's grandfather [Chandragupta]** had an elder brother who was the king's commander in chief. This elder brother cannot I suppose be any other than the **Tīvaradēva** of the Rājim and Balōdā plates. He was the son of **Nannadēva,** Chandragupta's father. Tīvaradēva's inscriptions were issued from Śrīpura and he is described as being the 'supreme lord of **Kōsala**'.[5] He had apparently no issue and his brother probably succeeded him. A second historical fact to be gleaned from our inscription is the discovery of one additional name in the line of Varmā kings of Magadha, *viz.* **Sūryavarmā** who must have flourished about the 8th century A.D. He apparently belonged to the **Western Magadha** dynasty. He must have been a contemporary of Chandragupta, to whose son Harshagupta he gave his daughter in marriage.

Attention may be called to the name Raṇakēsarin (in verse 12) who would appear to have been a younger brother of Mahāśivagupta, although the word has been used in a double sense. Dr. Kielhorn[6] has drawn attention to this name with a view to show that names

[1] [The name intended seems to be Īśāna *alias* Chintātura.—H. K. S.]

[2] [That these three parts were to be so disposed of, is implied. It is not clearly expressed in the text of the inscription.—Ed.]

[3] *Progress Report* of the Archæological Survey of Western India, 1904, p. 50.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 179. [5] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 296. [6] Above, Vol. IV. p. 257.

ending in Kēsarin were not foreign to this family as a curious coincidence between the Sirpur kings and the Orissa Kēsarī family. The second name of **Bhavadēva** who, Dr. Kielhorn says,[1] was 'a cousin of Indrabala's son Nannadēva, the father of both Tīvaradēva and Chandragupta,' was also Raṇakēsarin, but we meet it in the direct line here. In spite of the overwhelming palæographic evidence[2] which tends to disprove any connection between the Sirpur dynasty and that of the **Sōmavaṁśī kings** of **Kaṭak** (or more correctly of **Vinītapura** or **Yayātinagara**), in both of which a Śivagupta occurs, it seems possible that General Cunningham may still prove to have been right in linking them together, although the dates assigned to them by him are all wrong.[3] The kings of Sirpur appear to have been ousted by the **kings of Śarabhapura**,[4] which place has not been identified as yet.[5] The inscriptions of the latter have been found in the country round about and in close vicinity of Sirpur, *viz.* at Ārang, Raipur, Khariār and Sārangarh which enclose Sirpur from all directions, north, south, east and west. I have already identified several of the villages mentioned in them (see above, Vol. IX. p. 283) and their position shows that a very large portion of the present Chhattīsgarh Division came under their sway. Probably they could not conquer the whole of **Mahā-Kōsala** which extended from the confines of Berār to the boundary of the Kaṭak District. The Sirpur dynasty having been driven further east settled in some place on the bank of the Mahānadī. They still continued to rule at least a part of Kōsala. That seems to be the reason why they continued to call themselves 'Lord of Kōsala' unwilling to show a reduced front. They had probably lost the western portion of Mahā-Kōsala for ever, and that seems to be the reason why most of the villages granted by them are situated in the Sambalpur District and the adjoining feudatory states of Paṭnā and Sonpur.[6] The Sirpur dynasty probably regained its former power but could not regain the lost kingdom, as although the Śarabhapura kings seem to have fallen as quickly as they rose, they were succeeded by another rising power, the **Haihayas** of **Tummāṇa**, who eclipsed the chiefs of the whole of Chhattīsgarh and extended their dominions still farther.

Dr. Fleet assigns the characters of the records of the Sōmavaṁśī kings of Kaṭak to the eleventh century and says that even if a somewhat earlier period than what has been arrived at, should be hereafter established for Śivagupta and his successors of the Kaṭak line, the palæographic changes in so many details appear more than can possibly be covered by the lapse of a single generation.[7] His conclusion is that the kings mentioned in these inscriptions 'are to be placed somewhere between A.D. 1000 and 1100.'[8] Since the characters of the Sirpur inscriptions are believed to belong to about the 9th century, it would appear that Dr. Fleet would place an interval of a little more than 100 years to account for the palæographic difficulties. This is a period which may easily be covered by three generations, and on examining the genealogical table made out from the records of the Sōmavaṁśī kings as given by Dr. Fleet,[9] it seems to me that a link of two generations is at present missing, which further discoveries might bring to light.

[1] *J. R. A. S.* 1905, p. 622. [2] Above, Vol. III. p. 333.

[3] [The date assigned by Prof. Kielhorn to Śivagupta Bālārjuna on the 'amalgamated Sirpur and Kaṭak Gupta dynasty' is about the beginning of the 9th century, while the Kaṭak king Mahābhavagupta II. and his three predecessors belong to about the 11th century (above Vol. IV. p. 257). If these two approximate dates are correct, then we would have two kings, *viz.* a doubtful Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta, of whom no records have so far been found, for about two centuries.—Ed.]

[4] [Mahāsudēva of Śarabhapura has been assigned by Mr. Hiralal to about the 8th century (above, Vol. IX. p. 283). And Tīvaradēva, Prof. Kielhorn has assigned without hesitation to the middle of the 8th century. If these two approximate dates are correct, the usurpation by the Śarabhapura kings would have taken place at a time when the Sirpur kings must have been powerful.—Ed.]

[5] It may perhaps have been a new name imposed on the conquered city of Śrīpura by the victor from the fabulous animal of that name, who is believed to be a match for a lion, with reference to the claim of the Sirpur dynasty to be *Kēsarīs* (lions).

[6] See tabular statement appended at the end giving the geographical information ascertained by local enquiry or otherwise and map showing the situation of places identified.

[7] Above, Vol. III. p. 334. [8] *Ibid.* p. 333. [9] *Ibid.* p. 323.

There are four kings in this list, but there are only two names, *viz.* Śivagupta and Bhavagupta.[1] Three of them have a second name which may have been their birth-names or titles. The Śivagupta of our inscription had also a second name, *i.e.* Bālārjuna. This Bālārjuna Śivagupta may possibly be the grandfather of the titleless Śivagupta of the Kaṭak inscriptions. By the way it may be noted that his granduncle Tīvaradēva who was king was also called Mahāśiva as stated in the Balōdā and Rājim plates.[2] I suppose that the title of Harshagupta must have been Mahābhavagupta, and any further discoveries giving both the names would, I venture to think, confirm this surmise. So we can trace back the official title of Mahāśiva up to Tīvarvadēva at least and he was possibly great-great-granduncle of the first Śivagupta of the Sōmavaṁśi records. According to this view the genealogical tree of the amalgamated Sirpur and Kaṭak Gupta dynasty would be as under :—

Udayana[3]
- Indrabala
  - Nannadēva
    - Mahāśiva Tīvaradēva
    - Chandragupta
      - Harshagupta
        - Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna
          - Mahābhavagupta ?
            - Mahāśivagupta[5] or Śivagupta (the first of Kaṭak list)
              - Mahābhavagupta - Janamējaya
                - Mahāśivagupta - Yayāti
                  - Mahābhavagupta - Bhīmaratha
        - Raṇakēsarin
  - Īśānadēva
- Name not preserved
  - (1), (2), (3): Names of (1), (2) (3) not preserved
  - (4) Bhavadēva,[4] Raṇakēsarin or Chintādurga

[1] These were probably official names, assumed on installation as king, as is still done in some of the states towards Orissa ; for instance, the Rāja of Bāmrā is either a Sūḍhaladēva or a Tribhuvanadēva. The present chief whose name was Satchidānanda when he was *yuvarāja*, is Tribhuvanadēva, and so was his grandfather, and his grandson will bear the same name.

[2] See above, Vol. VII. p. 103, and *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 296.

[3] For sources of information for this genealogy, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 179, *J. R. A. S.* 1905, p. 621, Cousen's *Progress Report* of the Archæological Survey of Western India for 1904, p. 54, and above, Vol. III. p. 327. Note that Mahāśiva Tīvaradēva's regal uncle and his possible predecessor at least in one part of Mahā-Kōsala was a Bhavadēva, Chintādurga or Raṇakēsarin. Whether the name Bhavadēva was merely fortuitous or otherwise, I leave the reader to consider.

[4] [From the extracts given by Prof. Kielhorn (above. Vol. IV. p. 257) it appears that Bhavadēva was the fourth son of Udayana and not the fourth grandson as represented in the genealogical table. But on further examination of the inscription, Prof. Kielhorn has stated that "Bhavadēva Raṇakēsarin was the fourth son of Indrabala's younger brother whose name has not been preserved ;" (J. R. A. S. for 1907, p. 621 f.—Ed.]

[5] Above, Vol. VIII. p. 140.

The Sirpur inscriptions show that Bālārjuna Mahāśivagupta must have been in a fairly prosperous state and so it was probably his son, a possible Mahābhavagupta, who was ousted from his ancestral capital. If we do not find any of his records, there is nothing to wonder at. A person in calamity driven out of his home would hardly think of bestowing grants or revel in perpetuating his name when his own position was so shaky, and his descendants would hardly be inclined to mention one who was in such a plight, it being better to omit than to record his tale of defeats.[1] For the matter of that, they might also have omitted his son Śivagupta's name as he also does not seem to have been in a much better position, but he was the direct ascendant of his renowned son, and it is possible that he might have prepared the way to the conquest of **Trikaliṅga** of which all his successors are called *adhipati*, though no such title attaches to his name in any of the inscriptions. It appears that it was **Janamējaya Mahābhavagupta (I)** who retrieved the good name of his dynasty by conquering the Trikaliṅga country. So far as is known, he was the first in his line to take the title of **Trikaliṅgādhipati**, though it was disputed by the Haihaya kings of Chēdi, as we find the title used by the Kalachuri Karṇadēva of Tripurī in his Benares plate of 1042 A.D.[2] and by other members of the same family up to 1174 A.D. But they were apparently raiders with superior power, the real rulers of Trikaliṅga being the Sōmavaṁśīs. There is little doubt that these two houses came in contact with each other as in one of the Paṭnā plates (marked H) the donor claims a victory over Chēdi.

With regard to geographical names, the country of **Magadha** whence the temple builder was brought in marriage is well known. The other places mentioned are 6 villages given to the temple and its accessories. Of these, I think Karapadra is the same as **Kulapadar,** 15 miles south-east of Sirpur, and Vargullaka is apparently **Gullū**, about 10 miles south-west of Sirpur and 5 from Ārang. Tōḍaṅkaṇa may be **Turēngā** near Kulapadar. About 4 miles from Turēngā there is a village named **Madhuban** which may be identical with Madhuvēḍha of the inscription. As regards the remaining two, Nālipadra and Vāṇapadra, I could not find any villages answering to their names. Vāṇapadra must have been quite close to Sirpur, as it is stated to be 'on the spot'.

An endeavour has been made in the appended statement to identify places mentioned in other records of these kings, and it may not be out of place here to discuss the unsettled question of the capital of these kings. In the records of the Somavaṁśīs the phrase '*śrīmatō vijaya-Kaṭakāt*' occurs which has been interpreted to mean 'from the victorious Kaṭaka', the capital, in preference to its simple meaning 'from the victorious camp'. That the latter is the real meaning clearly appears from the copper plates[3] of Mahābhavagupta Janamējaya belonging to the 3rd year of his reign (the oldest of all so far found), in which the word *skandhāvārāt* has been used instead of the usual *kaṭakāt*. It will be observed from other inscriptions that whenever *kaṭaka* is used, the name of the camp (a separate place-name) is **invariably**[4] given, but this is not the case when the charters purport to be issued from **Yayātinagara** or **Vinītapura,** which Dr. Fleet considers to be fanciful names of Kaṭaka itself. It has been assumed that Kaṭaka was the capital of these kings, but I am

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[1] Another reason why his name is omitted may be found in the fact that all the records of this dynasty give only the name of the donor and his father in the ordinary business-like way, and since his son Śivagupta for reasons stated further on in the text probably never made a grant, it seems very doubtful whether we would ever get a direct proof of his existence.

[2] Above, Vol. II, p. 298.

[3] These plates were found some 13 years ago at Sōnpur, the capital of the state of the same name. They were shown to me when I visited that place about 12 years ago (*i.e.* 1896) and I took a copy of the inscription. [They have been published by Mr. Mazumdar (above, pp. 93 ff.).—Ed.]

[4] There is only one exception found in the Paṭna plates marked H in which Vinītapura and Kaṭaka are both mentioned; but Mr. Laskar has noted that this record is full of mistakes and gross inaccuracies. See *J. A. S. B.* 1905, Vol. I. p. 6.

unable to share this view. The question has already been discussed by other scholars,[1] and the identification of Yayātinagara with the modern Jājpur has been suggested, but Dr. Fleet[2] has pointed out that this suggestion is untenable as the inscriptions distinctly imply that Yayātinagara was on the Mahānadi, whereas Jājpur is only on the Vaitaraṇī, about 50 miles away from the former river.

The name Yayātinagara was apparently imposed upon Vinītapura during the reign of Yayâti otherwise known as Mahāśivagupta. It is noteworthy that prior to his time the name Yayātinagara does not occur in any inscriptions. In fact he himself used the older name Vinītapura in the records of the 8th and 9th years of his reign, which fact shows that till then the idea of naming the town after himself had not occurred to him. It was probably somewhere between the 15th and 24th year of his reign that the town changed its name. Since then the official name seems to have become Yayātinagara, and we have in all four inscriptions mentioning it, two of which belong to the 24th and 28th years of his own reign, and two to the 3rd and 13th year of his son's. This name apparently continued to be used as long as Vinītapura was the capital, at least in official circles, but as is well known the original name usually sticks so persistently in the popular mind that it is difficult to eradicate it. Many a monarch has endeavoured to change the names of big cities after his own, but the old name has usually asserted the ground, and I suppose the same happened with Vinītapura, which name can now be traced in the corrupted form Binkā. This is a small town in the Sōnpur State, 16 miles north of the present capital of that state. It fulfils all the conditions appertaining to Vinītapura. It is on the bank of the Mahānadī, and the river scenery there is as beautiful as described in the inscriptions. From Sirpur it is about 100 miles as the crow flies and about 180 by river— quite a safe distance to which the ousted family might have removed itself. The two places are so situated that if one fled straight to the east he would meet Binkā as the first place on the Mahānadī, as between these two places the river flows in a curve.[3] Binkā, moreover, is central to all the camps from which the kings issued their charters. Of the 13 so far discovered, 5 were issued from the capital itself, 3 from a pleasure garden, which must have been somewhere in the big groves still to be seen on the outskirts of Binkā, 3 were issued from Mūrasīma or the present Mursingā in the Paṭnā state, about 11 miles from Binkā, one from Sōnpur, and one from Vāmaṇḍāpāṭī[4] or Bāmrâ, 60 miles to the north-east, but this last was issued by a feudatory from his own headquarters, and he has mentioned his overlord's capital as Yayātinagara. The villages granted so far as they have been identified are situated close to and round about Binkā as a glance on the accompanying map will show.[5] The existence of a village named Rājpālī (meaning royal hamlet) within a mile of the present Binkā town is significant. There are also remains of a fort close by and a ghāt embankment on the Mahānadī.

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[1] See above, Vol. VIII. p. 139 (where Professor Hultzsch prefers to take *kaṭaka* in the sense of 'a camp') and *J. A. S. B.*, 1905, Vol. I., pp. 2 and 3.

[2] Above, Vol. III. p. 355.

[3] My idea is that when Bālārjuna's successor was driven out from Sirpur he fled straight off to the east and settled at a spot where he first met the sacred Mahānadī whose waters had sanctified generations of his ancestors. To this obscure place he in his dejection gave the appropriate name of Vinītapura or the 'town of the humbled.' I feel this is rather fanciful, as at this distance of time it is difficult to read the motives which actuated the founder to name the town in that way, and all that can be said is, that the explanation is plausible.

[4] It may be noted that Bāmrā is still called Bāmaṇḍā by the Oriyā people of Sambalpur.

[5] It is remarkable that there are amongst the donees Brāhmaṇa immigrants from Madhyadēśa and even distant Śrāvasti in Oudh. Their advent to this remote place may easily be explained by the fact that Binkā lay, as it does now, on the high road to Jagannāth Purī, one of the four *dhāmas* or the most sacred places of India, which Hindus from all corners of the country visited as they still continue to do. Some of these learned Pandits of the celebrated district of Śrāvasti might have been induced to settle there, either by solicitations of the king or by necessity owing to the difficulty of crossing long distances for want of good communications, accentuated by the dangers of the road which was infested by robbers of all description.

TEXT.[1]

1 श्री[2] नमः पुरुषोत्तमाय ॥[3] अन्योन्यप्रान्तरान्तर्विचलदुरुसटापुञ्जगुञ्जारवोग्रै-
रङ्गुल्यग्रैरुदञ्चन्नखकिरणशिखास्पष्टदंष्ट्राकरालैः । क्रोधान्धः पातु पञ्चानन
इ[व] चरणश्चक्रिणः खे घनौघान्विध्वस्य ध्व[ा]-

2 न्तधाम्नः करिण इव किरन्मौक्तिकाभानि भानि ॥[4] [१*] लब्धो निर्भेत्तुमेभिर्न रिपु-
रिति रसादृत्तचञ्चुर्नखेषु त्रासात्तत्रोड[5]रन्ध्रोदरकुहरदरीमिव लीनं विलोक्य ।
हासोल्लासावहेलं तदितरकरजाग्रेण निर्भिद्य [सद्यः कोशा] [6]त्चिक्षेप तज्जं
मलमिव

3 दनुजं यः स वीव्यान्नृसिह्मः ॥[7][२*] वहदिव [रु]चा शा[ङ्ख्या दंष्ट्रां]
सजिह्वमिवासिना ज्वलदिव दधच्चक्रेणास्यं गदां भुकुटीमिव । ग्रसितुमसुरा-
न्संभूयेव श्रितान्तकविभ्रमं दुरितमिति [वेदीयं[8] विष्णोः] ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑
— ⏑ — ॥[9][३*] [आसीच्छ्री]व भुवनाद्भुतभूतभूति[10]-

4 रुद्भूतभूतपति[भक्तिमम]प्रभावः । चन्द्रान्वयैकति[ल]क[ः खलु चन्द्रगुप्तरा]जा-
ख्यया पृथुगुणः प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् ॥[11][४*] गरीयान्भारोयं दुरधिगममिदं
वर्त्म पुरतो न मे प्रष्ठः कश्चिन्न च समधुरः कश्चन सखा । इ —
— — — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ गणशः स्वशक्त्या

5 निर्व्यूढिं ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ॥[12][५*] दुर्धर्ष[कौर]-
वर[दो] रणदारुणेषु[13] सीरायुधः स इव कंसनिषूदनस्य । राजाधिकारधवलः
सबलो बभूव यस्याग्रजोप्यनुचरश्चरतो रणेषु ॥[14][६*] कुम्भैरङ्कितमस्तका-
नति[ग?][15]दिव्याहारमुग्धात्मनो वक्त्राण्यस्ततृणानधःकृतकरा-

6 न्मातङ्गकान्मारयन् । श्वेव श्वापदराट् न यस्य नृपतेः शौर्यं जगामोपमां
हन्तुः कोशपराक्रमान्वयनयस्फीतत्विषां विद्विषां ॥[16][७*] तस्याभूदवनिभृता-
मधीश्वरस्य प्रख्यातो जगति सुतो यथा हिमाद्रेः । रत्नानां वसति-
रखण्डितोरुप[क्षो] मैनाको गिरिरिव यः [स्व]भावतुङ्गः [17][॥८*]

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[1] From the original stone.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] This stroke is corrected from a *visarga*.

[4] Metre : Sragdharā.

[5] Read °त्रोढ or °त्रोरु°. [On the impression the reading seems to be °रक्रोड. —H. K. S.]

[6] Read क्रोधा°.

[7] Read °सिंहः. Metre : Sragdharā.

[8] [The reading here intended appears to be वैर्षीयं.—Ed.]

[9] Metre : Hariṇī.

[10] The *akshara* त of भूत looks as if it had been corrected from ति.

[11] Metre : Vasantatilaka.

[12] Metre : Śikhariṇī.

[13] Mr. Kṛishṇa Śāstrī suggests the reading वैरिवरवारणदारुणेषु which gives better sense and is adopted in the translation.

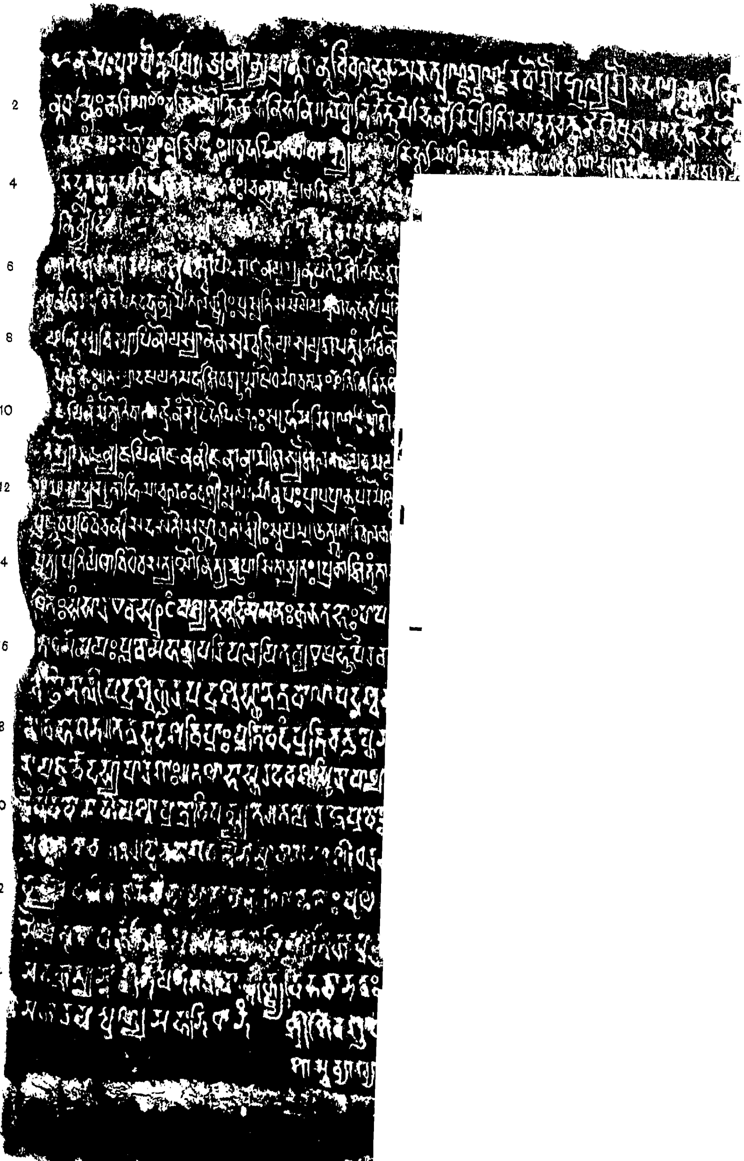
[14] Metre : Vasantatilaka.

[15] Probably नयच. [On the impression the reading appears to be °नतिमद°.—H. K. S.]

[16] Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[17] Metre : Praharshiṇī.

Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśivagupta.



V. VENKAYYA.

SCALE ·32.

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7 स्थानं चिरादुचितमेतदभून्ममेति लक्ष्मीः प्रसूतिसमये यमुवाह हर्षम् । तेना-
हृतः सततमेव शुचामगम्यः श्रीहर्षगुप्त इति नाम ततो [य ऊहे] ॥[1][९*]
संसक्ताः सकलोपभोगविषये धर्माध्वनि प्र(प्रा)ध्वराः सत्गोष्टीषु निरन्तराः
परबलध्वन्से[2]प्यवन्ध्याः सदा । [अक्षुण्णाः] सततं [गुरू]पचरणे

8 यान्ति स्म विस्मापिनो यस्यानेकसुखक्रियासु युगपत्संभाविनो वासराः ॥[3] [१०*]
क्षुण्णा भित्तिरनेकधा विघटिताः सर्वेप्यमी [स]न्धयो वीथ्यङ्गान्यपि विच्छ-
तानि परितः शुष्कोस्थिव(ब)न्धक्रमः । चित्रं प्रच्युतमासुखादपि कथं किं
वोच्चितेनामुना यस्येति द्विषतां कुनाटकमिव द्विष्टं पुरं

9 प्रेक्षकैः ॥[4][११*] तस्मादजायत महाशिवगुप्तराजो धर्मावतार इति निर्वि-
तथं प्रतीतः । भीमेन यः सुत इव प्र[थ]मः पृथायाः पृथ्वीं जिगाय
रणकेसरिणानुजेन ॥[5][१२*] भावी हन्त पितामहादपि महाना[6]चर्यमप्यो-
जसा जेष्यत्येष रणे बलेन भविता तत्कोस्य वैकर्त्तनः । अस्मा[भ्य]स्त्विष
यं सम[स्त]-

10 जयिनं मत्वेति बालार्जुनं स्वे देहेपि जहुः स्पृहामरिगणाः प्रागेव
सम्पत्तिषु ॥[7][१३*] यः प्रद्वेषवतां वधाय विकृतीरास्थाय मा[य]ामयोः
कृष्णो [योव]तरन्नभूदिह स खल्वव्याजलूनद्विषः । नासोदेव समो
हरिर्धवलतामात्यन्तिकीं बिभ्रतो यस्याकल्कमतेर्न चापि भविता क[ल्की]
भविष्यन्पुनः ॥[7][१४*]

11 तस्योरुजन्यजयिनो जननी जनानामीशस्य शैलत[न]येव मयू[रके]तोः ।
विस्मापनी विबुधलोकधियां बभूव श्रीवासटेति नरसि[ङ्ह]नोः[8] सटेव ॥[9]
[१५*] निष्पङ्के मगधाधिपत्यमहतां जातः कुले वर्मणां पुण्याभिः
कृतिभिः कृती कृतमनःकम्पः सुधाभो[जि]नाम् ।

12 यामासाद्य सुतां हिमाचल इव श्रीसूर्यवर्मा नृपः प्राप प्राक्परमेश्वर-
श्वशुरतागर्वानिखर्वं पदम् ॥[10][१६*] गतेपि पत्यौ दिव[मेक]रूपैः सदो-
पवासव्रतकर्शितैरपि । न सूक्ष्मेवावयवैर्य्यदीयैः स्वभावलीलामयमात्ममण्डनम्
॥[11][१७*] या वर्णाश्रमिणां त्रयीव शरणं राज्यस्य नीति[र्य]था

13 प्रज्ञेव प्रविवेचनी सदसतोस्तृष्णावतां श्रीः स्वयम् । उत्खाताखिलकल्मषप्रसरया
किञ्चिस्खलन्ती स्थितेः सन्धानाय यया सखीव पृथिवी भूयः कृतं स्मारिता ॥[12]

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[1] Metre: Vasantatilaka.
[2] Read ध्वंसे°.
[3] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
[4] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
[5] Metre: Vasantatilaka.
[6] Read °चार्य°.
[7] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
[8] Read नरसिंह वज्रसूर्यौ त्वचि स्त्री स्यात् चिष्वल्पे विरले कृशे—इति मेदिनी.
[9] Metre: Vasantatilaka.
[10] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
[11] Metre: Upajāti.
[12] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[१८*] दमयन्त्या [ह्य[1]पि] पुरा यः स्खलं प्राप्य गर्वितः । स क[लिः] स्वेपि समये हतमानः क्षतो यया ॥[2][१९*] तया निजः
14 प्रेत्य पतिर्यथाविधि वसत्यसौ नित्यमुपासिताच्युतः । प्रकाशितं तादृशमेव कारितं विभोरिदं धाम हरेः सनातनम् ॥[3][२०*] दिव्यादेः सकलस्य जन्तुनिवहस्योच्चावचैः कर्म्मणां वैचित्र्यादयमद्भुतो बहुविधावस्थैर्वपुःपञ्जरैः ॥ [यः*] प्रासाद[4]ह्र[ह]च्छलेन क-
15 थितः संसार एव स्फुटं पश्यन्तस्तदिमं मनः कुरुत भो पापेषु मा मूर्छिपाः ॥[5][२१*] क्षणमधः क्षणमुत्पतितैर्नभः पवनलोल[त]या [ध्वज]-पल्लवैः ।(।) हरणपालनयोरुचिते गती कथयति स्वयमेष महीभुजां ॥[6][२२*] तट एव भवाम्बुधेस्तरीतुं निहि-
16 तो धर्म्ममयः प्लवो महान् । परिपालयितव्य एष भूपैरवटोर्ण्णो हि निमज्ज-यत्यधः ॥[7][२३*] इति वः प्रशस्तिकारः कविः स चिन्तातुराङ्ग ईशानः ॥ यत्पालनार्थमर्थयति पार्थिवास्तां स्थितिं शृणुत ॥[8][२४*] तोडङ्गण-म[धु]-
17 [वेढौ] नालीपद्रश्च कुरपद्रश्च[9] [।*] स्थानेच्च वाणपद्रश्च पञ्च दत्ता इमे ग्रामा ॥[10][२५*] एषां भागास्त्रयः सत्रे खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कृतौ । पादमूलपरीवारपोषणे च त्रिधाकृताः ॥[11][।२६*] यस्तु [च]तुर्थो भागः स पञ्चदश धाक-
18 तो विभागेन ॥ तत्र द्वादश विप्राः प्रतिवेदं प्रतिचतुष्केन ॥[12][२७ ब्रह्मत्रिविक्रमोर्कश्च विष्णुदेवस्तथापरः ॥ तथा महिरदेवश्च चत्व बह्वृचोत्तमाः ॥[13][२८*] एवं कपर्द्दीपाध्यायो भास्करो मधुसूदनः ॥ ं- गर्भश्च चत्वा-
19 रो यजुर्वेदस्य पारगाः ॥[13][२९*] तथा भास्करदेवश्च स्थिरोपाध्याय एव च ॥ त्रैलोक्यह[स्रो सोडु]श्चत्वारः सामपारगाः ॥[13][३०*] ।एव्यं तत्पुत्रपौत्रैश्च साग्नि[हो]त्रैः षडङ्गिभिः ॥ द्यूत[वे]श्याद्यनासक्तैरपिष्टाकैरवक्रैः ॥[13][३१*] य[स्तु]
20 नवंविधो [14]स[हि] यस्यापुत्रो विपत्स्यते ॥ तयोरङ्के प्रवेश्योन्यः पूर्व्वक्तगुण-वान्द्विजः ॥[13][३२*] स चैषामेव सम्बन्धी सविद्यत्वे वयोधिक [।*]

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[1] [On the impression the reading seems to be अपि.—H. K. S.]
[2] Metre : Anushṭubh.
[3] Metre : Vaṁśasthavila.
[4] [On the impression the reading seems to be श्र instead of ह्र.—H. K. S.]
[5] Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
[6] Metre : Drutavilambita.
[7] Metre : Vaitālīya.
[8] Metre : Āryā.
[9] Read °पद्रः.
[10] Metre : Āryā.
[11] Metre : Anushṭubh.
[12] Metre : Āryā.
[13] Metre : Anushṭubh.
[14] [On the impression the reading appears to be भावी.—H. K. S.]

एभिरेव च साम्मत्यात्प्रवेश्यो न नृपा[ज्ञ]या(तु) ॥[1][३३*] ततो वास-
वनन्दोति [वि]प्रः

21 पु[स्ताह][2]वाचकः ॥ द्वौ च भागवतौ नाम्ना वामनः श्रीधरस्तथा [1]॥
[३४*] एते पञ्चदशाङ्का विवर्जिता दानविक्रियाधानैः ॥ सर्व्वेपि
[च] सङ्गोज्याः (॥) लेख[3]कश्चार्यगोख्य इति इति[4] [॥३५*] यस्तत्र ए[व]
ग्रामो वर्गुल्लकसंज्ञितः स [दे]-

22 वस्य [॥] बलिचरुनिवेद्यसत्रो[प]करणहेतोः पृथग्दत्तः ॥[5][३६*] अत्र च
साधिष्ठानैः सपादमूलैश्च सर्व्वकार्याणि ॥ सम्भूय विप्रमुख्यैः करणीयान्यै-
कमत्येन ॥[5][३७*] स्थितिरियं क्षितिपाः परिपाल्यतां च[ल]तु

23 [6]सैष कृतोपकृति[क्र]मः ॥ [न]नु भविष्यति का पुनर[त्तरा] गतिरतो
भवतामपि कौ[र्त्ति]षु ॥[7][३८*] [ग]जस्नानं स्नातं [खलु] चरणकुद्दाल-
नमिदं स्वयं पुण्योत्थानं[8] यदिह परकीर्त्तिक्षतिकृतां ॥

24 [9]मदक्लाम्यत्तन्वीनयनतरलाल्वीक्ष्य विभवानतः श्रेयः [10]शुद्धं व्रतम[नुचर]न्कोर-
[नु?]दिरं ॥[11][३९*] भवाब्धिध[र्म]प्लवक[र्ण]धारो बभूव देव्याः कुलशील-
शाली ॥ केदारनामा स [इ]दं समग्र-

25 मकारयत्पुण्यमहानिधानं [॥[12]४०*] श्री शिवगुप्तो राजा क्रित्वा त्रैलोक्य —
⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — — — — त्येन प्रादा[त्गो]ण-
[र्थि]भट्टाय ।[13][४१*] भागमिहैकं स्था[नं][14] गुणवद्वि[15]जभोज्यमुत्तमगु-
[णाय] ॥

26 शास्त्रव्याख्याविदुषे विदुषे [[16]शास्त्रेषु वेदेषु] ॥[17][४२*]

1 Metre: Anushṭubh. [The letter, read तु, resembles a floral device which was perhaps inserted to indicate that the main part of the grant ended here.—H. K. S.]

2 [On the impression this word looks like पुस्तक°—Ed.].

3 [The metre requires this syllable to be long; perhaps we have to read लेखाक्षश्च.—H. K. S.] [On the impression the reading appears to be लेखकश्च.—Ed.]

4 इति is repeated a second time by mistake. It must be cancelled. Metre: Āryā.

5 Metre: Āryā.

6 सै looks like सं.

7 Metre: Drutavilambita.

8 [On the impression the reading is पुण्यौत्थानं.—H. K. S.]

9 [On the impression the reading seems to be °क्लाम्यद्वारौ°.—H. K. S.]

10 [On the impression the reading seems to be शुद्धं कुरुत ननु भो चौरमदिरं.—H. K. S.]

11 Metre: Śikhariṇī.

12 Metre: Upajāti.

13 Metre: Āryā. [On the impression the reading seems to be प्रादात्गोत्राय्यभट्टाय.—Ed.].

14 [On the impression the reading seems to be स्थाने.—Ed.].

15 [Read गुणवद्द्विज°.—H. K. S.]

16 [On the impression the letter looks like सा.—Ed.]

17 Metre: Āryā.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm! Salutation to Purushōttama (Vishṇu).

(Verse 1.) Let the discus-holder's (*Nṛisiṁha's*[1]) foot protect you—the foot whose sharp claws emitted a sound like that of *guñjā* berries (*shaken*) by the gust of strong winds passing through the long spaces between each other, and (*looked*) terrific (more so) with the jaws shining with the flame of rays (*emanating*) from the nails, when they being lifted up, tore through the mass of dark clouds in the sky and revealed the stars with pearly brilliance, like a lion who, having overcome that storehouse of darkness,— the elephant, jumps about scattering brilliant pearls (*torn from his temples*).

(V. 2.) Let that Nṛisiṁha protect you, who looking with eagerness at (*his own*) nails, for the enemy (*Hiraṇyakaśipu*) who had not been secured for being torn with these (claws), happened to see him hiding through fear in the cavern-like cavity in the interior of the deep hollow of those (*nails*). With a laugh (*at his foolishness in taking shelter in the place where he could be easily crushed out*), joy (*at finding him out*) and contempt (*at the miserable creature*) he split the demon at once with the point of the other claw and threw him away with wrath like dirt that had collected there.

(V. 3.)[2] As if bearing the jaws like a beautiful conch and the tongue like a sword, with the face burning like the discus (*and*) with the eye-brows (*as if carrying*) the mace, this form of Vishṇu born for devouring, like sins, the demons, presented the appearance of the god of death

. . . .

(V. 4.) There was the unequalled crest-jewel of the lunar race, whose wealth was wonderful on earth, just as the origin of the moon was miraculous and whose dignity was commensurate with his devotion to the lord of goblins (Śiva). He was indeed of manifold virtues, (*and*) famous on the earth by the name of **[Chandraguptarāja.]**

(V. 5.) This task is very difficult, this path before (me) insurmountable. I have no guide nor (*have I*) any friend (*who can*) share the burden (*with me*). I accomplish this single-handed . . . .

(V. 6.) Even his elder brother shining with regal power,[3] became his follower in battles and (*through him*) mighty, like him whose weapon is the plough (Balarāma); who likewise followed the killer of Kaṁsa (Kṛishṇa) in tearing up the mighty elephants of his unassailable enemy.[4]

(V. 7.) In bravery, a lion killing the elephants with (*swelling*) frontal globes,—rendered dull by the cries (*due to*) excessive rut,—with fodder placed in their mouths, or the trunks hanging down, is like a dog and cannot stand comparison with the king destroying (*his*) enemies blooming with the prosperity of their treasures, prowess, race and statesmanship.[5]

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[1] [There seems to be a reference here not to Nṛisiṁha but to the Trivikrama-*avatār* of the god Vishṇu.—H. K. S.]

[2] The poet here seems to show that the terrific face of Nṛisiṁha bore the symbols of Vishṇu as also of Yama. The jaws being white bones were like the conch, the tongue like the sword which is also one of the weapons of Vishṇu, the round face, the discus and eye-brows the mace. Yama's attributes are projecting jaws, long tongue, red hot face and a club.

[3] [Perhaps Adhikāradhavala was a name or surname of his elder brother.—H. K. S.]

[4] [As the reading in the text is clearly °*dārnṇēshu* (not *dāraṇēshu* as Mr. Hiralal seems to take it) the compound ending with that word is evidently an attribute of the word *raṇēshu*.—Ed.]

[5] [The passage कुम्भैरङ्कितमस्तकानतिमदव्याहारमुग्धात्मनो वक्त्रन्यस्ततृणानधःकृतकरान् admits of two meanings, one applicable to the subdued kings and the other to elephants. – H. K. S.]

(V. 8.) Of him, the lord of the rulers of the earth, was born a son famous in the world (*who was*) a very treasure of jewels, (*who had*) a large number of undivided allies and (*who was*) high in character, (*thus*) resembling the high Mainâka hill which is the offspring of the lord of mountains, *viz.* the Himâdri (mountain), has extensive wings which are unclipped and is a mine of jewels.

(V. 9.) At the time of his birth, the goddess of wealth was transported with joy saying 'It is a long time since I found such a suitable place for myself.' Ever filled with joy (*harsha*) and verily inaccessible to grief he accordingly bore the name śrī **Harshagupta.**

(V. 10.) His precious days passed in enjoying all the sensuous objects, (*they were*) indefatigably applied in the path of virtue, and unceasingly (*spent*) in good assemblies; they never went fruitless (*when employed*) in the destruction of hostile power and were uninterruptedly devoted in the service of the elders. Thus they always caused wonder in (*the performance of*) many pleasing duties simultaneously.

(V. 11.) His enemies' town is hated by the spectators as the walls are crushed to powder, all the joints are separated in various ways, the limbs of the streets are also torn asunder, and on all sides there is an exhibition of dry bones. (*They exclaim*) 'what is to be seen here? How has the variegated appearance even of the entrance (*of the town*) disappeared?' Thus (*saying*) (*the spectators*) hate it like a bad drama destitute of interest even in the prologue, with torn curtains (*bhitti*), disjointed incidents, broken dialogues and dry plot.

(V. 12.) From him was born king **Mahāśivagupta** truly renowned as an incarnation of virtue (*dharmāvatāra*)[1] who conquered the earth with (*his*) younger brother **Raṇakēsarin** as did Pṛithā's first son (Yudhishṭhira) with the aid of his younger brother Bhīma who was like a lion in battle.

(V. 13.) Indeed! greater than even his grandfather (*as he is*) he would beat even his teacher in battle with his prowess and strength; who would therefore be his vanquisher (*karttana*)? The crowd of enemies considering him **Bālārjuna,** (to be) an all-conqueror amongst practisers of arms, gave up the hope even for their lives (*as they had done*) already for their wealth [like the foes of Arjuna (*i.e.* the sons of Dhṛitarāshṭra) who first gave up their hope for wealth when they found that young Arjuna promised to excel Bhīshma and surpass Drōṇa in prowess. What was Karṇa before him in the practice of weapons!]

(V. 14.) He who took deceptive forms for destroying the enemies, who was born black (Kṛishṇa) on this (*earth*) and who again becomes in the future also sinful (Kalkī)— that Hari (Vishṇu) could not really stand comparison with him who kills his enemies without practising any deception, who bears the utmost whiteness[2] and who has no sinful motives.

(V. 15.) Of that lord of men, the conqueror in fierce battles, the illustrious **Vāsaṭā** was the mother, like the very mane (*saṭā*) of the man-lion form (of Vishṇu) bewildering the minds (*even*) of wise men (and of the gods), just like the mother of him who rides the peacock (Kārttikēya), the daughter of the mountain (*viz.* Pārvatī).

(V. 16.) Born in the unblemished family of the Varmans great on account of (*their*) supremacy over **Magadha,** the illustrious (and) pious king **Sūryavarmā** who had caused trembling in the hearts of the gods by his virtuous acts, having got this daughter, obtained the very proud honour of being the father-in-law of the great lord (*Paramēśvara*) of the East, like Himāchala (who obtained before a similar honour by marrying his daughter Pārvatī to the great god (*paramēśvara*), Śiva).

[1] [Dharmāvatāra may have been a *biruda* of the king.—H. K. S.]

[2] [Perhaps the king had the surname Atyantadhavala.—H. K. S.]

[3] [It is worthy of note that the Śarabhapura kings Mahājayarāja and Mahāsudēva granted villages in the Eastern country (Pūrva-rāshṭra); Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 192, 195, 197 and 199.—Ed.].

(V. 17.) Even after (*her*) lord went to heaven, in spite of her always observing fasts and austerities, which cause leanness (*of the body*), her unaltered limbs retained their natural charming grace.

(V. 18.) She, like the Vēdas, was the shelter to the people belonging to the four *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas*[1] (or) like Policy to a kingdom, like Wisdom (*herself*) in deciding between truth and falsehood, (*and*) the goddess of Wealth herself to the greedy. The spread of all sins was checked by her and the earth that was about to abandon her fidelity (*by wooing, so to speak, the Kali age*) was again reminded by her, as a friend, of the krita (*age*) for the sake of reunion [as a lady's maid reminds her mistress of (*her husband's*) acts to bring about a union (*between them*) when somewhat disturbed.]

(V. 19.) By whom Kali during his own regime (*i.e.* the Kali age) was dishonoured, that Kali who boasted of having access even to Damayantī[2] in olden times.

(V. 20.) By her this eternal abode of the lord Hari was caused to be made, to show exactly (*the abode Vaikuṇṭha*) where her deceased lord lived worshipping daily the imperishable (*Vishṇu in the heavens*).

(V. 21.) Oh kings! do not turn your minds to sins, seeing what has been clearly described of this wonderful world (*saṁsāra*) under the guise of the temple (*i.e.*) the diversity of acts of all creatures high and low— with cage-like bodies (*passing*) through various stages of existence—from the celestial beings (*downwards*).

(V. 22.) This itself tells the kings the appropriate fate of destruction and protection (*of charity*) by (the waving of) its flags (*tossed*) by the unsteady wind, in one moment going down, and in another rising up towards the sky.

(V. 23.) On the very bank of (*this*) ocean of the world, the great boat of *dharma* has been placed to cross it. This must be protected by kings. Neglected (*it*) would sink down.

(V. 24.) O (*future*) kings! (*Now*) listen to the perpetuation which the poet Chintāturāṅka Īśāna, author of the *praśasti*, submits to you for the protection of it (*i.e.* the charity).

(V. 25.) **Tōḍaṅkaṇa, Madhuvēḍha, Nālīpadra, Kurapadra** and in this place (*sthāna*) **Vāṇapadra**,— these five villages are given.

(V. 26[3].) Of these (*villages*) three shares have been divided in three ways for (*the maintenance of*) the almshouse, the repair of breaks and cracks (*in the temple*) and the support of the servants of the sanctuary (*one share being allotted for each of the purposes*).

(V. 27.) The fourth share has been divided into fifteen parts. These are (*for*) twelve Brāhmaṇas, four for each Vēda.

(V. 28.) **Brahma-Trivikrama, Arka** and another **Vishṇudēva**, as well as **Mahiradēva** (*are*) the four best learned in the Ṛigvēda.

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[1] The Śūdras cannot study the Vēdas and have no *āśramas*.

[2] Damayantī pretended that she would remarry, thinking that hearing this news, her husband Nala would come forward and disclose himself, and although her intention was most noble, she nevertheless committed a sin by pronouncing an unholy wish, and Kali thus secured a victory over this exemplary chaste lady, who was free from sin by act, thought or speech. The 19th verse alludes to this occurrence, and I am indebted to Paṇdit Hirananda, M.A., Officiating Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, for pointing it out to me and for his kindness in going over the manuscript.

[3] I am indebted to Mr. Kṛishṇa Śāstrī for pointing out that खंडस्फुटित has a technical sense here. पादमूल he thinks means 'the sanctuary', both of which I have adopted in the translation.

(V. 29.) Similarly, Kapardōpādhyāya, Bhāskara, Madhusūdana and Vēdagarbha (*are*) the four fully conversant with the Yajurvēda.

(V. 30.) Again, Bhāskaradēva, Sthirōpādhyāya, Trailōkyahaṁsa and Mōuḍḍha (*are*) the four accomplished in the Sāmavēda.

(V. 31.) Their sons and grandsons (*who succeed them*) should be such as offer sacrifice to fire and know the six supplements of the Vēdas, who are not addicted to gambling, prostitutes and such other (*bad associations*), who have their mouths clean (*apiṭṭaka*) and who are not servants.

(V. 32.) If one does not answer to this description, (*he should be abandoned*); also one who dies sonless— in their places must be appointed other Brāhmaṇas possessing the foregoing qualifications.

(V. 33.) He should be their relative, advanced in age while being learned. He should be appointed by their consent alone and not by order of the king.

(V. 34.) Further, (*there are*) the Brāhmaṇa Vāsavanandin who at sacrifices declares holidays[1] and the two Bhāgavatas by name Vāmana and Śrīdhara.

(V. 35.) These fifteen parts, (*the alienation of which is*) prohibited by gift, sale and mortgage, must all be (*thus*) enjoyed by virtuous men. The writer of this is Ārya-Goṇṇa.

(V. 36.) The village which is on a low level[2] and is known as Vargullaka is separately given (*as a supplementary contribution*) for the maintenance of the almshouse, for *bali*, *charu* and *nivēdya* to the god.

(V. 37.) All the transactions should be performed unanimously by the principal Brāhmaṇas (resident there), and the worshippers (*pādamūla*) meeting together.

(V. 38.) Oh kings! protect this organization. Let this arrangement of mutual obligation continue (*for ever*). Alas! what indeed, will be the future of your fame!

(V. 39.) The establishment of (*the places of*) *puṇya* (*i.e. almshouses, etc.*) by those who destroy the (*deeds of*) glory of others is just like an elephant-bath (*throwing dust on one's own head*) or an axe for (*cutting one's*) feet. Therefore, seeing that riches are as fickle as the eyes of an intoxicated woman, it is better to follow the path of virtue and . . . .[3]

(V. 40.) He who was distinguished for the nobility of his character and family and whose name was Kēdara, became the helmsman of the boat of virtue in the ocean of existence for the queen and got this great receptacle of religious merit built completely.

(V. 41.) The illustrious king Śivagupta . . . . the three worlds, gave to Gōṇārya-Bhaṭṭa . . . . .

(V. 42.) One part of this (*gift*) which is to be enjoyed by a virtuous Brāhmaṇa is reserved for one who is well read in the *Śāstras* and (*their*) commentaries, as well as the Vēdas and is of excellent character.

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[1] [*Puṇyāha-vāchaka* (as Mr. Hiralal has read) is a priest who officiates in all auspicious ceremonies and proclaims by certain *mantras* a happy day to the ceremony and its performer.—H. K. S.]

[2] [*Tala ēva* may be more appropriately translated 'close at hand'.—H. K. S.]

[3] [Following the note 10 on page 193 above, I translate:—' O men! keep therefore (your) virtue, which is lovely as milk, unsullied'.—H. K. S.]

Geographical names in the records of the Sōmavaṁśī kings of (Kaṭak) Vinītapura, with identifications where ascertained.

Designation of the record and reference to its publication.	Place of find.	Name of place whence issued.	Villages granted.	Name of country in which the village granted was situated.	Grantee's residence and place from which he emigrated.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A.—Paṭṇā copper-plate grant of the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta I. Above, Vol. III. p. 341.	Paṭṇā State .	(1) Mūrasīma = Mursiṅgā, in Paṭṇā State, about 13 miles south-west of Bolangir, the present capital of Paṭṇā State.	(1) Vakaveḍḍā = probably Baktī, 15 miles north of Bolangir and 4 miles south of the Oṅgā river.	(1) Oṅgātaṭa-vishaya = District on the bank of the Oṅgā river which flows in Paṭṇā forming the boundary between it and Sonpur in the north.	(1) Lēiśriṅgā = Loisiṅgā, the head-quarters of a Zamīndārī of the same name in Paṭṇā State, 11 miles north of Bolangir. (2) Khaṇḍakshētra = Khandapara? in the tributary state of the same name touching the south-western boundary of Cuttack district. (3) Lipatuṅgā = probably Lepta (?), 6 miles south-east of Bolangir. (4) Pampāsarsī. (5) Odayaśriṅgā = probably Udayagiri in Cuttack district, 4 miles from the celebrated Bhuvanēśvar. (6) Koṅkaleḍḍa = probably Koknara in Bora Sambhar Zamīndārī of Sambalpur district, 4 miles from Narsinghnāth. (7) Kaliṅga = country on the coast of Bay of Bengal. Kaliṅganagara = Mukhaliṅgam in the Ganjam district.	In all the inscriptions of these kings they are invariably recorded as lords of Trikaliṅga, which is identified with Telingāna and is believed to have included the whole of Orissa.

B.—Kaṭak copper-plate grant of the 31st year of Mahābhavagupta I. Above, Vol. III. p. 345.	Chaudwār opposite Cuttack on the other side of the Mahānadī.	(2) Ārāma or Pleasure garden.	(2) Raṇḍā = Reṇḍā in Paṭnā State, 6 miles east of Bolangir. (3) Alāṇḍalā = Alandā, 3 miles east of Bolangir.	(2) Pōvā-vishaya = Pow in Sonpur State, 19 miles south of Binkā, 12 miles north-east of Bolangir and 8 miles north-east of Reṇḍā. (3) Kōśala-dēśa = country between Berār and Cuttack afterwards limited to Chhattīsgarh.	(8) Turvunā. (9) Ṭakārī = possibly the one, 16 miles north-west of Gya.	
C.—Kaṭak copper-plate grant of the same year. Above, Vol. III. p. 345.	Chaudwār opposite Cuttack.	Ārāma or Pleasure garden, same as No. (2).	(4) Arkigrāmā . . =.	(4) Tulumva-Khaṇḍa = Turum on the Mahānadī, 27 miles south of Sambalpur. Kōśala-dēśa same as No. (3).	Turvunā, same as No. (8). Ṭakārī, same as No. (9).	
D.—Kaṭak copper-plate grant of the same year. Above, Vol. III. p. 345.	Chaudwār opposite Cuttack.	Ārāma or Pleasure garden, same as No. (2).	(5) Tūlēṇḍā or Trūlēṇḍā = Tulendi ?, 6 miles north of Bolangir in Paṭnā State.	(5) Sandānā-vishaya = probably Sonda, 11 miles east of Sonpur. Kōśala-dēśa, same as No. (3).	Turvunā, same as No. (8). Ṭakārī, same as No. (9).	
E.—Kaṭak copper-plate grant of the 9th year of Mahāśivagupta. Above, Vol. III. p. 351.	Found among the official records at Cuttack.	(3) Vinītapura = Binkā on the Mahānadī in the Sonpur State, about 16 miles up.	(6) Chāndagrāma .	(8) M[illegible]aḍa-vishaya (9) Dakshiṇa-Kōsalā, i.e., southern Kōsala.	(10) Śilābhañja-pāṭī. (11) Ōḍra-dēśa = Orissa. (12) Śrīvallagrāma = probably Bilgrāma, 20 miles from Ayōdhyā. (13) Madhya-dēśa = The country lying between the Himālaya, the Vindhya, Vinaśana in the west and Prayāga in the east. Ṭakkāra, probably same as No. (9).	In plates issued from Vinītapura or Yayātinagara, the well-known river Mahānadī which rises in the Raipur District and falls into the Bay of Bengal is mentioned.

Geographical names in the records of the Sōmavaṁśī kings of (Kaṭak) Vinītapura, with identifications where ascertained—contd.

Designation of the record and reference to its publication.	Place of find.	Name of place whence issued.	Villages granted.	Name of country in which the village granted was situated.	Grantee's residence and place from which he emigrated.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
F.—Kaṭak copper-plate grant of the 3rd year of Mahābhavagupta II. Above, Vol. III, p. 355.	Believed to have been found somewhere close to Cuttack.	(4) Yayātinagara, apparently another name of Vinītapura No. (3).	(7) Gauḍasiminilli.	(10) Kōsala-Sākhaṅgadyanhā (Khaḍgīyanhā?)-vishaya.	(14) Siṅgōā-grāma = probably Singhar in the Khariār Zamīndārī in the extreme south of the Raipur district. (15) Dēvībhōga-vishaya = Deobhog in the Bindrā Nawāgarh Zamīndārī in the extreme south of Raipur District. Kōsala[dēśa] = Chhattisgarh. (16) Ḳāsillī. (17) Śrāvastī-maṇḍala in Oudh, round about the present Sahet Mahet.	
G.—Patṇā copper plates of the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta I. J. A. S. B. 1905, Vol. I. p. 4.	Patṇā State	Mūrasima, same as No. (1).	(8) Pāsitalā = Pointalā, 2 miles east of Bolangir.	(11) Potā? probably same as No. (2).	Loiśriṅgā, same as No. (1). (18) Kommāpira.	
H.—Patṇā copper plates of the 8th year of Mahāśivagupta. J. A. S. B. 1905, Vol. I. p. 6.	Patṇā State	Vinītapura, same as No. (3).	(9) Talakajja = Talagaja, 10 miles south-east of Bolangir. (10) Dāśānarīy anadī. This is probably ...	(12) Sanūlā—Soinnūlā in Patṇā State, 20 miles south of Bolangir and 22 miles south-west of Talgaja.	(19) Jalajadda = Jalajodo near Talagaja, 10 miles south-east of Bolangir. (20) Mādhvila.	The plates mention the Chēdi country which lay south of the Jumna and ex-

I.—Paṭṇā copper plates of the 24th year of Mahāśivagupta. J. A. S. B. 1905, Vol I. p. 7.	Paṭṇā State	Yayātinagara, same as No. (4).	(11) Hēlāhēlī or Dēlādēlī.	(13) Telātaṭa = country on the bank of the river Tel, a tributary of Mahānadī rising in Kālāhandi and joining it at Sonpur. Kōśala, same as No. (3).	(21) Antaraḍī. (22) Lāvaḍā-vishaya = Lebda ?, 48 miles south-west of Bolangir. Kāsilī, same as No. (16). Śrāvastī, same as No. (17).	
J.—Paṭṇā copper plates of the 28th year of Mahāśivagupta. J. A. S. B. 1905, Vol. I, p. 8.	Paṭṇā State	Yayātinagara, same as No. (4).	(12) Luttarumā.	Telātaṭa, same as No. (13). Kōśala, same as No. 3.	Antaradī, same as No. 21. Lāvadā, same as No. 22. Kāsilī, same as No. 16. Śrāvastī, same as No. 17.	
K.—Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta II. Above, Vol. IV. p. 256.	Kudopali in Bargarh tahsīl of Sambalpur district.	(5) Vāmaṇḍā pāṭī = Bāmrā, a feudatory state in Bengal still called by the Oriyas Bāmaṇḍā. Bāmrāgarh (old capital of Bāmrā) is 60 miles north-east of Binkā.	(13) Lōisarā, a village of the same name in Bargarh tahsīl of Sambalpur District, 13 miles south-east of Bargarh and 16 miles south-west of Sambalpur. It is 9 miles south of Saraṇḍā and 3 miles south of Kudopali.	(14) Gidāṇḍā (correctly, Sidāṇḍā)-maṇḍala, is the same as Saraṇḍā in Bargarh tahsil, 11 miles south-west of Sambalpur town.	(23) Hastipada.	Lēnapura is mentioned as the inscription writer's residence.
L.—Nāgpur Museum plates of the 8th year of Mahābhavagupta I. Above, Vol. VIII. p. 138.	Satlamā in Sambalpur district.	M[ū]rsīma, same as No. 1.	(14) Satallamā = Satlamā, in Bargarh tahsīl of Sambalpur District, 15 miles south of Bargarh and 32 miles south-west of Sambalpur.	(15) Kaśalōḍā-vishaya = Kusardā, 15 miles south-west of Bargarh and 34 miles south-west of Sambalpur. It is 10 miles north-west of Satlamā.	(24) Murujuṅga. (25) Purushamaṇḍapa in Ōḍra-dēśa (same as No. 11).	
M.—Sonpur copper plates of the 3rd year of Mahābhavagupta I. Above, p. 93 ff.	Sonpur	Suvarṇapura = Sonpur on the Mahānadī, the capital of a feudatory state of the same name in Bengal.	(15) Vakratentalī = Bantentuli in Sonpur State, 16 miles west of Sonpur town.	(16) Lupattarā-khaṇḍa, probably the same as No. 3 of column 6.	(26) Mēraṇḍā = Mendā, 17 miles west of Sonpur. (27) Rāḍhāphaṁvallikandara = Rairākhol, a feudatory state contiguous to Sonpur, the village Rairākhol being 45 miles from Sonpur.	

No. 20.—THE INSCRIPTION ON THE WARDAK VASE.

BY F. E. PARGITER, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.)

The Wardak vase or urn was found by Masson in the topes of Khawat in the district of Wardak in Afghanistan during the years 1834-7. He called the place Kohwat and gave this description of it:—"These topes are situated on the course of the river, which, having its source in the Hazáraját, flows through Loghar into the plain east of Kabul, where it unites with the stream passing through the city. They are distant about 30 miles to the west of Kabul" (*Ariana Antiqua*, 117). The map of Kabul and its neighbourhood compiled by the Survey Department of India shows the district as "Khawat *or* Wardak," and as lying from 34 to 50 miles south-west of Kabul. Khawat therefore and not Kohwat is the correct name of the spot where the vase was found in the Wardak district. Masson's description of the finding of the vase is this:—"There are five or six topes, strictly so called, with numerous *tumuli* ..... I found that three or four of these structures had been opened at some unknown period; and before the present Afghan inhabitants had dispossessed the former occupants, Hazáras, about one hundred years since . .. In the principal tope an internal cupola was enclosed, or rather had been .....I directed certain operations to be pursued, even with the opened topes, and pointed out a number of *tumuli* which I wished to be examined, as they were very substantially constructed: the results proved successful, in great measure, and comprised seven vases of metal and steatite, with other and various deposits. One of the brass vases was surrounded with a Bactro-Pali inscription, of which I did not take a copy, as to have done so I must have cleansed it. I was averse to take this liberty, being aware that the characters being firmly dotted in could by no chance be obliterated" (*Ariana Antiqua*, 117-8).

The inscription was copied and published in a plate, which is numbered X in E. Thomas's Edition of *Prinsep's Essays*, vol. I; and E. Thomas there says:—"I have devoted plate X to the exhibition of the inscription on the brass urn discovered in a tope about 30 miles west of Kabul in the district of Wardak. This urn, which in shape and size approximates closely to the ordinary water-vessels in use in India to this day, has originally been thickly gilt, and its surface has in consequence remained so excellently well preserved, that every puncture of the dotted legend may be satisfactorily discriminated" (*ibid*, 161-2). He tried to decipher the inscription and published his results there. Mr. E. C. Bayley then took the inquiry up but was not satisfied with his endeavours, and the elucidation was then entrusted to Babu Rajendralala Mitra. He published his rendering of the inscription together with the same plate in J. A. S. B., 1861, p. 337, to which Mr. Bayley added a note (*ibid*, p. 347). Prof. J. Dowson next undertook the decipherment of this and other records in the Kharōshṭhī character and published his results together with the same plate in J. R. A. S., 1863, vol. XX, pp. 221-68. His scrutiny left many parts of this inscription still undeciphered, and so the matter rested. Other scholars have given some attention to this inscription lately but were unable to complete the investigation.[1] Dr. Fleet then asked me in November 1910 to undertake the work, and supplied me with excellent ink-impressions. I now publish the results that I have been able to obtain.[2]

This vase is now in the British Museum, and I have inspected it and compared the ink-impressions with the inscription. The vase is 6·9 inches high and 6·6 inches broad at its

[1] See for instance M. Senart's rendering of part, Journal Asiat., sér. 8, vol. XV (1890), p. 121; and sér. 9, vol. VII (1896), p. 8; and Prof. Lüders', J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 661.

[2] I have to thank Dr. F. W. Thomas for valuable suggestions and criticisms on my results; and for the convenience of scholars I have mentioned many of them, at his desire, when they differ from my results.

widest part. Dr. Read tells me that it bears no traces of ever having been gilt, but that parts of the brass might have presented a brilliant appearance like gold, if they had been protected by remaining in contact with certain earth while buried in the tumulus.

The inscription is in the **Kharōshṭhī script** and consists of two portions. The first is written in three lines encircling the shoulder of the vase; and the second consisting of one line is written around the broadest part of the vase below the former and separated from it by three lines, and occupies not quite half the circumference. The first is the main portion and is in letters varying generally from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in height. In the fourth line or second portion the letters are about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch longer and correspondingly broad. They are formed of minute dents pricked into the metal, and the dents are so close together that from 8 to 10 are generally contained in $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in the first three lines, and from 7 to 8 in the last line.

The two plates annexed hereto, giving a facsimile of the record, have been prepared under Dr. Fleet's supervision from the ink-impressions which also were made under his direction. The shape of the part of the vase where lines 1 and 2 lie is such that ink-impressions of them cannot be made without introducing a gap at some point or another; the place selected was naturally that where the record begins, and a supplementary ink-impression was made of that part of the record and has been reproduced below the complete lines. It shows how the lines run right round the vase without any blank space in line 1, and with only a small space at the end of line 2, and gives in their complete forms the final *ti* of line 1 and the initial *i* of line 2, which are not perfect in the circular impression. To have reproduced line 3 in one piece would have entailed a somewhat cumbrous folding plate, hence it has been treated in three parts overlapping each other; thus 3-B repeats the last six syllables of 3 A, and 3 C repeats the last five syllables of 3 B and also shows at its end the *bha* with which 3 A begins. A fourth piece 3 D has been added to show how this line also practically runs quite round the vase, and contains the last seven and the first eight letters of the line.

The style of the script is that of the Kushaṇa inscriptions portrayed by Bühler in Table I of his *Indische Palæographie*, cols. x to xii. Further specimens of the script have been published lately, namely, the Taxila plate by Bühler (E. I. iv, 54), the Taxila vase by Prof. Lüders (E. I. viii, 296) and the Mathurā Lion-capital by Dr. F. W. Thomas (E. I. ix, 135). Mr. E. Thomas in discussing this inscription spoke of "the little care that has been taken to mark the nicer shades of diversity of outline which, in many cases, constitute the only essential difference between characters of but little varying form" (*Prinsep's Essays*, vol. I, p. 162). But it seems to me after a careful and detailed comparison of the letters, that the inscription has been carefully made, the letters are generally well-formed, only a few clerical errors occur, and the distinctions between letters which are similar in shape are generally expressed clearly[1] except as regards two particular letters, *y* and *ś*. For instance, *t* and *r* have the same general shape, and are fairly well distinguished, in that the downward stroke of *t* is usually of about the same length as the horizontal stroke, while in *r* it is generally about twice as long; and in only one or two places is the difference neglected. No distinction is made between long and short vowels, and the only special form that need be mentioned is *nē* in *munē* (l. 1).

The exception just referred to occurs in the letters *y* and *ś*, and these are the only letters that cause real uncertainty. Ordinarily *y* has a pointed top and *ś* a flat top, but the distinction is very far from being observed here and is indeed more often ignored; especially since sometimes the top has an intermediate roundish form and sometimes the letters are distorted by

[1] Characters should primarily be read as what they strictly appear to be, and the resultant words accepted and scrutinized. This is essential in dealing with the endless diversities in the different kinds of Prākṛit. To read characters so as to agree with the commoner forms of the Prākṛit words intended seems to be almost certain to obscure Prākṛit modifications that may be important critically and linguistically. See p. 208, note 3.

being tilted over to the right. We may confidently read *y* in *iya Khavadamri* (l. 1), and *ś* in *Śakya* and *śarira* (l. 1), *śava* (l. 3 A) and *śaphatiga* (l. 3 B); but in all other instances it is hardly possible to say positively, solely from the shape of the letter, whether it is *y* or *ś*, and regard must be had to the meaning. This is well illustrated by the word *puyae* which occurs thrice in l. 2 and once in l. 3 B. The *y* has a different shape in each of these places; in the last place it has undoubtedly the form of *ś*, and in all the other places its appearance is far more that of *ś*, than of *y*. In all these instances then what looks like *ś* is really *y*. Hence it is clear we must be prepared for similar confusion in other passages where one or other of these letters is intended, and the decision must rest mainly, if not entirely, on the sense. Thus we can read without doubt *y* in *Arṭamisiyasa* (l. 1) and in *paḍiyaṁśaṁ* (ll. 2 and 3 C); and *ś* in the words *kuśala* (l. 2), *mahiśa* (ll. 2 and 3 B) and also in *paḍiyaṁśaṁ*. There remain some words in which *y* or *ś* is combined with a vowel mark or another consonant, and, since *y* is written sometimes with a flat or rounded top, there would be nothing surprising if its top is made wide in order to find room where the vowel marks *i* and *ō* have to be inserted, so that *yi* and *yō* would then look like *śi* and *śō*. Accordingly *y* and not *ś* appears to be the correct reading in *kadalayigra* (l. 1), *paryata* (l. 3 A), *jalayuga* (l. 3 B), and *yō adra* (l. 3 A); while *ś* is right in *śōcha* (l. 2); while what looks like *asaṁśrana* (l. 4) is doubtful. These words will be discussed in the Notes *infra*.

The characters for *b* and *v* require some notice. *V* proper approximates to the character for *b*, but they are distinguished in that the top line is flat in *v* and is curved upwards on the left side in *b*. Thus we have *v* initial in *vagra* (thrice, ll. 1, 2) and *vihara* (ll. 1, 4) and medial in *bhavagra* (l. 3 A) and *avashatri* (l. 3 C); while *b* occurs in *bhradaba* (l. 2) and *nabagra* (l. 3 A); and in conformity therewith it is proper to read *b* rather than *v* in *paridhabēti* (l. 1). Another character is found for what is properly *va*, which occurs only as a medial and is evidently distinguished from *va* proper, for it is always small and without the stroke to the left at the bottom. It is used in *bhavatu* always, also in *bhagravada* (l. 1) and *parivāra* (l. 3 C), and apparently in *Khavadamri* (l. 1). This difference in shape may denote a difference in value, and this small form may perhaps have had the sound of *w*.

No distinction appears to be recognized between the letters *n* and *ṇ*. A slight difference may be perceived between the character in *imēna* (l. 1) and *mulēna* (l. 2) and that in *Hashṭuna* (l. 2) and *avashatrigana* (l. 3 C); and that constitutes the difference which Bühler has shown in his Table I, cols. x and xi; but his form of *ṇ* occurs here, not only in words where it should properly appear as in *sarvina* and *Rōhana* (l. 3 B), but also in words where it is inadmissible as in *imēna* (l. 1), *mulēna* (l. 2) and *satvana* (l. 3 A). There appears therefore to be no real distinction observed between *ṇ* and *n*, and this is what Prof. Lüders has noticed in his paper on the Taxila vase (E. I. viii, 297).

A letter that presents some difficulty is that which I read as *ḍi* in *gaḍigrēna* (l. 1) and *paḍiyaṁśaṁ* (twice ll. 2, 3 C). It is one and the same in all three places, for its form in the first and second places is identical, and, though it varies somewhat in the third place, yet it occurs there in precisely the same expression *agra bhaga paḍiyaṁśaṁ* as in the second, and must be the same in these two places.[1] Hence it must be read the same in all. It is certainly

[1] The letter has a tail or stroke to the right at the bottom; in the first two places the stroke is a straight line and in the third an upward curve. The difference seems to be intentional. In discussing the *r* stroke *infra* (p. 206) I have pointed out the difference made in it in the two portions into which the inscription must be divided, namely, the straight *r* stroke does not denote a real *r* in the first portion but does so in the second. The first two instances of this letter occur in the first portion, and its tail being made straight there like the unreal *r* could not create a misunderstanding; but in the third instance, which occurs in the second portion, that straight stroke might have suggested a real *r* stroke, and misunderstanding has been avoided by turning the tail into a curve, which has no special significance in the second portion (though it does respresent a real *r* in the first portion).

not *ri*. M. Senart has taken it as *ti* and Prof. Lüders as *tri*, thus they read the word as *patiaṁśaē* and *patriyaṁśaē* respectively;[1] but I do not think it is *ti* or *tri*, because the right shoulder of the character is carried upwards far higher than in all other instances of the letter *t*,[2] and it differs from the genuine *ti* found in *paridhabētī* (l. 1), *rajatibaja*, *natigra*, *saṁbhati* (l. 2) and *śaphatiga* (l. 3B), and from the *tri* found in *avashatri* (l. 3C). There is no other letter that it resembles except *ḍ* and *ḍh*, which are figured in Bühler's Table I and in Dr. Thomas's Table IV (E. I. ix, 146). The word is evidently the same as in *agrapatiaśaē* on the Mānikyāla stone, in *agrapratyaśatāyē* (E. I., i, 390, n^c XVIII) and in *agrēbhāva-pratyaṁśatāyāstu* (E. I., i, 240) as noticed by M. Senart and Prof. Lüders.[3] Since this letter corresponds to the first *t* in those words, it cannot be *ḍhi* and can only be *ḍi*, which in this Prākṛit represents that *t* as will be explained (p. 208). This then is a modified or new form of *ḍ*.

A character occurs, which must apparently be a final anusvāra, in the word *paḍiyaṁśaṁ* (ll. 2, 3 C). M. Senart and Prof. Lüders have read it as *ē* as noticed above, but *ē* occurs in *bhagraē* and *puyaē* (ll. 2, 3B) and *dachhinaē* (l. 3A) and is wholly different from this letter, so that it cannot be *ē*. Moreover, it is quite different from the *ē* in *agrapatiaśaē* on the Mānikyāla stone.[4] All the letters in the Kharōshṭhī script have been figured by Bühler in his Table I and by Dr. Thomas in his Table IV (E. I. ix, 146) except *ṅ*. This character is like none of those, nor can it be *ṅ* which never occurs as a final in Prākṛit. The only other sound for which no separate character has been met with is *ṁ* standing by itself as a final. Anusvāra is generally denoted by a leftward curve added to the bottom of a consonant, as in *saṁ* (l. 1), *saṁbhati* (l. 2), *aṁtara* (l. 3 A) and thrice in l. 4; but, if it should be difficult or inconvenient to add the curve to certain characters, such as *ku*, *bu* or *hō*, final *ṁ* could only be expressed by some independent sign, so that presumably there must have been some character to denote it in such cases; and it appears to be this character. The construction of the sentence supports this inference. It is not necessary to suppose that the dative is intended after *bhavatu* here, for the construction with *bhavatu* is clearly changed afterwards to the nominative, as in *agra bhaga bhavatu* (l. 3 C), and here the construction is evidently similar. *Paḍiyaṁśaṁ* is obviously the nominative to *bhavatu* which follows it in both places; and, as its termination is not masculine nor feminine, it must be a neuter nominative ending in *ṁ* (see p. 209). This character can hardly denote a final *m*, because *m* does not occur as a final in Prâkṛit, as far as I know, except in poetry where a short syllable is required or before a vowel,[5] and neither of these conditions exists here; yet it would come practically to the same result if this character be read as final *m*.

A letter occurs which appears to be a new form of *ph*. It is discussed in the note on the word *śaphatiga* (l. 3 B), *infra*, p. 217.

As regards compound letters, we have *rṭ* in *Arṭa*° (l. 1), *ry* in *paryata* (l. 3 A), *śr* or *ry* in *asaṁśrana* (l. 4), *shk* in *Hōvēshkasya* (l. 2) and *shṭ* in *Hashṭuna* (l. 2). *Rv* occurs plainly in *sarva* (l. 3 A) and the first *sarvina* (l. 3 B), and is apparently intended by the similar character without the loop in the second *sarvina* (l. 3 B). *Tv* appears to be meant by the *t* with the upright line added in *satvana* (l. 3 A); and a new letter which I take to be *mbi* in *ṭumbimri* (l. 1) is discussed in the Notes (p. 213).

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[1] Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII (1896), p. 10: J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 661.

[2] This seems to me a most important feature and constitutes a strong reason why the letter cannot be read as *t*; besides which the arguments mentioned in note 3 on p. 208 militate against its being read as *t*, and this character, if taken as *t*, would add a fourth form to the three noticed there. Dr. Thomas however would read it as *t*.

[3] Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII, pp. 8-10: J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 661.

[4] See plate in Journ. Asiat., sér. 9; vol. VII, p. 8.

[5] See Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 348, 349.

The letter *y* as the second member of a compound letter is well illustrated here, being formed by a rightward hook added to the tail of the first member as in *arupyata* (l. 3 B). Since the tail is often curved to the left, the addition of the hook gives the appearance of a double curve as in *Kamagulya* (l. 1) and *ṭya* in *Miṭyagasya* (l. 3 C), or even a triple curve as in *Śakya* (l. 1). This conjoint *y*-mark is added to another letter which resembles *d* or *n*, but the compound can only denote *sy* in the genitive termination *sya* because of its position. It is best formed in *masya* (l. 1), *Hōvēshkasya* (l. 2), *Vagra Marēgrasya* (l. 2) and *Miṭyagasya* (l. 3 C), somewhat variant in *Hashṭuna Marēgrasya* (l. 2), and badly shaped in *Marēgrasya* (l. 1).

The mark for *r* as the second member of a compound letter is a stroke to the right attached to the lowest point of the first member. It occurs often and raises some interesting questions. Dr. Thomas found on the Mathurā Lion-capital that conjunct *r* is so represented and also in two other ways, namely, by a similar stroke to the left and by a dot (E.I. ix, 137). The dot is not so used in this inscription. The stroke to the left occurs often, but has no significance; thus (to cite only a few instances) it is added to an initial *a* sometimes as in *Arṭamisiyasa* (l. 1), *agra* sometimes (ll. 2, 3) and *arupyata* (l. 3 B), to the first *ja* but not the two others in *maharaja rajatiraja* (l. 2) and to *bha* in *bhavatu* sometimes but not always (ll. 2, 3). These illustrations also shew that it cannot denote the doubling of a letter, nor a distinction between the vowels *a* and *ā*, nor the vowel *u* or *ṛi*. It seems to be a mere flourish in finishing the tails of letters written from right to left.

This stroke to the right occurs chiefly with the letter *ga*, which represents the suffix *ka* and is thus a very common termination and a very useful criterion for dividing the words. It occurs with *t* in *avashatri* (l. 3 C), thrice with *d* in *pudra* (l. 1), *midra* (l. 2) and *adra* (l. 3 A),[1] and once with *bh* in *bhradaba* (l. 2). In all these words, except perhaps the first, this *r* stroke represents a real *r*, and it is only in conjunction with *g* that uncertainty arises.

The letter *g* occurs both with and without this *r* stroke. The downward line of *g* ends straight in *jalayuga* (l. 3 B) and *bhaga* (twice in l. 3 C), and has the slight leftward flourish in *arōga* (l. 3 A), *śaphatiga* (l. 3 B), *avashatrigana* and *Miṭyagasya* (l. 3 C), and *saṁghigana* (l. 4). In all other places the rightward stroke appears, and in discussing it we must divide the inscription into two parts, the first part down to *bhavagra* (l. 3 A) and the second comprising the remainder. In the first part it has two shapes; first, a horizontal stroke more or less straight, as in *gaḍigrēna*, *kadalayigra*, *Marigra* and *bhagravada*[2] (l. 1), *Marēgrasya* (ll. 1, 2), *bhagraē*, *natigra*, *saṁbhatigrana* and *bhagra* (l. 2), *nabagra* and *bhavagra* (l. 3 A); and secondly, an upward curve which appears always in *Vagra* (ll. 1, 2) and *agra* (l. 2 twice). In the first part then the curved form represents a genuine *r* in *agra* and apparently also in *Vagra*, and the straight form is used in all the other cases and always incorrectly, for even in *Marēgra* and *Marigra* the *gra* probably does not contain a real *r*. In the second part, however, the *r* stroke is never added to *g* except where there is a real *r*, as in *agra* (l. 3 C) and *parigraha* (l. 4), and then it is denoted by the straight horizontal stroke which is the correct form.

It appears therefore that it was discovered while the record was being inscribed on the vase, that the straight *r* stroke was being improperly inserted, and that the fault was corrected after the word *bhavagra*; hence the difference between the first and second parts. The horizontal form, which is the correct sign, is used with *g* in the second part, and with all other consonants throughout the inscription, wherever a real conjunct *r* occurs; but in the first part a distinction was made in the case of *g*, the horizontal stroke being improperly employed to represent an unreal *r*, and the curved form being used to denote a real *r*. This peculiarity was discovered and rectified after the word *bhavagra* as mentioned. That word occurs in the middle of what seems to be a poetical quotation (see p. 218). Was it some discussion about the quotation that

[1] See p. 208, note 3.

[2] Compare *bhakravatō* (A. 11, line 12, in E. I. ix, 141) where Dr. Thomas styles the *r* stroke otiose (p. 142).

raised the question of orthography? Thus it might have been noticed that the addition of the unreal *r* vitiated the metre, as it certainly does in that word. Whatever be the explanation, it is certain that there is a difference in the use of the *r*-stroke with *g* in the two portions.

The persistent and incorrect addition of the horizontal *r* stroke to *g* throughout the first part cannot however be accidental, but must have some significance; and suggests that it denoted a modification of *g*. Such a modification could hardly be anything else than to give *g* the sound of غ. After I came to this conclusion, I found that Dr. Thomas had put forward a similar suggestion with regard to the peculiar *kr* which is employed on the Mathurā Lion-capital (E. I. ix, 137). There is however an important difference between this inscription and those on that capital, namely, that there an original *g* is hardened to *k*, as in *bhakravatō* (=*bhagavatō*) and *nakraraasa* (=*nāgarakasa*), while here an original *k*, when not initial and not compounded, is (as will be explained, see below) softened to *g*. It seems probable therefore that *gr* in the first part here had the sound of غ, and that *kr* on that capital had a sound like خ. It will be convenient to transliterate this diacritical *r* as an italic.

Similar to the *r* stroke is a straight stroke to the right, attached to the lowest point of the character for *mi*. It obviously denotes something different from plain *mi*, which occurs in *Arṭamisiyasa* (l. 1), *midra* (l. 2) and *Milyagasya* (l. 3 C). All the instances in which it appears are singular locative cases, and as the locative singular in the Prākṛits ends in *mhi* or *mmi*, we may justly take this character *mri* as meaning *mhi*. It can hardly denote *mmi*, because this means a doubled *m*, and letters are never written double in this script. It will however be convenient to transliterate this stroke also as an italic *r*.

It seems therefore from this examination that the straight *r* stroke was used as a diacritical sign to denote a modification of the main consonant in certain cases, certainly with *g* and *m* here and with *k* on the Lion-capital, in the way of giving that consonant a rougher, thicker or doubled sound.

The language is a form of Prākṛit and in discussing its character the phonetic changes may be noticed first, and the inflectional forms afterwards. Vowels remain the same as in Sanskṛit except that *au* is reduced to *ō*, and *ṛi* is replaced by *a* or *i*. There is no clear instance of the elision of consonants (except a final *t* once), not even of the semi-vowels *y* and *v* which are so liable to suffer in Prākṛit, except *y* of the genitive termination sometimes. Speaking generally the only changes that occur among consonants are, first, a uniform softening of all single tenues or hard consonants of the five classes to their corresponding mediæ or soft consonants; and secondly, the assimilation of the more difficult compound consonants. The changes may be conveniently set out in the form of rules.

Rule 1.—Sanskṛit tenues or hard consonants, when not initial and not compounded, are changed to their corresponding mediæ or soft consonants. This holds good for *k*, *t* and *p* throughout,[1] except *t* in verbal terminations. Thus *d* represents an original *t*—*bhagravada* =*bhagavata* (l. 1), *mada-pidara*=*mātā-pitara* and *bhradaba*=*bhrātaba* (l. 2). *B* represents an original *p*—*paridhabēti*=*paridhāpēti* (l. 1) and *nabagra*=*napagra* (l. 3 A). And *g* represents an original *k*, and thus the common suffix *ka* appears here as *ga*[2] or (with the diacritical *r* stroke discussed above) as *gra*—so *natigra*=*natika* and *saṁbhatigra*=*saṁbhatika* (l. 2), *nabagra*= *nṛipaka* (l. 3 A), *jalayuga*=*jalāyuka* (l. 3 B), and *saṁghiga*=*saṁghika* (l. 4). Whether this corrective applies to the name *Marēgra* and its variant *Marigra* is doubtful; yet it does probably because the stroke in them is that of the unreal *r*. One exception occurs, *rajatiraja* (l. 2), in which the original *t* has been preserved, probably because it is a special royal title.

[1] Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 192.

[2] *Ibid.* § 202.

This rule applied also to *ṭ*[1], thus *paḍiyaṁśaṁ=vaṭiyaṁśaṁ* (ll. 2, 3 C) for which see rule 6. Only one case of medial *ch* occurs, namely, *śōcha* (l. 2), and there the rule did not hold good if *śōcha*=Skt. *śaucha* (but see rule 4). The rule probably applied to aspirated tenues[2], but no instance occurs.

As mentioned above, an original *t* in verbal terminations remains unchanged; thus we find *paridhabēti* (l. 1) and *bhavatu* (ll. 2, 3).

Rule 2.—Rule 1 applied also where an original medial *t* was compounded with *r*—thus *pudra*=*putra* (l. 1), and *midra*=*mitra* (l. 2). The akshara in these words is clearly *dr* and not *t* or *tr*, for it has exactly the form of *d* (as in *dachhinaē*, l. 3 A) with the *r* stroke, and there is no instance here where an undoubted *t* approximates to *d* in shape as it appears to do at times on the Lion-capital.[3] But *t* combined with any other consonant was not softened, *e.g.*, *aṁtara*=*antara* (l. 3 A), and see note on *arupyata* (p. 217). The *ṭ* in *Arṭamisiyasa* (l. 1) remains unchanged, but this is a Greek word.

Rule 3.—Consequently in reading this inscription it must be noted that, where a media or soft consonant occurs as a non-initial, it may represent an original media or (since consonants are never written double here) a doubled media, or the corresponding tenuis; thus *d* can represent original *d* or *dd* or *t*, and similarly *g* and *b*. So *d*=original *d* in *sada* (l. 3 B), and=original *t* in *mada* (l. 2), and *b*=*bb* in *bhradaba* which=*bhrātabba*.

Rule 4.—Where a tenuis or hard consonant appears here singly (or combined with *r* or *v*) and as a non-initial (except *t* in verbal terminations), it represents a doubled letter, for otherwise it would have been modified according to rule 1. Thus as regards *t*, *natigra*=*nattigra*=*nattika* (by rule 1), and *saṁbhatigra*=*saṁbhattigra*=*sambhattika* (l. 2); *satra*=*sattva* (l. 3 A); and *arupyata*=*arūpyattā* (l. 3 B). *Śōcha* would follow this rule if we read *śōchcha*=a possible Skt. form *śauchya*, but see rule 1. So also in the case of aspirated tenues; thus, *dachhinaē*=*dachchhiṇāē* (l. 3 A), and *śaphatiga*=*śapphattiga* (l. 3 B).

Rule 5.—Conjunct *y* appears only where respect required the full form of the word, as in the personal names whether in the nominative or in the genitive case, *Kamagulya* (l. 1), *Marēgrasya* (ll. 1, 2), *Hōvēshkasya* (l. 2), and *Miṭyagasya* (l. 3 C); and in the special term *arupyata* in a quotation (l. 3 B). Elsewhere it is assimilated, as in *Arṭamisiyas(s)a* (l. 1), and *bhradaba* (l. 2) which=*bhrātabba* (by rule 3)=Skt. *bhrātṛivya* (*vy* turning to *bb* as in *kabba* and

[1] Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 198.

[2] *Ibid.* §§ 192, 200.

[3] E.I. ix, plate IV at p. 146. Having regard to the forms used there, Dr. Thomas thinks that this letter *dr* is *t*, but there appear to me to be grave objections thereto. First, as handwritings varied, each writing must primarily be scrutinized by itself as urged in p. 203, note 1; here the writing is minute, neat and well-formed, so that the presumption is that the differences between characters were made deliberately and have their special significance. Secondly, *t* proper appears in the words *paryata*, *aṁtara*, and *arupyata* (ll. 3 A and B), as well as in *paridhabēti* (l. 1), *rajatibaja* (l. 2) and *śaphatiga* (l. 3 B); and if this character *dr* is really *t* also, then *t* is made in two ways markedly different, and moreover without any reason, as we see especially in the compound words *natigra-midra-saṁbhatigrana*, where there was no reason to write the *dr* in *midra* different from the *t* in the two other words, if they are all alike *t*. Thirdly, if this *dr* is *t*, all distinction between *t*, *tr* and *dr* would be obliterated, a conclusion that seems to me highly improbable, considering how important and significant these three letters *t*, *d* and *r* are in the different kinds of Prākṛit. Fourthly, Sanskṛit *t* medial and uncompounded is certainly changed to *d* in this Prākṛit as shown under Rule 1, and the same change would be natural when *t* is compounded with *r* which is only a liquid, so that we should by analogy expect the *t* in Sanskṛit *putra* and *mitra* to appear here as *d*. My readings of the three characters as *t* (as in the words cited above), *tr* (as in *avashatri*, l. 3 C) and *dr* (as in *pudra*, *midra* and *adra*) give each character a consistent value throughout, a value which accords fully with definite phonetic changes; whereas, if we read all these characters as *t*, we should have three different forms for *t* (with none apparently for *tr* or *dr*) and this Prākṛit would become chaotic in its modifications. The confusion would be still further increased, if the letter which I read as *ḍ* (see p. 204) be treated as a fourth form of *t*.

Buddha at the Vagra-Mariga monastery, and enunciates a series of pious aspirations in favour of the Emperor Huvishka, his own father and relatives, a neighbouring Rāja and other persons and all creatures generally. The last line states that the monastery was bestowed on the Mahāsaṅghika sect among the Buddhists.

The dedicator Kamagulya does not say he has founded the monastery, nor does he imply that he dedicates the relic at the time of the foundation, but he simply declares that he places the relic in this vase inside a small vault within the monastery.[1] The natural inference therefore is that his father Vagra Marēga founded the monastery before and named it after himself, and that Kamagulya afterwards interred the relic within it. The last line does not conflict with this inference, because it seems, both from its purport and also from the larger letters in which it is written, to be a separate declaration, recorded no doubt as a safeguard for the Mahāsaṅghika sect on this sacred vase which would be sure of reverent preservation; and because it may be read in the past tense just as well as in the present, there being no verb.

The father Vagra Marēga is styled a *mahēśa* or local Rāja. He bears the name or title Marēga and so does his grandson (Kamagulya's nephew) Hashṭuna, but Kamagulya does not use this name for himself, and only says that he has fixed his residence at Khavata, the very place where the monastery was. One is tempted to infer that Marēga is an appellation derived from some town or district, that Vagra had his home there or was ruling there, and that Hashṭuna was also living there, perhaps as Vagra's heir-apparent (for Hashṭuna's father is not mentioned and may have been dead). Kamagulya speaks of his grandchildren (son's sons) but not of his son; hence it would seem that his son was dead.

None of the names mentioned, except Rōhaṇa who was also a *mahēśa* or neighbouring Rāja, appears definitely to be Indian. Vagra might be read as Vakra (by rule 1), and this name and Kamagulya (or Kamakalya) may have Indian affinities, but Hashṭuna seems more like an Iranian name.[2] Moreover Marēga (or Marēka) is not Indian, but suggests Marg, the old name of Merv, or other places of similar name which exist southward of Khawat. It seems probable that the dedicator and his family were Persian. The only other name mentioned, Miṭyaga (or perhaps Miṭyaka, by rule 1), appears almost certainly to be Greek.[3]

I will now set out the transliteration of the inscription and interlineate with it in italics the more ordinary Prākṛit forms of the words, as they would appear if re-adjusted in the light of the foregoing rules and of the discussion on the diacritical *r* stroke. As I read the inscription, all the different characters are treated as distinct and each has the same value consistently throughout; and the supposition that there are errors in it is reduced to the smallest limits; in fact, only three words appear to have mistakes, namely *rajatibaja* (l. 2), *ariya* (l. 3 A) and *asamśrana* (l. 4)—with perhaps *avashatri* also (l. 3 C).[4]

TEXT.

1 Saṁ 20 20 10 1 masya Artamisiyasa stēhi 10 4 1 Imēna gaḍigrēna
Saṁ[vatsarē] 51 māsasa Artamisiyasa stēhi 15 Imēna gaḍḍikēna
Kamagulya pudra Vagra-Maregrasya iya-Khavadamri kadalayigra
Kamagulya putra Vagra-Marēgasya iya-Khavatamhi katālayika

[1] This is clear, whether we read *paridhabēti* or *patiṭṭhabēti* in l. 1. See notes, p. 214.

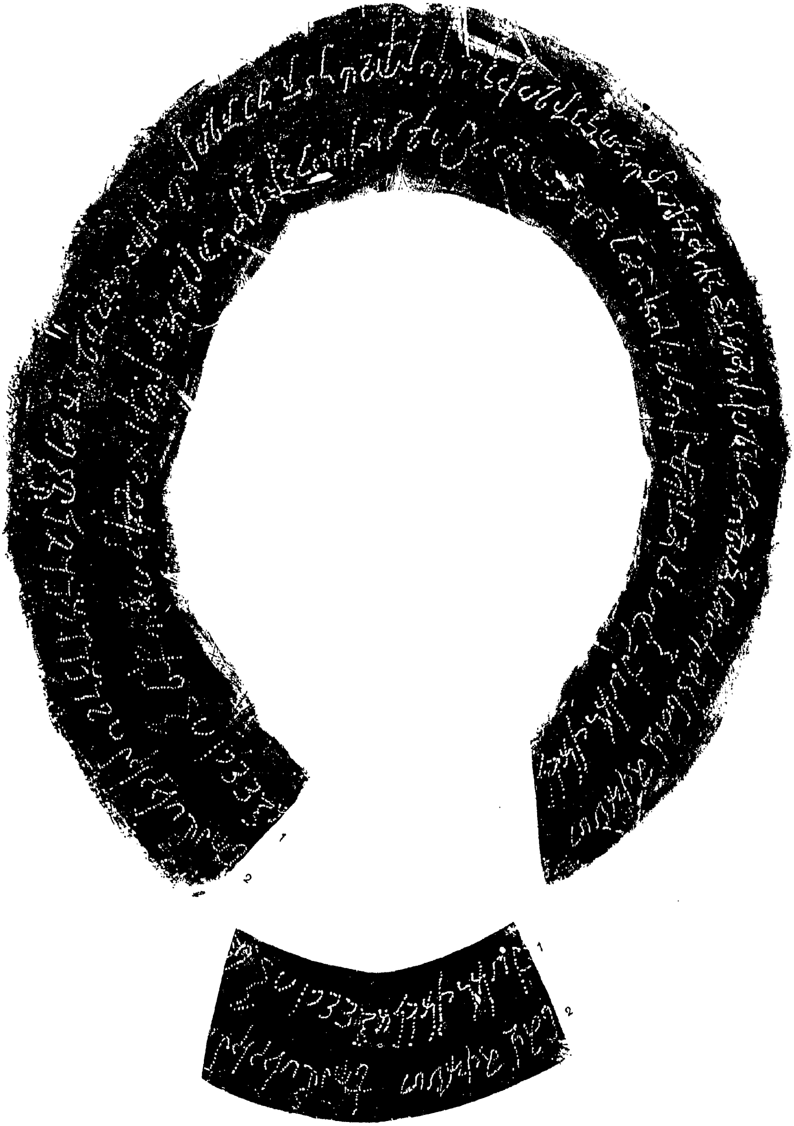
[2] It seems hardly possible to derive Hashṭuna from *hrishṭa*. Dr. Thomas suggests O. P. *baga* 'god' as the derivation of Baga (or Vagra); and compares Hashṭuna with *Histanes* and *Bisthanes*, and Marēga with the termination *bara* in *Sanabares*, etc. (J. R. A. S., 1906, p. 214). The *r* in *Vagra* is real.

[3] See Notes, p. 218.

[4] Dr. Thomas would add to this list the words *bhradaba*, *tūcha*, *nabagra*, *paryata*, *taphatiga* and *arupyata*.

Inscription on the Wardak vase.

Lines 1 and 2.



J. F. FLEET.

FULL-SIZE.

W. GRIGGS & SONS LTD., PHOTO-LITHO.

Inscription on the Wardak vase.

Lines 3 and 4.



J. F. FLEET. FULL-SIZE. W. GRIGGS & SONS LTD., PHOTO-LITHO.

Vagra-Marigra-viharamri tumbimri bhagravada Śakya-munē śarira
Vagra-Mariga-vihāramhi tumbimhi bhagavata Śākya-munē śarīra
paridhabēti
paridhāpēti

2 Imēna kuśala-mulēna maharaja-rajatibaja[1]-**Hōvēshkasya** agra-bhagraē bhavatu
Imēna kuśala-mūlēna mahārāja-rājātirāja-Hōvēshkasya agra-bhāgāē bhavatu
Mada-pidara mē puyaē bhavatu Bhradaba mē **Hashtuna-Marēgrasya** puyaē
Mātā-pitara mē pūyāē bhavatu Bhrātabba mē Hashṭuna-Marēgasya pūyāē
bhavatu Śōcha mē bhuya Natigra-midra-saṁbhatigrana puyaē bhavatu
bhavatu Śōcha mē bhūyā Nattika-mitra-sambhattikāna pūyāē bhavatu
Mahiśa cha **Vagra-Marēgrasya** agra-bhagra-paḍiyaṁśaṁ
Mahīśa cha Vagra-Marēgasya agra-bhāga-paṭiyaṁśaṁ

3 * bhavatu Sarva-satvana arōga-dachhinaē bhavatu Aviya[2]-nabagra paryata-śava-
bhavatu Sarva-sattvāna arōga-dachchhiṇāē bhavatu Ariya-napaka paryatta-śāva-
bhavagra yō adra-†aṁtara-aṁḍa-jō* jalayuga śaphatiga arupyata sarvina
bhāvaka yō āddra-antara-aṇḍa-jō jalāyuka śapphattika arūpyattā sārvīṇa
puyaē bhavatu Mahiśa cha **Rōhana** ‡ sada-sarvina† avashatrigana
pūyāē bhavatu Mahīśa cha Rōhaṇa sada-sārvīṇa avashattrikāna
sa-parivara cha agra-bhaga-paḍiya(ṁ)śaṁ bhavatu **Miṭyagasya** cha agra-bhaga
sa-parivāra cha agra-bhāga-paṭiyaṁśaṁ bhavatu Miṭyagasya cha agra-bhāga
bhavatu ‡
bhavatu

4 Ēsha viharaṁ asaṁśrana **Mahasaṁghigana** parigraha
Ēsha vihāraṁ asaṁśraya or *āchāryāna*[3] *Mahāsaṅghikāna parigraha*

TRANSLATION.

In the year 51, on *the day* 15 [of the first half ?] of the **month Artemisios.** By **means** of this vase **Vagra Marēga's** son **Kamagulya,** who has fixed his residence in this *place* **Khavata,** inters a relic of the Lord Śākya-muni inside a vault within the **Vagra Mariga** **monastery.**

By means of this meritorious foundation—may it (the relic) tend to the pre-eminent lot of the great king, the suzerain of kings, **Hōvēshka!** May it tend to the veneration of my parents! May it tend to the veneration of my brother's son **Hashṭuna Marēga!** May there be purity for me! May it tend to the veneration of *my* grandsons, friends and associates! And may there be a share of a pre-eminent lot for the territorial lord **Vagra Marēga!** May it tend to the bestowal of perfect health on all beings! May it tend to the veneration of all *these, namely,* the saintly king,[4] him who has *obtained* the condition of having mastered the doctrine, the *creature* which is born from moisture, from a womb (?) or from an egg, the *creature* whose life is in water, the graminivorous *animal and* the incorporeal soul! And

[1] The *ba* is a mistake for *ra.*
* to * including the next letter *ja* is line 3 A.
† to † excluding the first letter *aṁ* and including the letter *a* of *avashatrigana* is line 3 B.
‡ to ‡ excluding the first letter *sa* is line 3 C.
[2] The *vi* is probably a mistake for *ri,* see p. 216.
[3] This word is very difficult; see note on it *infra.*
[4] Or perhaps "the saint, the king" (see p. 216).

may there be a share of a pre-eminent lot for the territorial lord **Rōhaṇa**, all *his* household and *his* dependants together with *his* retinue! And may there be a supreme lot for **Miṭyaga**!

This monastery *is* (or *was*) a gift to the **Mahāsaṅghikas**, who are teachers (*or* who had no habitation ?).

NOTES.

Line 1.

Māsya may be a clerical error for *māsa* or *māsasya*, unless it should be a genitive formed from the old Persian word *māh*, "month," Prākṛitized. A clerical error at the very beginning certainly seems improbable. Prof. Lüders has suggested that *māsasya* passed into **māhasya* and then into *māsya*,[1] but such a modification hardly agrees with the general character of this Prākṛit, which is close to Sanskṛit as explained above. His view however lends support to my suggestion that the Persian word may have been Prākṛitized as *mā*, the final *h* being dropped as visarga is dropped in Prākṛit, and the genitive *māsya* formed from it. The month may have been designated by a regular term *māh Artamisiya*, and this term may have been adopted here in its entirety, and then both words put into the genitive; the termination *sya*, and not *sa*, being added to *mā*, in order to distinguish the word from the common noun *māsa* and shew that it is a genitive. The general practice in this inscription is to inflect only the last of two or more words placed in apposition, but in this case both words are certainly in the genitive, unless we suppose *māsya* is a clerical error for *māsa*, which is improbable. The general rule then may have been varied in this formal and precise statement of the date.

Artamisiya = the Greek month *Artemisios* Prākṛitized, the Greek *t* being transliterated by the cerebral *ṭ*. At the present time the English *t* is always so transliterated.

Stēhi, and not *stihi*, appears to be the actual reading. I cannot offer any explanation of this puzzling word, and can only throw out a suggestion that, as the Greek month was sometimes divided into two parts called *mēn histamenos* and *mēn phthinōn*, *stēhi* might, through the old Persian root *stā*, "to stand," possibly and perhaps in abbreviation represent *histamenos*. If this be possible, the date would be the 15th day of the first half of the month.

Gaḍigrena.—The difficult letter *ḍi* in this word has been discussed above (p. 204). *Gaḍigra* may = *gaḍika* (by rule 1), or *gaḍḍika* (by rules 1 and 3), or *gaḷika* (by rule 1). It undoubtedly refers to this vase. *Gaḍika*, or better *gaḍḍika*, is probably a dialectical form of Sanskṛit *gaḍḍuka*, which means "a kind of jar, especially a golden vase"—a term that would have well suited this vase in its pristine brilliance, for when discovered portions of it were so bright as to resemble gold (see p. 203).

Pudra must, it seems to me, agree with *Kamagulya* and govern *Vagra-Marēgrasya*, though this construction varies from the ordinary arrangement by which it should follow the word it governs. The ordinary construction, by which *pudra* would govern *Kamagulya*, seems to me to lead to serious difficulties. The rendering I have adopted, though not common, is not irregular, and makes the whole sentence plain.[2]

Iya-Khavadamhi[3] is obviously the locative case of the place to which the following word *kadalayigra* refers, and the place therefore is denoted by the expression *Iya-Khavada* or *Iya-Khavata* (by rule 1). There can be no doubt that we have here the ancient form

[1] J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 666.

[2] Dr. Thomas would prefer to make *Vagra-Marēga* the donor, though there are serious difficulties in doing so.

[3] This might be read as *Iyakkha adamhi*, for the fourth letter has some resemblance to *a*, and the *kh* would be doubled by rule 4; but *Iyakkha* conveys no meaning, and *adamhi* as a locative from the pronominal base *adas* (see Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 429, 432) would be out of place.

of the present name of the place, Khawat, where this vase was found. If this expression be taken as one word, it would be *Iyakkhavata* (by rule 4), and this is suggestive of the Greek *Iakkhos*, "Bacchus or Dionysos," whose legend was localised in this region as is well known. This view was tempting but appears untenable, because it is highly improbable (as a distinguished Greek scholar has informed me) that the oriental Greeks of this region would have had the name *Iakkhos* in public vogue, as it only had a real base in Attica and was a literary figment outside. Moreover, no Greek derivation can apparently be suggested except perhaps *Iakkho* + *hodos*, which is unsuitable. Again *Iyakkhavata* is hardly an Indian word. The only alternative is to divide it into *iya Khavata*, and this division gives forthwith the modern name Khawat, while *iya* appears to be a pronoun meaning "this," or "here." The pronoun *idam* developed, or had as an equivalent, a base *ia* in Prakrit (apart from the feminine nomin. *iyam*), for the masculine or neuter locative *iammi* is found[1] and the base *ia* itself did exist.[2] This *ia* might well be written *iya* here, for this inscription has literary qualities, and the neighbouring old Persian word *iyam*, which is its exact equivalent and is both masculine and feminine, might naturally influence the spelling. *Iya Khavatamhi* would then mean "in this very Khavata," where the monastery was situated. Or *iya* might equally well be taken as=Skt. *iha*, "here."[3] Either way the meaning is the same. Khavata, or Khāvata or Khāvāta as it might be read, does not seem to have any meaning, if considered to be of Indian derivation though *āvata* was a termination used in the names of places, as *Vāraṇāvata*.[4]

Kadalayigra=*kritālayika* (by rule 1), which is formed from *kritālaya*, as *hridayika* from *hridaya*, *kāyika* from *kāya*, etc. The whole is a more precise adjective than *kritālaya*, both meaning "having fixed one's residence." It suggests that Kamagulya did not belong to this place originally, but had come to reside here.

Tumbimhi.—The first akshara is clearly *ṭu* or *thu*, and *thūpa*, *thuba* or *thuva* suggests itself, but is inadmissible because the second akshara is not plain *p*, *b* or *v*. No other word beginning with *thu* seems possible. The letter must be read then as *ṭu*. The second *akshara* is a new character. At first sight it seems to be based on the character for *st*; see the previous word *stēhi* and the forms of *sti* and *stu* in Bühler's Table I (n°. 39, v, vi and vii) and Dr. Thomas' Table IV (E. I. ix, p. 146); but it cannot be *sti* or *stu*, because (1) it has a stroke to the left at the bottom more than *st* has and also the vowel mark *i*; (2) that stroke cannot denote *u*, for *u* is not so made here and *u* would be in addition to *i*; and (3) *st* could not follow the preceding vowel *u*, and *shṭ* alone would be permissible after *u* in this dialect which clearly distinguishes between the three sibilants. The character however is not *shṭ*, for *shṭ* is found in the name *Hashṭuna* afterwards. Moreover all such renderings are meaningless, and the character cannot denote *st* at all. In shape it is a *b* (or *v*) with a cross-line through its middle and the vowel-mark *i*, hence presumably it represents *bi* (or *vi*) in combination with some other consonant denoted by the cross-line. If it be so, then, since the language is a Prākrit, the cross-line can only mean some secondary consonant such as *m*, *y*, *r* or *v*. It is not *y* nor *r*, for their forms have been discussed above (p. 206); and *v* is hardly possible in

[1] Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 429.

[2] See Prākrita-Paiṅgala (Ed. Biblioth. Indica); references in the Index.

[3] See J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 1089.

[4] M. BH. i, *142*, 5675. It does not make the matter easier if we read *Iśakhavata*, which is not impossible since there is very little distinction between *ya* and *śa* in this inscription (see p. 203). This rendering might be resolved as *Īśa* + *khavata* or *Īśa* + *akkhavata* (by rule 4); but these words yield no satisfactory solution (though *akkhavata* could = *akshavata*) and do not account for the present name Khawat. Moreover any such solution would weaken the special significance of *kadalayigra*. Professor Rapson has pointed out to me that *iśa* occurs with the meaning "here" in the third line on the reverse of figure N. xvi. 2 in Plate CI of Dr. Stein's "Ancient Khotan." If we read *iśa* here, the expression becomes *iśa Khavadamhi* with precisely the same meaning as *iya Khavadamhi*; but the latter reading is preferable because the letter resembles *y* rather than *ś*.

combination with *b*, and hardly probable in combination with *v*, for *vv* would be a doubled *v* and letters are not written double here. Only *m* therefore seems possible, and the character is presumably *mbi* (or *mvi*). In support of this it may be observed, that *m* could hardly be expressed by the usual curve for *ṁ* (see p. 205) added to *ṭu*, and could therefore be only indicated by some addition to the letter *b* (or *v*) to form the compound *mb* (or *mv*). The word therefore is *ṭumbimhi* (or *ṭumvimhi*), the locative case of *ṭumbi* (or *ṭumvi*). No Indian word seems possiblē, and the only inference that arises is that *ṭumbi* (or *ṭumvi*) is a foreign word adopted and Prākṛitized. Since the cerebral *ṭ* is used to denote the Greek *t*, as in *Artamisiya*, *ṭumbi* suggests the Greek word *tumbion*, the diminutive of *tumbos*, "a sepulchral chamber or vault." *Tumbion* would become *ṭumbiya* in Prākṛit and might be shortened to *ṭumbi* in ordinary parlance. Greek influence was strong in this region, and *tumbion* would be an appropriate word to denote the substantially constructed cavity or cupola in the ṭumulus in which the vase was found (see p. 201). This rendering is surprising, yet none other seems to me possible from the scrutiny.

Bhagravada Śakya-munē has been discussed above (p. 209).

Paridhabēti=*paridhāpēti* (by rule 1)=Skt. *paridhāpayati*, causal of *pari-dhā*, and means "encloses." The usual term to express the installation of a relic-shrine is *patiṭṭhāvēti*, and this suggests itself as the word intended here. *Ṭh* and *dh* are similar and the third akshara might be read either way, but *patiṭhabēti* (as *patiṭṭhābēti* might appear here by rule 4) does not appear to be intended for three reasons based upon the writing, the grammar and the sense. First, the second akshara is certainly not *t* but *r*, for it agrees exactly with the two *r*'s which immediately precede in the word *śarīra*; secondly, if it were intended, it would presumably appear as *padiṭhabēti* or perhaps *paḍiṭhabēti* (by rules 1 and 4) and *di* or *ḍi* could hardly lead to an erroneous *ri*; and thirdly, this word must be taken with *imēna gaḍigrēna*, in which the relic was enclosed, and *paridhābēti* suits the context better than *patiṭṭhābēti*.

Line 2.

Kuśala-mūlēna.—This expression occurs on the Mānikyāla stone,[1] and is also a technical Buddhist term. As a technical term—'The three Kusalamúlas, "roots of goodness or groundwork of merit" are *alobho*, *adoso*, *amoho*, freedom from covetousness, from anger, and from ignorance':[2] but this interpretation is unsuitable here, and the expression here presumably means something different, as Prof. Lüders also apparently holds when dealing with the Mānikyāla stone.[3] It may mean "well-conceived foundation," "virtuous endowment," if *kuśala* be taken as an adjective; and "root of well-being," "source of meritorious action," if *kuśala* be taken as a noun.[4] Here from its general adaptability it may imply all these meanings with reference to the relic.

Agra bhāga.—*Agra* means "foremost, pre-eminent," and *bhāga* "portion, lot, destiny." The word might be read *bhagga* (by rule 3), which would=Skt. *bhāgya*, "fortune, lot, destiny." The meaning is the same either way. M. Senart has pointed out that *agrabhāga* here corresponds to *agrēbhāva* in the inscription of Tōramāṇa Shāha of Kura (E. I., i, 240), which has *agrēbhāva-pratyaṁśatāyāstu*.[5] *Agrēbhāva* denotes a state or condition, and *agrabhāga* here must presumably imply the same, "a pre-eminent lot," and not "a first share." I do not understand

[1] See J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 645.

[2] See Childers' Pali Dictionary, s. v. *kusalo*; and Aṅgut. Nik. vol. I, p. 203. Dr. Thomas takes it to mean 'a work of merit,' 'a pious work.'

[3] Prof. Lüders explains it as equivalent to the phrase which is found at Mathurā, *anena* (or *imena*) *deyadharmaparityāgena* (J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 660). Is not that a parallel rather than an equivalent phrase?

[4] See Childers' Pali Dictionary.

[5] Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII, p. 10. See note to *paḍiyaṁśaṁ infra*.

to what *bhāga* as a "share" could refer,[1] whereas a condition is intelligible and natural. He first translated *agrabhāga* as "prosperity," but afterwards agreed with Bühler to seek in it a direct allusion to the acquisition of bōdhi.[2] I would rather suggest that, since the expression appears to denote a condition, it refers to Buddhahood. With the word *pratyaṁśa* added (see note to *paḍiyaṁśaṁ*, *infra*), "a share of Buddhahood" seems to be as appropriate as "a share of bodhi." The expression can hardly refer to any worldly blessing, because in that case is it not rather witless to utter such a wish on behalf of Huvishka, who enjoyed already the highest position on earth ?

Bhavatu is used here with the dative, as *agra bhāgāē* and *pūyāē*. Since the dative implies 'purpose, intention, aim,' *bhavatu* with the dative means "may it be for the purpose of," "may it be with an aim towards," that is, "may it tend towards," "may it operate towards."

Mada-pidara=*mātā-pitara* (by rule 1). This must be the genitive of *mātā-pitā* treated as a singular noun;[3] and it is so treated in the Taxila plate, where the accus. *mata-pitaraṁ* occurs (E. I. iv, 55). The genitive must be employed here after *pūyāē* as in all the other similar sentences. This appears to be a new form of Prākrit genitive, and the nearest approach to it is *piaraha* which is a genitive of *pitā*.[4] Its real formation appears to be this—*pitara*=*pitaraḥ* (the visarga disappearing in Prākrit) which would be correctly formed as a genitive from *pitar* (which is the essential base of *pitṛi*),[5] just like *giraḥ* from *gir* and *charaḥ* from *char* in Sanskrit.[6] The declension of *pitṛi* in Sanskrit shows similar forms from the base *pitar*, as *pitaram*, *pitarau*, *pitaraḥ* and *pitari*.

Pūyāē.—*Pūjā* means more than "honour" and implies some degree of veneration or reverence; hence *pūyāē bhavatu* means "may it tend to the veneration."

Bhradaba as the word clearly is and not *bhradara*. *Hashṭuna Marēgrasya* is in apposition to this word and not to *mē*, for the declarant is Kamagulya and *mē* refers to him; and the meaning is that Hashṭuna Marēga is the *bhradaba* in relation to *mē*, that is, Kamagulya. *Mē* is inserted parenthetically, like *cha* in *mahiśa Vagra Marēgrasya* (l. 2) and in *mahiśa Rōhana* (l. 3 B). *Bhradaba* cannot well be treated as a mistake for *bhradara* on the analogy of the preceding *mātā-pitara* and so taken as the genitive of *bhrādā*, because (1) it is contrary to the general practice to inflect two words in apposition as would happen if we read *bhradara Hashṭuna-Marēgrasya*; and (2) it is unnecessary to suspect any mistake. Indeed one should hesitate to suppose there is an error in spelling, unless the mistake is patent (as in *rajatibaja*, l. 2) or the word actually written appears impossible (as in *aviya*, l. 3 A, and *asaṁśrana*, l. 4); and one should presume that what has been written is what was intended, if it has an intelligible

[1] Unless we adopt a valuable suggestion by Dr. Thomas. Taking *agrabhāga* in its literal meaning "chief share," he thinks that it denotes a chief share in the merit resulting from this donation. To my mind the addition of the word *pratyaṁśa* makes a difficulty in this rendering.

[2] Journ. Asiat., sér. 8, vol. XV, p. 123; and sér. 9, vol. VII, p. 10.

[3] Dr. Thomas is inclined to think it may be a genitive plural in *-rām*.

[4] Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 391.

[5] This explanation is supported by the exactly analogous use of the genitives *bhagavata(ḥ) Śākyamunē(ḥ)*; see p. 209.

[6] The word *bhratara* appears in the Taxila plate, and Bühler takes *bhratara sarva* there as = *bhrātṛīn sarvān*, but finds the construction irregular, as it occurs in the middle of several genitives. It is really the genitive, exactly analogous to *mātā-pitara* here, and as such accords fully with the other genitives there. That passage would then run thus — *sa-putra-darasa (ayu-bala-vardhie) bhratara sarva-(cha)-natiga-[baṁ]dhavasa cha*, the first *cha* being inserted parenthetically (like *cha* in this inscription, see note on *bhradaba*) with reference to *sarva-natiga*, and the second *cha* being in its correct place grammatically but referring specially to *(sarva)-[baṁ]dhava*. These *cha*'s are used more with regard to the sense than strict grammar. *Bhatara* also occurs on the Māṇikyāla stone inscription and is treated as a genitive by Prof. Lüders (J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 666). *Natiga* there must = *natigra* here; see note on it.

and appropriate meaning.[1] Nor can the word be read as *bhrada ba*, treating *ba* as=Skt. *vā* or *ēva*, because (1) Skt. *v* when single is not changed to *b* here, and (2) neither word would suit the context but only *cha*. *Bhradaba* is therefore one word and=*bhrātabba* (by rules 1 and 3), which=Skt. *bhrātṛivya*, "nephew;" and the whole phrase = Skt. *mad-bhrātṛivya-Hashṭuna-Marēgasya*.

Śōcha has been discussed above (p. 208).[2]

Bhuya=Skt. *bhūyāt*, the final *t* being dropped in Prākrit.[3] This word is well chosen here to convey a less positive meaning than *bhavatu*. Where the declarant expresses his desire on behalf of other persons he uses the imperative tense, but here in uttering his desire on his own behalf he modestly uses the precative.

Natigra=*nattika* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt. *naptṛi*+*ka*.

Saṁbhatigra=*saṁbhattika* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt. *sambhaktṛi*+*ka*, "sharer, favourer" here no doubt "partisan, associate."

Mahiśa=*mahīśa*, Skt. *mahī*+*īśa*. It occurs again in l. 3 B,[4] and, as the persons named are inferior to the Emperor Huvishka, it evidently means a local Rāja. There were apparently two Rājas in this part of the country, Vagra Marēga and Rōhaṇa.

Paḍiyaṁśaṁ.—This word occurs again in l. 3 C. It has been fully discussed above (pp. 204 f., 209, 215), where the similar expressions found elsewhere have been mentioned, *agrēbhāva pratyaṁśatāyāstu*,[5] *agra-pratyaśatāyê bhavatu*,[6] and *bhatara Svarabudhisa agra-patiaśaē*.[7] It=*paṭiyaṁśāṁ*, (by rule 1)= Skt. *pratyaṁśa* "division, share," as M. Senart and Prof. Lüders have pointed out. I would translate *agra-bhāga-paḍiyaṁśaṁ* as a "share in a pre-eminent lot." It is to be noticed that this phrase is used only with reference to the two local Rājas, Vagra Marēga here and Rōhaṇa in l. 3 B, whereas full *agra-bhāga* is applied to Huvishka and Mityaga.

Line 3.

Arōga may=Skt. *a-rōga*, or stand for *ārōgga* (by rule 3) and=Skt. *ārōgya*. The meaning is the same, and the latter is probably preferable because *ārōgya-dakshiṇāyē* is said to occur on an inscription at Mathurā.[8]

Aviya-nabagra.—*Aviya* is no doubt a mistake for *ariya*,[9] for the *v* is as large as the usual size of *r* and only the small stroke at the top of *r* is wanting. These words then=*ariya-*

[1] Dr. Thomas however thinks that there must be a mistake, and that the word intended is *bhradara*, genit. sing. of *bhrada*, that is *bhrātā*, 'brother'; *b* being wrongly written for *r* as in *rajatibaja*.

[2] Dr. Thomas suspects that it is really an error for *sō cha* and = *tat cha*. *Tat* appears as *taṁ* in Prākrit (Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §425).

[3] Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 459, 464.

[4] This word might also be read as *mahiya*, because *ś* and *y* are often made alike here (see p. 203), and Dr. Thomas would read it so and take it as = *mahyam* or *mama*, referring to the donor; but if so, the two passages seem tautological as regards the donor.

[5] Bühler read this as °*śatāyās tu*, and translated it "(their) share being a preferential one" (E. I., i, 241); but Prof. Lüders takes it as °*śatāya astu*, and I agree with him. I would translate it thus, "may it tend to the condition of (their obtaining) a share of a pre-eminent existence."

[6] Which Bühler translated as, "may (the merit of this gift) be by preference for their parents" (E. I., i, 390) but I would suggest that *agra* is short for and = the full phrase *agrēbhāva* or *agrabhāga*, for *agra* is a noun and means the "foremost or topmost point"; and that the translation should be, "may it tend to their parents' having the condition of (obtaining) a share in a pre-eminent position."

[7] Which Prof. Lüders translates "for the principal share of (my) brother Svarabuddhi"; but I would suggest it means, "(let it tend) to my brother Svarabuddhi's (having a) share in a pre-eminent position."

[8] Referred to in I. A., vol. 33 (1904), p. 155.

[9] I have to thank Dr. Thomas for this suggestion. He thinks further that *nabagra* may be a mistake for *naragra* and = *nāraka*, "beings in hell;" *b* being wrongly written for *r* as in *rajatibaja*.

ɔaka (by rule 1)=Skt. *ārya-nṛipa+ka*, "the saintly king." They might be taken ›arately as "the saint, the king," if it is probable that the dedicator would have invoked a ssing not only on the saintly king, but also on kings generally. If so, the *ariya* must be tinguished from the *śrāvaka* who is mentioned next.

Paryata-śava-bhavagra=paryatta-śāva-bhīvaka (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt. *paryīpta-śrāva-āva+ka*.[1] *Śāva* which means "hearing" appears to signify "learning, instruction" here d the whole phrase to be a circumlocution for *śrāvaka*.

Yō adra aṁtara aṁḍa-jō.—The first letter might be read as *śō*, but that could only present Skt. *śvas*, "tomorrow," and is meaningless here. The *jō* at the end clearly answers to ɔ at the beginning, so that the whole is one long phrase; and, as no sandhi blends the inter-ening words as in the following words *jalāyuga*, *śaphatiga* and *arupyata*, the intervening ords are obviously distinct and must each be read with *jō*; otherwise they would have had ne same termination *ō* instead of ending in *a*. The whole phrase therefore becomes *yō adra-jō ṁtara-jō aṁḍa-jō*, and as *aṁḍa-jō* clearly means an "egg-born creature" and the following rord *jalāyuga* means "a creature that has its life in water," *adra-jō* and *aṁtara-jō* must ienote other great groups of living creatures. *Adra* (as the word appears to be, though the econd letter is not clear even in the original)=*īddra* (by rule 3)=Skt. *ārdra*, "moist"; and his adjective is evidently used substantively here,[2] so that *adra-jō* means "a creature born from moisture," and=Pāli *saṁsēda-jō*. *Aṁtara*=Skt. *antara*, "the interior," and *antara-jō* may mean "born from the interior," and=*garbha-ja*, that is, "mammalian."

Jalayuga=jalāyuka (by rule 1)=Skt. *jala* + *āyu* + *ka*, "a creature which has its life in water." The word might be read as *jalāyukā* or *jala-śūka*, which mean "a leech," but such a narrow and unsatisfactory allusion is out of the question.

Śaphatiga.—The word looks like *śaśētiga* or *śaśvētiga*, or we might read *y* instead of *ś* in either or both places, since these two letters are not well distinguished (see p. 203); but no such reading gives any sense, because the latter part whether read as *ētiga* or *ettika* (as it should be by rules 1 and 4) is an impossible ending, however we attempt to restore the word in Sanskṛit. The first letter certainly seems to be *ś*. The second letter however differs markedly from the first and diverges from *ś* or *y*, in that its left limb is prolonged unusually downward as in *p* and *ph*. I am led therefore to think that it is not *ś* or *y* but is a badly formed *p* or *ph*, and that the stroke which resembles the vowel mark *ē* is really the top part of *p* or *ph* shifted slightly to the right.[3] Of these two letters *ph* is preferable, because the right limb has an upward curve which *p* does not possess and which is not the mark of *r* in *pr*. As *ph* it is a new form, yet *ph* has two different shapes in Bühler's Table I, so that its character was not rigidly settled. Taking the second letter then as *ph*, we obtain a reading which is appropriate. *Śaphatiga=śapphattika* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt. *śashpâttṛi* + *ka* "an animal feeding on grass." This is no doubt a pretentious word,[4] but it accords with the contiguous words and occurs as will be seen in a poetical quotation.

Arupyata=arūpyattā (by rule 4), "incorporeal soul."[5] This may represent Skt. *arūpin* + *ātmā*, but not *arūpya* + *ātmā*, because *arūpya* does not have the meaning "incorporeal." Pāli

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[1] Dr. Thomas would read *paryata* as = *paryaṁta*.

[2] *Adra* might = a possible noun *ārdrya*, "moisture"; but the general character of this Prākṛit seems against it. Dr. Thomas would read *adra aṁtara* as *atra amtara* and as = *atrântare*; but as regards the character *dr*, see p. 208, note 3.

[3] Dr. Thomas however would read the word as *sa(ṁ)sētiga*, that is *sāṁsvēdika*, equivalent to Pali *saṁsēda-ja*, from Skt. *sam* and *svēda*; but there is no instance here where an original *s* is turned to Prākṛit *ś*, or an original *d* to Prākṛit *t* (see rules 1 and 3, pp. 207, 208).

[4] *Śashpa-bhuj* is in the dictionary.

[5] Dr. Thomas would take this word as = *arūpyāṁta*.

has *arūpī* and *āruppa* (=Skt. *ārūpya*, formed directly from *a-rūpa*), both meaning "incorporeal." *Arupyata* might represent the latter word, if read as *ārūpyattā*, but *arūpyattā* seems preferable, because the first syllable is probably short since we have here presumably a ślōka quoted.

All these words from *ariya* to *arupyata*[1] have a particularly literary style and rhythm, and here alone occurs the nomin. termination *ō*. These features suggest that we have a poetical quotation here, in which all the words were in the nomin. singular as shown by the *ō* form and the word *arūpyattā*. If then these words be adjusted according to the rules set out above, and the nomin. form *ō* be restored, and *jō* be added to the two words from which it has been omitted, the passage falls into the ślōka metre :—

.. .. ariya-napakō paryatta-śāva-bhāvakō
Yō āddra-jō antara-jō aṇḍa-jō [cha] jalāyukō
Śapphattikō arūpyattā.[2]

Sarvina=Skt. *sārvīṇām*, genitive plural of *sārvī*,[3] a feminine collective noun formed from *sarva*, precisely like *sāmagrī* from *samagra*, and with the same meaning. It is used in the plural, because it applies to each of the preceding terms.

Sada=Skt. *sadas*, "residence, dwelling"; *sada-sārvī* means "household." It is used in the plural, probably honorifically, with reference to all the houses that composed the residence of the Rāja Rōhaṇa.

Avashatriga=*avashattrika* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt. femin. form *avasaktrī* + *kā*. But perhaps the *ri* is a mistake for or a reminiscence of the vowel *ṛi* of the masc. form, and the word intended would be *avasaktṛi+ka*. *Avasaktṛi* is not actually found in Sanskṛit, but would be a legitimate formation from the root *ava-sañj* (which does occur) and would mean "an adherent." The preposition *ava* sometimes changes a following *s* to *sh* as in *avashṭambh* and *avashvan*, and, though it does not so modify the root *sañj* in Sanskṛit, yet it might do so in Prākṛit, especially when there is a closely allied root *svañj*, "to embrace," which would I imagine be modified after *ava*.[4] Both roots would be alike in Prākṛit.

Paḍiyaṁśaṁ is discussed above (p. 216). The medial *ṁ* is not so clear here as in that earlier place.

Miṭyaga (or perhaps *Miṭyaka* by rule 1) seems to be Greek both from its appearance and also from the use of the cerebral *ṭ*, see *Arṭamisiya* (p. 212); but the only Greek words I can suggest after enquiry are *métoikos*, which means "a foreign settler" but is hardly a name, and *mētiókhos*, in which the *kh* could hardly be represented by *k*. It is noteworthy that the dedicator expresses the same wish for full *agra-bhāga* for Miṭyaga as for Huvishka.

Line 4.

Ēsha vihāraṁ.—*Vihāra* appears to be treated as a neuter noun, because *vihāraṁ* is clearly the nomin. case. *Ēsha* is used as a neuter in Prākṛit.[5]

Asaṁśrana is a difficult word. The second akshara is like *saṁ* at the beginning of the inscription, and the third appears to be *ś* or *y* compounded with *r*[6]; and if the former is *saṁ*,

[1] Dr. Thomas would put a different meaning on the text, thus—"I propose (tentatively) to understand all creatures to be referred to, 'from *āryas* to the beings in hell, and all the *aṇḍajas*, etc. in between (*atrāntare*) including the invisible (*arūpa*).'"

[2] Can any Pāli scholar identify these verses?

[3] *Sārvīyām* occurs in a Skt. quotation in Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 16.

[4] See Pāṇini viii, 3, 68-9.

[5] Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 426.

[6] It differs from the usual forms of *ś* and *y*, in that the left limb is extended unusually downward.

the only tenable reading for the latter is *śra*, and the whole word would be *asaṁśrana;* but this seems impossible, if taken as one word, and if it is divided into *asaṁ śrana*, we only obtain two difficult words, and initial *śr* is inadmissible since it drops its *r* as shewn in *śīva* (see p. 217). There seems to be a clerical error in the word. Two emendations may be offered. First, it may be a mistake for *a-saṁśraya*, "having no asylum or habitation;" the gift of a vihāra to Mahāsaṅghikas who had no sanctuary would have been a natural act of piety. Or secondly, as Dr. Thomas suggests, the *saṁ* may be a mistake for the somewhat similar letter *cha*, and then the next letter may be read as *rya*,[1] so that the word would be *āchāryāna*, genitive plural of *āchārya*, "teacher." On the whole this seems preferable,[2] and I have adopted it in the translation.

No. 21.—SURAT PLATES OF VYAGHRASENA; THE YEAR 241.

By Professor E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

In my article on the Pārḍi plates of the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna[3] it was stated that the late lamented Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., had in his hands an unpublished copper-plate grant of Dahrasēna's son and successor Vyāghrasēna.[4] At my request Rai Bahadur Venkayya obtained the original plates on loan through the Government of Bombay, who were good enough to permit them to be sent to me for inspection.

As stated by Mr. Jackson, the copper-plates come from **Surat.** They are two in number, each measuring between $9\frac{1}{4}$ and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and bear writing only on their inner sides. They are comparatively thin and have no raised rims, but the writing on them is in a state of fairly good preservation. A number of letters are filled with verdigris and therefore have not come out on the impressions, though their outlines are quite visible on the original plates. As in the case of the Pārḍi plates, there are two ring-holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of the second plate. A long copper wire is passed through the two holes on the right, and its ends are twisted round, but not soldered. A second copper wire may have held the plates together on the left, but is now missing. The total weight of the plates and wire is 50 tolas.

The **alphabet** is of an early southern type. The Jihvāmūlīya occurs once (l. 1) and the Upadhmānīya five times (ll. 4, 5, 6 (twice), and 14). In three instances (*mā*, l. 9, and *lā*, ll. 13 and 18) the secondary form of *ā* is expressed by a hook at the *bottom* of the preceding consonant. The date at the end of the inscription contains the abbreviation *saṁ* (for *saṁvat*) and the **numerical symbols** 1, 5, 10, 40, and 200.

The **language** is **Sanskrit** prose; but two verses of Vyāsa are quoted near the end. The rules of grammar and of *sandhi* are carefully observed; only ll. 10-14 contain a few blunders, and l. 8 two clerical mistakes. *Anusvāra* is replaced by *ṅ* in *vaṅśa* (l. 5) and *vaṅśya* (l. 12).

The inscription records a grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa by the *Mahārāja* **Vyāghrasēna** (l. 7 f.) of the **Traikūṭaka** family (l. 1), who issued his order from "the victorious **Aniruddhapurā**" (l. 1). This city, which appears to have been the capital of the Traikūṭaka kings, is mentioned also in the slightly different form "the victorious Aniruddhapurī" as the place of residence of the donee in the Bagumrā plates of [Kalachuri-]Saṁvat 406.[5] Vyāghrasēna

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[1] This *ry* is different from the *ry* in *paryata* (l. 3 A) in that the left limb extends downwards here much further than in *paryata*. Whether this difference is accidental or implies a distinction is doubtful.

[2] Though, on this interpretation, one would have expected *Mahāsaṅghika āchāryāna*.

[3] Above, Vol. X. p. 52 f.

[4] *Journ. Bombay Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XXIII. p. 6 f.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 270.

claims to have ruled the Aparānta country[1] (l. 2). This statement furnishes an interesting confirmation of two verses of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (iv, 58 f.), where the mountain **Trikūṭa, from** which the designation of the Traikūṭaka family must be derived, is placed in the territory of the king of Aparānta.[2] According to the *Vaijayantī* (ed. Oppert, p. 37, verse 35), which is quoted by Mallinātha on *Raghuvaṁśa*, iv. 53, the chief place of Aparānta seems to have been **Śūrpāraka,** the modern **Sōpārā,** with which I feel tempted to identify Aniruddhapura, the capital of the Traikūṭakas. The object of Vyāghrasēna's grant was the hamlet **Purōhitapallikā** in the **Iksharakī** district (*āhāra*, l. 8), which I am unable to identify. From the name given to the hamlet we may perhaps infer that the donee, Nāgaśarman (l. 10), was the king's family priest (*purōhita*).

The date of the grant was **the 15th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year** 241 of an unspecified era (l. 18). As we know from coins that Vyāghrasēna was the son of Dahrasēna,[3] whose Pārḍi plates are dated in [Kalachuri-]Saṁvat 207, the date of the new inscription must be also referred to the Kalachuri era of **A.D. 249,** and the specified month places the record in **A.D. 490 or 491.**

The following short pedigree comprises all that we know from coins and inscriptions regarding the **Traikūṭaka** kings of **Aparānta,** residing at **Aniruddhapura**:—

Mahārāja Indradatta.
|
Mahārāja Dahrasēna
(A.D. 456 or 457).
|
Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna
(A.D. 490 or 491).

TEXT.[4]

First Plate; Second Side.

1 स्वस्ति विजयानिरुद्धपुरात्त्रैकूटकान[ां] मातापितृपादानुद्ध्यातो भगवत्पादकर्म्मकरक्रम-
गतक्रमागत-
2 स्फीतापरान्तादिदेशपतिरपरिमितनृपतिनतचरणकमलस्स्वभुजपरिपालनप्रता-
3 पाधिगतप्रचुरद्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तसर्व्वदिग्व्यापिशुक्लयशाश्शारदरजनिकररुचिरवपु-
4 रनद्यकालीनपुरुषविशेषसदृशोदारचरितस्सुचरितनिदर्शनार्त्थमिव निर्म्मितᳶप्रसि-
5 द्धसामन्तारातिरन्यनरपतिप्रतिविशिष्टस्स्ववङ्गालङ्कारभूतᳶप्रभूतप्रवीरसाधना-[5]
6 धिष्ठितदुर्ग्गनगरसागरस्सागरगम्भीरगिरिगुरुस्थिरप्रकृतिᳶप्रकृतिजनमनोहरᳶप्राज्ञ-

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1 See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 173, and Prof. Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, p. xxxii.

2 *Op. cit.* p. clix and note 3.

3 See above, Vol. X. p. 52 and note 6.

4 From the original copper-plates.

5 Read °वंशा°.

7 संश्रितगुरुस्वजनसाधुसाधारणधनोभिजनसदृशयन्त्रणोपगृहीतस्पृहणीयश्रीश्श्रीमहा-

8 राजव्याघ्रसेन: [1]सर्व्वानवेत्तरक्याहारान्तर्गतपुरोहितपल्लिकाप्रतिवासिनो-[2]

9 स्समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिर्म्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च स्वपुण्याभि-
वृद्धये

Second Plate; First Side.

10 भारद्वाजसगोत्रब्राह्मणनागशर्म्मणे[3] इयं पल्लिका चोरराजापथ्यकारिवर्ज्ज[4] अचाटभट-

11 प्रावेश्या सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिपरिहीणोग्राहारस्थित्यान्वयभोज्या[5] आचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णव-

12 क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनोतिसृष्टा[6] [।*] तदस्मद्वङ्श्यराजभिरन्यैश्च[7] विभवानभावानुब-
द्धानायुर्व्वि-

13 योगानुगतङ्गुणांश्च दीर्घकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दानञ्च गुणवतामवदातमपदान-

14 मिति प्रमाणीकृत्य शशिकरशुचि रुचिरश्चिराय यशश्चिचीषुभिरियं[8] पल्लिकादा-
योनुमन्तव्य॰पा-

15 लयितव्यश्च [।*] यस्मादुक्तम्भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [।*] पूर्व्वदत्तान्द्विजा-
तिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधि-

16 ष्ठिर [।*] महीम्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं [॥ १ ॥*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे मोदति

17 भूमिद[: ।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति [॥ २ ॥*]
प्रतिपृच्छ्य लिखितं मया महासान्धिविग्र-

18 हिककर्क्केण हालाहलदूतकं सं २०० ४० १ कार्त्तिक शु १० ५ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! From the victorious **Aniruddhapura**, the glorious *Mahārāja* **Vyāghrasēna**,— (*who belongs to the family*) of the Traikūṭakas; who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother and father; who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat (Vishṇu); who is the lord of **Aparānta** and other rich countries, annexed or inherited (*by him*); to whose lotus-feet innumerable kings are bowing; who has obtained bright fame, pervading all directions, by distributing the vast treasures acquired with his own arm by ruling (*his kingdom*) and by conquest; whose body is as brilliant as the autumnal moon; whose conduct is as noble as that of excellent men of former times; who has been created, as it were, as an example of good conduct; who has repelled neighbouring enemies; who is more distinguished than other kings; who has become the ornament of his family; who has occupied forts, cities, and oceans by armies of many great heroes; whose nature is as deep as the ocean and as firm as the chief of mountains (Himālaya); who ravishes the hearts of men by nature; whose wealth is shared

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[1] Read सर्व्वानिवे°.

[2] Read °वासिन°.

[3] Read °शर्म्मणे.

[4] Read °वर्ज्जम्.

[5] Read °परिहीणाग्रहार° and °भोज्याचन्द्रा°.

[6] Read °कालीनाति°.

[7] Read °वंश्य°.

[8] Read °भिरयं.

by scholars, refugees, elders, relatives, and devotees; (*and*) who has acquired desirable glory by practising self-restraint in a manner worthy of (*his*) descent,— commands all residents of **Purōhitapallikā** included in the **Iksharakī** district (*āhāra*) :—

(L. 9.) "Be it known to you, that, in order to increase the merit of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourself, we have granted to the Brāhmaṇa Nāgaśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* this hamlet (*pallikā*), not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, unless (*in order to arrest*) robbers or persons guilty of high-treason, exempt from all taxes and from forced labour, to be enjoyed, under the rules of an *agrahāra*, by (*the donee's*) descendants, (*and*) to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth shall exist.

(L. 12.) "Therefore kings belonging to Our lineage and others, considering that sovereignty is liable to cessation, that life is followed by separation, and that (*only*) virtues are lasting a long time, admitting the principle that gifts to virtuous men are noble achievements, and desirous of accumulating for a long time brilliant fame, as bright as the rays of the moon, must approve and protect this grant of a hamlet.

(L. 15.) "For the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas, has spoken :—

[Here follow two of the customary verses.]

(L. 17.) Having enquired (*regarding the necessary details of the grant ?*), (*this edict*) was written by me, the great minister for peace and war (*mahāsāndhivigrahika*) **Karka**, **Hālāhala** being the messenger (*dūtaka*), in the year 241, on the 15th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Kārttika.

No. 22.— FIVE BANA INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUDIMALLAM.[1]

BY V. VENKAYYA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

Guḍimallam is a village in the Kālahasti Zamīndārī of the modern Chittoor District, about 8 miles from Rēṇiguṇṭa Junction, and 13 miles south-west of Kālahasti town. On a hurried visit to the village which I paid in August 1903, I found important inscriptions; and subsequently a member of the Madras epigraphical establishment was deputed to examine the place more leisurely. In all, 26 inscriptions were copied in the **Paraśurāmēśvara** temple at the village.[2] They belong to the **Pallava** king **Nandippōttaraiyar** (No. 229 of 1903); the **Gaṅga-Pallava** kings **Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman** (No. 226 of 1903) and **Nṛipatuṅga** (No. 228 of 1903); the **Bāṇa** prince **Vijayāditya** (Nos. 223 and 224 of 1903); the **Chōḷa** kings **Parāntaka I.** (No. 225 of 1903), **Rājakēsarivarman** (No. 222 of 1903), **Vikrama-Chōḷa** (Nos. 212 and 213 of 1903) and **Rājarāja III.** (Nos. 204-11, 214, 216-21 and 227 of 1903). The village is called **Tiruvirperumbēḍu** in **Śilai-nāḍu**, a sub-division of **Vēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam** in **Perumbāṇappāḍi**, a district of **Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam**. In the earlier records (Nos. 226, 223, 225, 229 of 1903) the forms **Tiruvippirambēḍu** and **Tiruvirpirambēḍu** (Nos. 228 and 224 of 1903) and **Tiruvirperumbēḍu** (No. 222 of 1903) occur. In three of them, the village is mentioned without the district to which it belonged (Nos. 223, 226 and 229 of 1903). In four others Silai-nāḍu and Vēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam are added. If we accept the form which occurs in the earliest inscription, *viz.* *Tiruvippirambēḍu*, the name may be analysed into *Tiruvippiraṉ* and *pēḍu*. *Vippiraṉ* is apparently a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *vipra*, 'a brāhmaṇa.' Consequently, the name would signify 'the sacred village of the brāhmaṇa.' The temple receives the names— **Paraśurāmīśvarattu-Mahādēva** (A. below), **Paraśurāmīśvaragarattu-Perumāṇaḍigaḷ** (D. below), **Paraśiramısvaragarattu-Pirāṇār** (E.

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[1] My thanks are due to Dr. Fleet who very kindly read two proofs of this article at my request and made a number of valuable suggestions, almost all of which I have adopted.

[2] Nos. 204 to 229 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

below), Paraśurāmīśvarattu-Perumāṇaḍigaḷ (No. 222 of 1903) and Paraśirāmīśvaramuḍaiyār (No. 221 of 1903). Thus the temple is invariably called Paraśurāmīśvara from the time of the earliest inscriptions down to the present day. None of the epigraphs, however, furnishes any clue as to the circumstances which led to the choice of this name.

The subjoined inscriptions A. to E.[1] are the earliest records of the temple and are selected for publication as they throw some light on the history of a feudatory family, that of the Bāṇas, the members of which appear to have played an important part in Southern India in ancient times: a general note on the history of this family is given on pp. 229 to 240, below. Most of the stones on which these inscriptions are engraved were found lying in the court-yard of the temple. The fact that three of them register gifts to the Paraśurāmīśvara temple may be taken to show that the stones belonged originally to it: perhaps they became detached from the temple when it was built (or rebuilt) during the reign of the Chōḷa king Vikrama-Chōḷa.[2]

The palæography of these records does not call for any special remarks. Attention may, however, be drawn to the fact that two dots placed one above the other are used as a sign of punctuation in line 10 of A.[3] The initial vowel *i* is written in line 31 of B. and line 25 of D. exactly as in the Grantha portion of the Kāśākuḍi plates of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla, while the more common form of the letter occurs in line 52 of the former record. Less important peculiarities are noticed in the footnotes to the text of each of the records. As regards the language, which is Tamil, the only point that deserves to be noted is the use of the phrase *chandrādityagatam* (ll. 32 to 35 of B; and l. 10 of E.) instead of the more common *chandrādityavat*.[4]

A. records a gift of land for a lamp to burn in the Paraśurāmīśvara temple by a certain Muḷḷiṛkiḻār who was one of the members of the committee administering the village of Tiruvippirambēḍu. The land granted was purchased by the donor from another member of the same committee. In B. a third member of the same committee granted land for removing silt from the tank called Veḷḷēri at Tiruvippirambēḍu. Out of the produce of this land were to be met the charges for digging pits in the tank and depositing the silt on the tank-bund. In C. the stone is mutilated on the right side, so that the writing has suffered on three sides of it. The missing letters on the first side can be restored with some certainty, while on the third side restoration is not possible. The object of the grant is consequently not clear; but it probably registers the gift of a lamp. In D. the Bāṇa queen Mādēvi-aḍigal granted 30 *kaḻañju* of gold from the interest of which was to be met the expenditure on account of twilight offerings and lamps to the Paraśurāmīśvara temple at Tiruvippirambēḍu. The assembly of Tiruvippirambēḍu accepted the endowment and undertook to provide twilight offerings and lamps. E. registers a gift of gold by a native of Vīramaṅgalam for a perpetual lamp. The amount consisted of twenty *kaḻañju* of gold, and the interest on it was calculated at the rate of four *mañjāḍi* per year for each *kaḻañju*. Out of the interest amounting to 4 *kaḻañju*, 180 *nāḻi* of ghee was to be purchased at the rate of 45 *nāḻi* for each *kaḻañju*. At one *uri* of ghee per day, 180 *nāḻi* would be enough for the whole year. The assembly of Tiruvippirambēḍu took charge of the endowment and agreed to provide the ghee required every day.

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1 These five inscriptions have also been published by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL. pp. 104-114. It will be seen that there are some differences both in the readings and in the translations. Further, ll. 46 to 58 of B. are altogether omitted by him and ll. 18 to 43 of C. are left out as they are fragmentary.

2 *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1903-04, p. 24, No. 212 of 1903.

3 Compare *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II. p. 111, note 1.

4 The expression *chandrādityagati* occurs in an inscription of the Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman at Kuḷumiyāmalai (No. 350 of 1904).

The relationship which the members of the committee or commissioners (*gaṇattār*) bore to the village assembly is not clear. In other words, their respective jurisdiction is not known. The commissioners are said to be ruling the village. Two other villages besides Tiruvippirambēḍu are at present known to have possessed this constitution, *viz.* Uttiramērūr, the modern Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district[1] and Aimbūṇḍi, the modern Ammuṇḍi near Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District.[2] These seem to have been pretty large villages. Perhaps the commissioners were expected to represent the interests of the king.

A.—Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya Māvali-Vāṇarāya: dated in the 23rd year of Nandippōttaraiyar.[3]

TEXT.

1 Svasti [||*] Śrī-Nanti(ndi)-
2 ppō[t*]taraiyark-
3 ku yāṇḍu iru-
4 battu-mūṉṟā-[4]
5 vadu Vikkiramā-
6 ditte(tta)-Māvali-
7 Vāṇarāyar Vaḍu-
8 gavaḷi-mēṟku
9 prithivirājyañ=
10 jeya :[5] Tiruvi[p*]pira-
11 mbēḍ=āḷuṅ=gaṇa-
12 ttāruḷ Muḷḷiṟ=kiḷ[ā]-
13 r Veppamboḷa-
14 ppaḷ ivv-ūr-āḷu-
15 ṅ gaṇattāruḷ Ku-
16 ḷaippa[l]ūr-kKa-
17 ṇiyar [A]gnisa[r]mma-
18 ṉ vilaiśrava[ṇ]ai-
19 yal viṟṟu koṇ-
20 ḍu ivv-ūr Paraśu-
21 ra(rā)miśvarattu Mahādē[6]-
22 varkku tiruviḷak-
23 ku-ney-ppuṟam-[ā]-
24 ga kuḍuttār [||*]
25 ivv-ūr sabhaiyōmmum i-nnilattē ivv-ūr ch(ch)ē[ri-y]il-aḷḷa ellam
26 naṭṭu=ttiruviḷakkukkēy vaya eṉṉai koḷvadāga-ppaṇittōm[7] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the twenty-third year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Nandippōttaraiyar,—while **Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya** was ruling over the Vaḍugavaḷi-mēṟku (*province*), **Muḷḷiṟkiḷār,** (one) of the members of the committee (*gaṇa*) administering (*the village of*) **Tiruvi[p]pirambēḍu,** purchased by a deed of sale[8] (the field called) Veppamboḷappaḷ (*from*) **Kaṇiyar Agniśarman of Kuḷaippalūr,** (one) of the members of the committee administering this village, and gave (it) to (the god) **Mahādēva** (*Śiva*) of (*the temple of*) **Paraśurāmiśvara** at this village, as an endowment for (supplying) ghee to the sacred lamps.[9] The assembly of this village

[1] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 113. [Vēḷachchēri in the North Arcot district was another such village; see Nos. 302, 308, 312 and 315 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1911.—H. K. S.]

[3] No. 229 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908. As will be seen from the accompanying photo-lithographic plate, ll. 1 to 24 are engraved on one of the broad sides of the stone and ll. 25-26 on one of the narrow sides.

[4] The secondary *ā* of *ṟā* is a separate symbol.

[5] The *visarga* is used here as a sign of punctuation; compare *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol II. p. 111, note 1.

[6] The *aksharas hādē* are much smaller than the rest of the inscription.

[7] The *puḷḷi* which is conspicuous by its absence in the whole inscription is marked on the last letter *m*.

[8] The term *vilai-śrāvaṇai* occurs twice in a similar context in *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 105, text-line 5.

[9] With *tiruviḷakku-ney-ppuṟam* compare *ambala-ppuṟam* (above, Vol. III. p. 285, text-line 7), *nandavāṉa-puṟam* (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 5, text-line 5), *paḍukku-ppuṟam* (*ibid.* p. 7, text-line 8) and *uṉṉāḻigai-ppuṟam* (*ibid.* p. 19, text-line 6).

ordered that all the oil-mills (*śekku*) of this village shall be set up on this land[1] and the oil required exclusively for the sacred lamps shall be procured (*from them*).

B.—Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya: dated in the 49th year of Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman.

TEXT.[2]

On one of the broad faces of the stone.

1 [Sva]sti [||*] Śrī-kō-Vi-
2 ś[ai]ya-Dantivikki-
3 [ra]maparumaṟku y[ā]-
4 ṇḍu nāṟpatto-
5 ṉbadāvadu Vi-
6 jaiyāditta-Ma-
7 hāvali-Vā[ṇa]-
8 rāyar prithivirā-
9 jyañ=jeyya Ti-
10 ruvippiramb[ē]-
11 ḍ=āḷuṅ=gaṇat-
12 tāruḷ Kaḻiyama-
13 ṅgilaṅ=giḻār
14 Ayyappō[ṟ]-
15 ṟiyēṉ eṅga-
16 ḷ Tūmbaṇēri
17 uḷḷai Nandiku-
18 ṇḍil=[ā]ṉa śeṟ[u]
19 ivv-ūr Ve[ḷ]-
20 ḷēriykku ē-
21 richcheṟuv=āga
22 vaittēṉ [|*] i-
23 diṟ=bhōga[ṅ]=
24 goṇḍu i-v-

On one side of the same.

25 [ve]ḷ[ḷ]ē-
26 riyi[l]ē
27 kuḻi kut-
28 ti aṭṭu-
29 vadāga
30 vaittē-
31 ṉ [|*] i[3]-ddha-
32 rmmañ=cha-
33 ndrādi-
34 tyagata-
35 ñ=jel-
36 vadāy-
37 ttu [|*] i-
38 ddharmañ=je-
39 lutti-
40 ṉāṉ 1000[4]
41 aśvamē-
42 dhañ=jey-
43 da palaṉ
44 peṟuvā
45 r [|*]

On another side of the same.[5]

46 id=aḻi-
47 ttāṉ
48 Vāraṇāśi[6]
49 aḻittā-
50 ṉ pāvat-
51 tu=ppaḍu-
52 vār [|*] i-ddha-
53 rmmam rakshi-
54 ttāṉ
55 aḍi e[7]-
56 ṉ muḍi-
57 mēli-
58 ṉa [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the **forty-ninth year** of the glorious king **Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman**,—while **Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya** was ruling over the earth,—I, **Ayyappōṟṟi**, the headman (*kiḻār*) of **Kaḻiyamaṅgalam**, (one) of the members of the committee administering (the village of) **Tiruvippirambēḍu**, gave the field called **Nandikuṇḍil** in (the tank) **Tūmbaṇēri** of our

[1] It is also possible that the reading is *śekk-uḷḷana* (instead of *śekk-uḷḷana*), in which case the translation would be "all (the crops) for which the fields of this village are (fit) shall be raised on this field, and the oil required for the sacred lamps shall be purchased (out of the produce)."

[2] No. 226 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

[3] This initial vowel *i* is written as in the Grantha portion of the Kāśākuḍi plates. The more usual form occurs in ll. 37, 46 and 52 below.

[4] This symbol for one thousand occurs in one of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions. This line has been read by Mr. Gopinatha Rao as °*ṉāṟai*, which is probably a printer's mistake for °*ṉārai*. The reading °*ṉārai* is unlikely as the symbol for *ai*, in other cases where it occurs in the inscription (ll. 6, 22 and 30), is not separated from the consonant to which it belongs. Besides the accusative °*ṉārai* would be wrong and would have to be corrected into °*ṉāṉ* or °*ṉār*.

[5] This side of the stone is damaged, but no letters have suffered on that account.

[6] The length of *ṇā* is added to the right of *ṇ* and goes up; compare *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 114 and Vol. II. p. 200, note 1.

[7] The vowel *e* is almost a semicircle with a loop at the left end.

(village) to (the tank called) Velleri [illegible] I gave (it) so that (they) may [illegible] the land,—(paying the charges [illegible]

This charity [illegible] He who maintains this charity [illegible] One who destroys it [illegible] this charity shall be [illegible].

C.—Inscription of the time of V[illegible] Mahâ[illegible]-V[illegible]râya: dated in the 24th year [illegible].

TEXT.

[illegible]

1 Svasti [illegible]	[illegible]
2 Nṛi[pa][tuṅ[illegible]]-	[illegible] śrî-Mahârâ-
3 gar ku [illegible] -	11 [illegible]
4 ḍu iruba[illegible]-	12 [illegible]-V[illegible]-
5 l[a]vadu [illegible]	[illegible] Mal[illegible]-
6 jagat-tr[illegible]	[illegible]-V[illegible]-
7 vandita [illegible]	[illegible] râyar Vadu[illegible]-
8 dima [illegible]	

[illegible]

16 vaḻiyin mer[illegible] Tiruve[illegible]-

17 koṭṭattu-[Ch]eḷdai-naṭṭu-Tiruvarpparam[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

18 . . rkka[illegible]	30 . . [illegible]
19 . . . m [illegible]	31 . [illegible]
20 . . d[illegible]a[illegible]vu[illegible]r	32 [illegible]
21 . . nariyulâ	33 [illegible] ni[illegible]-
22 . . [la] teyu	34 yôm [illegible] * appa ru[illegible]-
23 . . poṉ	35 . [illegible]
24 . . ti oru-vi	36 [illegible] jandiraṉu-
25 . . . ira[n]-	37 mm allala[illegible]
26 . . . [yu]m[m]o	38 m aḍuvâmâ-
27 . . [illegible]ayyu[illegible]	39 [illegible]ôm i-ppa-
28 . . mêrum [illegible]	40 ru[illegible] mutti[illegible]-
29 . . yum . yu	

On the fourth side of the stone.[4]

41 . . . [illegible] uttama [illegible]-

42 . . . [illegible] * [illegible]-

43 . . . [illegible] * [illegible]

[1] No. 228 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for [illegible]. As will be seen from the accompanying photo-lithographic plate, ll. 1 to 15 and 16 to 40 are engraved on the two broad sides of the stone and the rest of the inscriptions on the two narrow sides.

[2] The secondary *â* is added to the *y* at the bottom.

[3] One or more lines of the inscription are completely broken at the top of this side of the stone.

[4] A few *aksharas* are lost at the beginning of each line on this side of the stone.

[5] Read *sabhaiyôm.*

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the twenty-fourth year (of the reign) of the glorious Nṛipatuṅgan,—while the illustrious Vāṇavidyādhara-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya, born in the prosperous race of Mahābali who had been made door-keepers by the lord of gods and demons, Paramēśvara (Śiva), who is worshipped in all the three worlds, was ruling the west of Vaḍugavaḻi, (the members of) the assembly of Tiruviṟpirambēḍu in Śilai-nāḍu (a subdivision) of Tiruvēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam . . . .

[The rest of the inscription is too fragmentary to be translated.]

D.—Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya: dated Śaka 820.[1]

TEXT.

On the first side of the stone.

1 [Sva]sti śrī [||*] Saka-
2 [la*]-jagat-tray-ā-
3 [bhiva*]ndita-sur-āsu-
4 [r-ādhī*]śa-Paramēśva-
5 [ra-pra*]tihārīkṛita-Ma-
6 [hā*][ba]li-kul-ōtbha-
7 [va*](odbhava)-[śrī]-Vāṇavi-
8 [dyā*][dha]rar Mahādēvi-
9 [aḍiga*]ḷ=āyiṉa Māraka-
10 . . [m]maḍigaḷ magaṉā-
11 [r Vi*]jayāditta-Mahā-
12 [ba*][li]-Vāṇarāyar pṛi[thi]-
13 [vīrā*]jyañ=jeyya Śa-
14 [kar*] [y]āṇḍu eṉ-
15 [ṉū]ṟṟ-irubadāvadu
16 [Ti*]ruvippirambēṭ-
17 [ṭu*] Paraśurāmīśva[ra]ga-
18 [rat*]tu=pperumāṉaḍi-
19 [ga*]ḷukku sandhyā[2]-kālattu

On the second side of the stone.

20 [tiru]va[mu]dukkum nandāviḷakku oṉṟukkum-āga=kkuḍutta śemboṉ
21 muppadiṉ kaḻañju [|*] i-ppoṉ Mādēvi-aḍigaḷ pakkal ivv-ūr sa-
22 bh[ai]yōṅ=goṇḍu i-ppoṉṉukku=ppoli-ūṭṭāga tiruvamudukku niśadam i

On the third side of the stone.

[One or more lines are mutilated here.]

23 [da]ñ=jeluttu-
24 [vō*]māṇōṁ sa[bh]ai-
25 [yō*]m [|*] [3]i-ddha . . . .
26 . . . .[4]
27 [ko*]ṇḍu [śe]lu[ttu]-
28 [vadā*]ga oṭṭi-kkuḍut-
29 [tōm*] [sa]bhaiyōm [|*]
30 [id=a*]ṉṟ=eṉṟōm[5] Ga-
31 [ṅ*]gai-iḍai=Kkuma-
32 [ri-i*]ḍai=chcheydā .
33 [śe*]yda pāpattu=[p]-
34 [paḍu*]vārāṉār [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year of the Śakas, eight hundred and twenty, when [Vi]jayāditya-Mahā[ba]li-Vāṇarāya, son of Mahādēvi-Aḍigaḷ *alias* Māraka . . maḍigaḷ,

[1] No. 223 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

[2] The secondary *ā* is added to the right of *y*.

[3] If my reading be correct, the old form of *i* is used here as in the Grantha portion of the Kāśākuḍi grant; *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. plate facing p. 351, text-line 103.

[4] This line is doubtful. Perhaps the reading is
25 . . *i-ddharmmam patmā-*
26 *hēśvararēy=kkaik-*

[5] The *ā* of *ṟō* is a separate symbol instead of being added to the *ṟ* as in modern Tamil; compare *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 90.

(queen)[1] of the glorious **Vāṇavi[dyā]dhara,** born from the race of **Mahābali** who had been made door-keepers by the lord of gods and demons, Paramēśvara (Śiva), who is worshipped in all the three worlds, was ruling the earth,— thirty *kalañju* of pure gold were given for a perpetual lamp and offerings at twilight to the god (*perumāṇaḍigaḷ*) of (the temple called) **Paraśurāmīśvara-garam at Tiruvippirambēḍu.** We, (the members of) the assembly of this village received this gold from (the queen) **Mādēvi-Aḍigaḷ** . . . . . every day for offerings as interest for this gold.

[A portion of the inscription is here lost.]

We, (the members of) the assembly shall pay . . . . We, (the members of) the assembly agreed and gave [that we] shall pay . . . . . . Those who deny this shall be guilty of the sins committed by all sinners between the Ganges and Kumari.

E.—Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Vāṇarāya: dated Śaka 827.[2]

TEXT.

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] **Śa[kar] yāṇ-**
2 ḍu **8[2]**7 [āva]du **Vi-**
3 **jayāditta-Vā[ṇa]rāya-**
4 **[r]** pṛi[th]uvirājyañ=[j]eyya=
5 **Ttiruvēṅgaḍa-kkōṭ[ṭa]ttu=Chchilai-**
6 **nāṭṭu=Ttiruviṟpirambēṭṭu**
7 [sabhaiyō]m [a]dig[āri] **Vīramaṅga-**
8 **laṅ**=[gi]ḻā[ṉ]=**Ṟāḻi**-pakkal [e]ṅgaḷur(ḷūr)=**P-**
9 **paraśi[rāmī]śvaragaratt[u]=ppir[ā]ṉārkku=**
10 ch[cha]ndirādittagata[m] na[nd]āviḷak-
11 [ku e]rip[padaṟ]ku ko[ṇ]ḍa poṉ
12 [i-p*]poṉ mudal [i]rubadiṉ kaḷa-
13 [ñ*]jiṉāll=āṇḍuvarai [nā]lu mañj[ā]-
14 [ḍi]=ppaliśaiyāṟ=poṉ [n]āṟ=kaḷañji[3]-
15 ṉāṟ=kaḷañjukku nāṟpatt[ai]y-nnāḻi-
16 ppaḍi nūṟṟeṉbadi=ṉāḻi n[e]yyāl
17 niśadi uriy ney ko[ṇ]ḍu nandā-
18 viḷakku muṭṭāmai[4] erip[pō]māṉōm [|*]
19 muṭṭiṟ=Kaṅgaiy=iḍai=Kkuma[ri]y=iḍai=chche-
20 ydār śeyda pa(pā)vam pa[ḍu]vōmāṉō-
21 m sa[bhaiyō]m ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year of the Śakas 8[2]7, while **Vijayāditya-Vāṇarāya** was ruling the earth,— we, (the members of) the assembly of **Tiruviṟpirambēḍu** in **Śilai-nāḍu,** (a subdivision) of **Tiruvēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam,** received gold from the magistrate (*adigāri*) **Tāḻi,** the headman of **Vīramaṅgalam,** for burning (one) perpetual lamp, as long as the moon and the sun endure, to the god (*pirāṉār*) of (the temple called) **Paraśurāmīśvaragaram** in our village. The interest on this gold— the capital of twenty *kaḷañju*— is four *kaḷañju* of gold annually, at the rate

[1] Another translation of the passage is: "Son of Māraka . . maḍigaḷ, who was the great queen *mahādēvi-Aḍigaḷ*) of the glorious Vāṇavidyādhara."

[2] No. 224 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

[3] The *akshara ñi* (*ji*) is corrected from *ñu*.

[4] Above the *akshara ṭṭā* is a secondary *i* which seems to have been erased by the engraver himself.

of four *mañjāḍi* (for each *kaḻañju*). One hundred and eighty *nāḻi* (may be purchased annually) for (this amount) at the rate of forty-five *nāḻi* of ghee for (each) *kaḻañju*. We shall without obstruction burn a perpetual lamp with one *uri* of ghee daily. If there be any obstruction, we (the members of) the assembly shall incur the sin committed by sinners between the Ganges and Kumari.

Note on the history of the Bāṇa princes.

Of the foregoing records, the inscription A. is dated during the reign of the **Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar**[1] whose feudatory was the **Bāṇa** chief **Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāyar.** B. belongs to the time of the **Gaṅga-Pallava king Dantivikramavarman,** who had **Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya** for his feudatory, and C. to that of **Nṛipatuṅga,** who probably belonged to the same family, though the characteristic portions of the names of the kings of that line are here missing. The grant recorded in the latter was made while **Vāṇavidyādhara-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya** was governing the **Vaḍugavaḻi-merku** (province). D. and E. are dated in the **Śaka era**[2] and belong to the time of the **Bāṇa** chief **Vijayāditya-Mābali-Vāṇarāya.** The tract of country in which Kālahasti and Guḍimallam are situated belonged to the Pallavas,[3] and it is therefore no matter for surprise that an inscription of that dynasty and two of the Gaṅga-Pallavas have been found there.

The identity of Nandippōttaraiyar of the Guḍimallam inscription A. with Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Kāśākuḍi plates remains doubtful, though not unlikely. As regards Dantivikramavarman, another inscription of his reign dated two years later than his Guḍimallam record has been found at Tiruchchāṉūr near Tirupati;[4] and we may, for the present, identify him with the first Gaṅga-Pallava king **Dantivarman** of the **Bāhūr plates,** and Nṛipatuṅga with his grandson **Nṛipatuṅga-Vikramavarman.** Earlier inscriptions of the former, ranging from the 10th to the 21st year, have been so far found in the vicinity of Conjeeveram[5] and may be taken to show that his territory was limited. Why the two later inscriptions are found in a different part of the country is a point on which no information is at present forthcoming. His son Nandivikramavarman, too, seems to have been ruling a limited country, to judge from his inscriptions found

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1 Mr. Gopinatha Rao identifies Nandippōttaraiyar with Kō-Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman and accordingly concludes that B. is older than A. It will be seen that the photo-lithographs of these two records issued with this paper do not bear out this conclusion. Apart from his wholesale identification of all kings in whose names the word *nandi* is found as well as of those with *danti* as part of their names, both of which I consider untenable, even Mr. Gopinatha Rao cannot deny that there were at least two kings with the name Nandivarman, *viz.* Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Kō-Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman or Nandivarman. Surely it cannot be contended that Nandivarman Pallavamalla has left no stone inscriptions. And as he is called Nandipōtarāja in the Kāśākuḍi plates, Nandippōttaraiyar of A. may for the present be identified with him. This initial mistake of Mr. Gopinatha Rao has led him to other errors in the chronology of the Bāṇas.

2 The fact that the Śaka era is used in them is probably due to the fact that the Gaṅga-Pallavas had completely collapsed and the overlordship of the Chōḻas had not yet been recognised in that part of the country. The Bāṇas who had been feudatories of the Gaṅga-Pallavas had probably not yet made up their minds to transfer their allegiance to the Chōḻas. Similarly, in a Tiruvallam inscription, we find the Śaka date 810 given and no overlord of the Bāṇa chief is mentioned (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 95). Other Tamil epigraphs which are dated in the Śaka era are Nos. 338 and 356 of 1902 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. pp. 136 and 187) and No. 426 of 1903 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1903-04, paragraph 20). One of the inscriptions of the Chōḻa king Vīrarājēndra I. is dated in the Śaka year coupled with the cyclic year (No. 273 of 1904). A record of Parāntaka I. found at Grāmam in the South Arcot District is dated in the Kaliyuga era and gives the number of days that had actually elapsed on a certain day during the reign of the Chōḻa king (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 261). Another of Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chōḻa found at Tiruviḍaimarudūr in the Tanjore District is also dated in the Kaliyuga era (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1907-08, paragraph 53).

3 See the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 38.

4 No. 262 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

5 See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-07, Part II, p. 238, note 7.

easily recognised and identified. On the analogy of the terms [illegible] *Āndhrapatha*, which actually occurs in the Mayidavōlu plates [illegible] as its capital (or one of its towns),[1] may be taken to be a synonym [illegible] Tamil inscriptions. In this case, it is not clear why the Bāṇas [illegible] to be ruling the western portion of it, and not the whole of it [illegible] Besides, Perumbāṇappāḍi, which seems to have been another name [illegible] which has been tentatively located in the northern portion of the modern North Arcot [illegible] could not have formed part of the Āndhra country. On the other hand, [illegible] that it was included in Toṇḍai-nāḍu or -maṇḍalam, also called Drāviḍa. [illegible] Hiuen-Tsiang who visited India in the 7th century A.D. locates Āndhra in the [illegible] vari and Kistna districts.[3] Varāhamihira's location of Āndhra in [illegible] takes us to the same locality.[4] The tract of country in which the inscriptions [illegible] have been found, *i.e.* the northern portion of the North Arcot District and [illegible] District of the Mysore State, would correspond to the Perumbāṇappāḍi of Tamil [illegible] cannot be in the west of the Āndhra country, nor form any part of it, as implied by the term *Vaḍugavaḻi-mērku*, *Vaḍugavaḻiyiṉ mērku* and *Āndhrāt pathah* [illegible]. Consequently we have to suppose, at least provisionally, either that there was a road leading to the Āndhra country (perhaps from Drāviḍa) or that the country which lay between Āndhra and Drāviḍa was called Vaḍugavaḻi, as the road to the Āndhra country lay through it, [illegible] the country to the west of this road or the western portion of it [illegible] by the Bāṇas. There is still a third possibility. It may be supposed that the name Vaḍugavaḻi [illegible] equivalent was the name correctly applied to the Bāṇa dominions [illegible] when they were probably ruling, as Pallava feudatories, a portion of the modern [illegible] which would be situated to the west of the Āndhra country. That this [illegible] conjecture is shown by the fact that the Pallava dominions originally [illegible] districts and that the Bāṇas were also ruling some frontier province [illegible] of the country during the time of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman. With the [illegible] Chalukyas of Bādāmi in the 7th century, the Pallavas appear to have been driven [illegible] country and it may be supposed that the Bāṇas were forced into the northern portion of the North Arcot District. This province they continued to call Vaḍugavaḻi or Vaḍugavaḻi-mērku, though it was no longer to the west of the Āndhra country.[5]

Their traditional capital seems to have been Parivipuri (corrupted [illegible] , Parivai, Parigipura or Paṟvipura. This place has not yet been identified. [illegible] Parigipura may be taken to show that it may be identified with Parigi in the [illegible] Anantapur District.[6] This capital is mentioned for the first time in [illegible] of Parāntaka I.[7] It may, therefore, be assumed that Parivipura [illegible] of the Bāṇas

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[1] Above, Vol. VI. p. 88.

[2] See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-7, Part II. p. 238, note 2.

[3] Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 217 f.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 173.

[5] The Western Gaṅgas called themselves lords of Kuvaḷālapura [illegible] Tālukā. The Telugu-Chōḍas claimed to be lords of Uṟaiyūr, though their dominions [illegible] Similarly, local families claiming descent in the Pallava race called themselves lords of [illegible] of the goddess Kāmakōṭyambikā (*i.e.* the Kāmākshī temple at Conjeeveram). In the [illegible] applied the original name of their territory to any district occupied by them in later times. [illegible] 233 below.

[6] Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 122.

[7] Above, Vol. IV. p. 221. Here the forms *Parivai* and *Prapuri* [illegible] in the Udayēndiram plates of Prithivīpati II. (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 38[illegible]) and [illegible] inscription of the Bāṇa chief Aggaparāja (*Nellore Inscriptions* by Messrs. Butterworth and [illegible] p. 1241) and *Parivaipura* in No. 86 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906-7 [illegible] 1906-07, Part II paragraph 46). The form *Paṟvi* is furnished by No. 194 of the same [illegible] Annual Report for 1899-1900, paragraph 85).

king (Bāṇarasa). At Baṅgavāḍi in the same district is a Bāṇa epigraph which refers to the capture by the Permanaḍigal (*i.e.* the Western Gaṅga king), of Mahārājara-nāḍ which belonged to the Bāṇa chief (Mb. 228).[1] That the Gaṅgas and the Bāṇas were also occasionally on friendly terms is shown by the marriage of the Gaṅga princess **Kundavvaiyār**, daughter of **Pṛithivīpati I.**, with the Bāṇa king **Bāṇavidyādhara.**[2]

The kings mentioned in the stone inscriptions bear several names, and, consequently, it is often very difficult to identify them with those in the foregoing genealogical table. Though we have reason to suppose that the Bāṇas were feudatories of the Pallavas, the references to them in Pallava inscriptions are very few. In A. above, **Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya**, governing the Vaḍugavaḻi-mērku, figures as a feudatory of the **Pallava** king **Nandippōttaraiyar**, who may be identical with **Nandivarman Pallavamalla**, the last powerful king of the Pallavas. If this be the case, the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya under reference, cannot be identified with Vikramāditya I. of the foregoing table. One of the earlier kings must have borne the surname Vikramāditya; perhaps Bāṇavidyādhara, or his predecessor.

After the downfall of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, their empire seems to have been split up, and we find the Bāṇas playing a very important part in all the frontier wars. The **Gaṅga-Pallava** king **Narasiṁha-Vikramavarman**, whose initial date has been placed by Dr. Fleet between A.D. 760-70, had a feudatory named **Skanda-Bāṇādhirāja.**[3] At **Baṅgavāḍi** in the Muḷbāgal tāluka of the Kōlār District is an inscription recording the death of a servant of this king on the occasion of a cattle-raid.[4] **Vijaya-Skandaśishya-Vikramavarman** of the **Rāyakōṭa plates**, who may have been a successor of Narasiṁha-Vikramavarman, also had a Bāṇa feudatory.[5] **Danti-Vikramavarman** (B. above) had **Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya** for his feudatory. This Vijayaditya must be earlier than Vijayāditya II., in the foregoing table. Dantivikramavarman's son and successor **Nandivikramavarman** had **Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya** for his feudatory in the 17th year of his reign[6] and an unnamed **Māvali-Vāṇarāya** in the 62nd year of his reign.[7] The former has perhaps to be identified with Vikramāditya I., as we have some reason to suppose that Nandivikrama married a daughter of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** king **Amōghavarsha I.** (814-15 to 877-78).[8] This Vikramāditya is probably identical with Bāṇavidyādhara who married a daughter of the **Western Gaṅga Pṛithivīpati I.**, another contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I.[9] The Bāṇa contemporary of Nandivikrama's son Nṛipatuṅga was **Vāṇavidyādhara-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya** according to C. above. As Professor Hultzsch has tentatively identified the **Pirudi-Gaṅgaraiyar**, mentioned in the Āmbūr inscriptions as a feudatory of Nṛipatuṅga, with the Gaṅga Pṛithivīpati I.,[10] it may be supposed, at least for the present, that this Vāṇavidyādhara is identical with the son-in-law of the Gaṅga king Pṛithivīpati I.

The accompanying table shows at a glance the synchronisms of the Bāṇas, the Pallavas and the Gaṅga-Pallavas :—

Bāṇas.		Pallava.
1. Vikramāditya Māvali-Vāṇarāya,	feudatory of	Nandippōttaraiyar (23rd year).

[1] Kl. 235, Bp. 48 and Bp. 86 of the Kōlār volume mention a Mahāvali Bāṇarasa ruling the Gaṅga 6,000 province. The first two are assigned by Mr. Rice to about A.D. 890 and the third to about A.D. 770. These inscriptions may imply a temporary occupation of the Gaṅga country by the Bāṇas; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Introduction, p. vi.

[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 99.

[3] Above, Vol. V. p. 160. The first member of the name Skanda-Bāṇādhirāja might denote his overlord.

[4] Above, Vol. VII. p. 23; see also *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Kōlār, Mb. 228.

[5] *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 52.

[6] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 94.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 91.

[8] Above, Vol. IV, p. 181.

[9] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 99.

[10] Above, Vol. IV. p. 182.

Bāṇas.			Gaṅga-Pallavas.
2. Skanda-Bāṇādhirāja	feudatory	of	Vijaya-Narasiṁhavarman.
3. Māvali-Vāṇarāya	do.	do.	Vijaya-Skandaśishya-Vikramavarman.
4. Kārōniri-Bāṇarāja	do.	do.	Vijaya-Īśvaravarman.[1]
5. Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya	do.	do.	Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (49th year).
6. Vikramāditya (I.) Māvali-Vāṇarāya	do.	do.	Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman (17th year).
7. Māvali-Vāṇarāya	do.	do.	Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman (62nd year).
8. Vāṇavidyādhara-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya	do.	do.	Nṛipatuṅga (24th year).

9. Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya, Śaka-Saṁvat 810.[2]
10. Vijayāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya, son of 8, Śaka-Saṁvat 820, 827, 831.[3]
11. Vikramāditya (II), contemporary and "dear friend" of Kṛishṇarāja, *i.e.* the Rāshṭrakūṭa-king Kṛishṇa II. (A.D. 888 and 911-12).

The inscriptions discovered in the Puṅganūr Zamīndārī of the North Arcot District mention Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa-**Vikramāditya**-Bāṇakandarpa-Jayamēru, Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa-**Bāṇavidyādhara** and Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa-**Vijayāditya**-Vīrachūḷāmaṇi-Prabhumēru. One of the records of the first of these kings refers to a battle fought at **Sōremaṭi**, where the Bāṇa opposed, on behalf of the **Permanaḍi** (*i.e.* the Western Gaṅga king?), the **Noḷamba** (king ?) and **Rāchamalla** and **Mayindaḍi**.[4] A *vīragal* at Madanapalle in the Cuddapah District refers to a battle at the same place, which probably took place during the reign of the **Vaidumba king Gaṇḍa-Triṇētra**.[5] A stone at **Baṅgavāḍi** in the Kōlār District refers to an encounter between the same parties.[6] If the Rāchamalla in these *vīragals* was a Gaṅga, he may be identified with the **Satyavākya Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi Rājamalla**, whose final date is about A.D. 870-71.[7] If this identification be correct, the date of the Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa of the Puṅganūr inscriptions may be taken roughly as the middle of the 9th century A.D.

According to the **Gūlgānpode** epigraphs,[8] Vikramāditya, who has been identified by Dr. Fleet and Professor Hultzsch with Vikramāditya I. (No. 6 in the foregoing genealogical table) was also called Jayamēru.[9] It may, therefore, be concluded that the above mentioned Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa-**Vikramāditya-Bāṇakandarpa**-Jayamēru is identical with Vikramāditya (No. 6 in the preceding table of synchronous kings). Perhaps the Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa-**Bāṇavidyādhara** mentioned in another Puṅganūr inscription is also identical with Vikramāditya I. In the two Gūlgānpode inscriptions, reference is made to a commander named **Prabhumēru**, who might have been a general called after the father of Vikramāditya I. It is, however, not unlikely that Vijayāditya-Vīrachūḷāmaṇi-Prabhumēru mentioned above is identical with **Vijayāditya II.**, in which case the Prabhumēru of the Gūlgānpode records might be the son of Vikramāditya I. This identification receives some support from the fact that, in one of the Gūlgānpode tablets, it is said that, by order of Prabhumēru, a hero fought against the **Kāḍuvaṭṭi** force, while in the Puṅganūr record of Vijayāditya reference is made to a raid on **Kōyatūr**, *i.e.* Laddigam in the Puṅganūr Zamīndārī, by **Kāḍuvaṭṭi-Muttarasa**.[10]

As **Vikramāditya II.** was a friend of **Kṛishṇarāja**, who has been identified with the **Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II.** (A.D. 888 and 911-12), it may be concluded that the **Vijayāditya**

[1] Above, Vol. VII. p. 25.
[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III. p. 95.
[3] No. 99 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1899.
[4] No. 543 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.
[5] No. 295 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.
[6] Above, Vol. VII. p. 23.
[7] Above, Vol. V. p. 153.
[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 39 and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Kōlār, Sp. 5, 6.
[9] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 99.
[10] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-7, Part II., paragraph 45.

son of **Bāṇavidyādhara**, mentioned in D. and E. above, must be identical with **Vijayāditya II.** This identification, if confirmed by future researches, would show that Vikramâditya I. also bore the surname Bāṇavidyādhara—a fact already surmised by Dr. Fleet from the Gulgânpode records.

The fact that the two **Guḍimallam** inscriptions of **Vijayāditya** are dated in the Śaka era and that they mention no overlord is significant: the dates are **Śaka-Saṁvat** 820 and 827 corresponding to A.D. 897-98 and 904-5. We have another date for the same king in an inscription at Maṇigaṭṭa-Gollarahaḷḷi:[1] here the **Bāṇa** prince **Bejeyitta-Bāṇarasa** is said to be ruling in Śaka-Saṁvat 831, corresponding to A.D. 909-10. If this be the case, the Bāṇa king **Vikramāditya II.** must have assumed the leadership of the Bāṇas towards the close of the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa II. The reasons which must have led to Vikramâditya's courting the friendship of the Rāshṭrakūṭas may now be examined.

We have already seen that the Gaṅgas and Bāṇas were often fighting with one another. At **Kendaṭṭi-Maḍivāḷa** in the Kōlār District is a stone inscription of **Nitimārga Koṅguṇivarman** which Mr. Rice assigns to about A.D. 890.[2] The Gaṅga king's feudatory, **Noḷambādhiraja** of the **Pallava** family, is here said to have ordered a general of his to fight against the Bāṇa king (Bāṇarasa). Another unnamed Bāṇa king is said in a *vīragal* at **Baṅgavāḍi** in the same district to have opposed a confederacy of the **Noḷamba king, Rāchamalla, Mayindaḍi** and **Daḍiga.**[3] At **Dharmapuri** in the Salem District is a pillar (now removed to the Madras Museum) which records a gift by the Pallava king **Mahēndrādhirāja-Noḷamba.** The latter claimed to have "destroyed the **Mahābali** (*i.e.* **Bāṇa**) family." The inscription is dated in A.D. 892-93. Mahēndrādhirāja-Noḷamba was the son of **Noḷambādhirāja** by **Jāyabbe,** the daughter of the **Gaṅga king Rājamalla.**[4] As the latter was the grandfather of the Noḷamba king Mahēndrādhirāja, whose date is A.D. 892, we may identify the Gaṅga king Rājamalla with the **Satyavākya-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi Rājamalla** for whom Dr. Fleet gives the date A.D. 840 to 870-71.[5] The Nitimārga-Koṅguṇivarman of the Maḍivāḷa inscription, whose contemporary and feudatory was the Noḷamba king Noḷambādhirāja, has to be identified with Rājamalla's father **Raṇavikrama,** for whom Dr. Fleet gives the approximate dates A.D. 810 to 840. It is just possible that Noḷambādhirāja was contemporaneous with both Rājamalla and his father Raṇavikrama and fought against the Bāṇas. We have already seen that the northern portion of the North Arcot District was included in the Bāṇa dominions. At **Vaḷḷimalai,** which would be almost in the centre of the Bāṇa territory, we have an inscription of the **Gaṅga king Rājamalla.** Of him it is said that, having seen the Vaḷḷimalai hill, he took possession of it and caused a Jaina *basti* to be made on it.[6] Though it is not stated from whom the Gaṅga king took possession of the hill, we may suppose that it was wrested from the Bāṇas. An image of a pupil of the Bāṇa prince's spiritual preceptor is cut in relief on the hill not far from the Gaṅga inscription. This unfortunately is the only vestige of Bāṇa rule which is now traceable on the hill. But **Mēlpāḍi,** which is only a mile from the hill, is said to have belonged to **Perumbāṇappāḍi** in the Chōḷa inscriptions found in two Śiva temples at the village.[7] It may, therefore, be supposed that the Gaṅgas and Noḷambas had joined together[8] to fight against the Bāṇas.[9] The capture of Vaḷḷimalai by the Gaṅga king Rājamalla was effected apparently in the campaign

[1] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Kōlār, Mb. 229.

[2] *Ibid.*, Kl. 79. In the introduction to the Kōlār volume, p. vii, Mr. Rice assigns the Bāṇa prince mentioned in the inscription to about A.D. 850.

[3] Above, Vol. VII. p. 23.

[4] Above, Vol. X. p. 56.

[5] Above, Vol. VI. p. 66.

[6] Above, Vol. IV. p. 141.

[7] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III. p. 22.

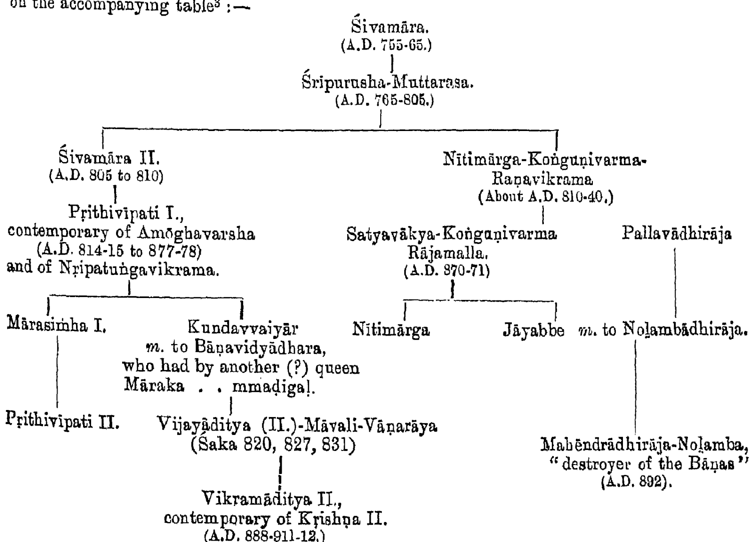
[8] In the 10th century the relationship between the Gaṅgas and Noḷambas seems to have been completely altered and the Gaṅga prince Mārasiṁha II. boasted of having destroyed the Noḷambas; above, Vol. V. p. 179.

[9] The enmity between the Bāṇas and Noḷambas is also indirectly shown by the fact that the Gaṅga 6,000 district was sometimes governed by the Bāṇas and at other times by the Noḷambas; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X., Kōlār, Introduction, pp. vi and vii.

against the Bāṇas.[1] The claim of the Noḷamba king Mahēndrādhirāja, grandson of the Gaṅga king Rājamalla, to have destroyed the Mahābali family was evidently not an empty boast. Consequently, the Bāṇas must have been driven to a corner about the time of which we are now speaking.

Again, in the Tamil country, the **Gaṅga-Pallavas** who had been overlords of the Bāṇas were evidently tottering at the time. Prior to A.D. 897-98, the date of the earlier Guḍimallam inscription (D.), the decisive battle of **Tiruppuṟambiyam** must have been fought between the Gaṅga-Pallava **Aparājita** and the **Pāṇḍya king** Varaguṇa. The Chōḷas must also have taken the place of the Gaṅga-Pallavas in the tract of country of which we are at present speaking. It was evidently a time when the Gaṅga-Pallavas had disappeared from the scene and their place had not been actually taken by the Chōḷas. Perhaps this was why the two last of the subjoined inscriptions do not mention any overlord, but are dated in the **Śaka era.** This state of things probably continued for some time. For, in Śaka-Saṁvat 831, corresponding to A.D. 908-9,[2] the same Bāṇa prince **Vijayāditya II.** was ruling, but there is no mention of any overlord in the inscription. Perhaps his son **Vikramāditya II. of the Udayēndiram plates** represents himself as an independent king for this reason. The political condition of Southern India at the time rendered it necessary for Vikramāditya II. to make friends with some powerful king. As the Bāṇa prince Vijayāditya seems to have ruled until at least A.D. 909, his successor Vikramāditya II. must have assumed the leadership of the Bāṇas subsequent to that date. In this case, he must have become the friend of Kṛishṇa II. towards the close of the latter's reign.

Though the Noḷamba king Mahēndrādhirāja claims to have "destroyed" the Bāṇas, they continued much longer. They appear to have lost their power and influence with the decline of the Gaṅga-Pallavas. The synchronisms of the Gaṅga, Bāṇa and Noḷamba dynasties are shown on the accompanying table[3] :—



[1] Reference is made in a Bāṇa inscription to an invasion of Kāñchī by the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla. The Bāṇa prince was apparently ruling the Gaṅga 6,000 district at the time; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Kōlār, Bp. 86.

[2] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Kōlār, Introduction, p. vi.

[3] For the Gaṅgas, compare the table given by Dr. Fleet, Vol. VI. above, p. 59.

The subsequent history of this feudatory family is not altogether devoid of interest. How long Vikramāditya II. continued to rule, we have at present no means of ascertaining. Either he or his successor must have been conquered by the **Chōḷa king Parāntaka I.** in or before A.D. 921-22. The latter claims to have uprooted by force two lords of the **Bāṇa** kings.[1] We are not, however, told whether he uprooted two Bāṇa kings in succession or simultaneously. Anyhow, he made over the Bāṇa kingdom to his Gaṅga feudatory **Prithivīpati II. Hastimalla** in or before A.D. 915-16[2] and called him **Śembiyaṉ Māvalivāṇarāyaṉ**, *i.e.* "the Mahāvalivāṇarāja (who was a feudatory) of the Chōḷa king."[3] At **Yedarūr** in the Kōlār District of the Mysore State is a stone inscription dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 883 corresponding to A.D. 961 which mentions a Bāṇa chief named **Sambayya** as a feudatory of **Iṛiva-Noḷamba.**[4] Again at **Sannamūru** in the Podili division of the Nellore District is another stone inscription of the Bāṇa family. I have read the date tentatively as Śaka-Saṁvat 890 (corresponding to A.D. 968) and the name of the Bāṇa chief as **Aggaparāju.**[5] The latter does not mention any overlord and this may be taken to show that he was semi-independent. The date falls into the reign of the **Eastern Chālukya king Amma II.**[6] and is a few years prior to the interregnum in the **Vēṅgī** country.[7] What part, if any, this Bāṇa king played in the interregnum we have at present no means of ascertaining. We shall not be far wrong if we suppose that the **Chūṛaballirāju,** who figures in a stone inscription at **Koṇidena** (near Narsaraopet in the Guntur District)[8] was a descendant of Aggaparāju. The inscription of Chūṛaballirāju is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1073, corresponding to A.D. 1150-51, which falls into the reign of the **Chālukya king Rājarāja II.**[9]

In the Tamil districts of the Madras Presidency, the history of the Bāṇas does not come to an end with their conquest by Parāntaka and the transfer of their dominions to their rivals, the Gaṅgas. It has been surmised that the Bāṇas were originally settled in the Telugu country and that at a later stage in their history they moved into the northern part of the modern North Arcot District but retained the original designation of their territory. After Perumbāṇappāḍi was transferred to the Gaṅgas, or perhaps at an earlier period in their history,[10] the Bāṇas seem to have moved further south, crossed the river Pālār which seems to have been originally the southern boundary of their territory, and settled on the banks of the river **Southern Pennar,** calling the new province **Vāṇakōppāḍi or Vāṇagappāḍi.**[11] In A.D. 948-9, the **Rāshṭrakūṭa king**

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1 *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 387, verse 9.

2 The Sholinghur rock inscription which refers to this event (above, Vol. IV. p. 225, verse 5) is dated in the 9th year of Parāntaka I. corresponding to A.D. 915-6.

3 *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 389.

4 *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Introduction, p. viii.

5 *Nellore Inscriptions* by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty, p. 1201 ff.

6 He reigned from A.D. 945 to 970.

7 Above, Vol. VI. p. 349.

8 *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1899-00, paragraph 85. The description of Chūṛaballirāju is as follows:—*Sakala-sur-āsur-ādhīśvara-Paramēśvara-pratihārikrita-(°rīkṛita)-Vaśishṭa-gōtra-krishṇa(°kṛishṇa)dhvaja-Paiśāchika-paṭu-paṭaha-ghōshaṇa-vrishabha(°vṛishabha)-lāṁchchana(°lāñchhana)-Nandagirinātha-Paṛvi-puravar-ādhīśvara-kārmmukha(°kārmuka)-Rāma-monage-mumkolva-ahita-Dhanaṁjaya-patihitābharaṇa-sahaja-liyakāra-śaraṇāgata-vajraprākāra-samaraikamārtta[ṇḍa*]-yubhayarāya-kaṭakamu ne]ṛva-chelvānegal-a g aja-dānamalla-kīrttigenalla-Vīraperbbā[ṇa]-śrīmanmahāmaṇḍalēśvara-Chūṛaballirāju.*

9 A later reference to the Bāṇas occurs in the Sanskrit work *Pratāparudrayaśōbhūshaṇa* of Vidyānātha. But this does not throw any light on the history of the family.

10 The name Vāṇakōvaraiyar occurs already in two inscriptions of the 17th year of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman (above, Vol. VII. p. 139 and No. 302 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902). Perhaps a small colony of the Bāṇas moved out of Perumbāṇappāḍi soon after the decline of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram.

11 In the time of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, Vāṇagappāḍi or Vaḍagarai-Vāṇagappāḍi was called Madurāntaka-vaḷanāḍu and Rājēndra-vaḷanāḍu during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I; *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 46.

Kṛishṇa III. had a Gaṅga feudatory named Pṛithivīgaṅgaraiyar, whose wife was the daughter of Vāṇakōvaraiyar.[1] This may be taken to show that the province of Vāṇagappāḍi had come into existence prior to A.D. 948-9. Kṛishṇa III. appears to have made over the province to a Vaidumba feudatory of his, as it figures among the territories administered by the latter.[2] We have, however, no reason to suppose that the Bāṇas were completely driven out of Vāṇagappāḍi at the time. The Vāṇarāja Aḷagaṉ aiyaṉ who is mentioned in a Tirumālpuram inscription of Pārthivēndravarman was apparently a member of the family who had settled in the vicinity of Conjeeveram.[3] We have a certain Maṟavaṉ Narasiṁhavarman *alias* Rājarāja-Vāṇakōvaraiyar, with the usual Bāṇa titles, as a feudatory of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. in an inscription at Jambai in the South Arcot District.[4] The same Bāṇa chief built the tank at Neṛkuṉṛam *alias* Vayiramēga-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.[5] In an inscription of a Chōḷa king named Karikāla, whose time is at present unknown, reference is made to a certain Vāṇakōvaraiyar Viraparumar (*i.e.* Viravarman).[6]

In later times[7] there was a chief named Poṉparappiṉa Vāṇakōvaraiyar, a feudatory or officer of Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Peruñjiṅgadēva.[8] He is apparently identical with Magadēśaṉ Vāṇakulōttamaṉ and Vīramāgadāṉ Rājarājadēvaṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉ[9] Magadaipperumāḷ,[10] mentioned in certain inscriptions from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the South Arcot District and Kuḍumiyāmalai in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. A number of Tamil verses in his praise have been found engraved on stone in the South Arcot District and in the Pudukkōṭṭai State.[11] His title Magadēśaṉ or Magadaipperumāḷ is interesting. From Hoysaḷa inscriptions we know that the Hoysaḷa king Narasiṁha II. uprooted the Makara or Magara kingdom.[12] The Tiruvēndipuram inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III. informs us that Narasiṁha II. "uprooted the Mahara kingdom, seized him (*i.e.* the Mahara chief), his women and treasures and halted at Pāchchūr." In editing the inscription Dr. Hultzsch had remarked that the Magara kingdom has to be looked for in the Coimbatore or Salem District.[13]

At Tiṭṭaguḍi on the border between the districts of Trichinopoly and South Arcot has been found an epigraph of Magadēśaṉ Poṉparappiṉa Vāṇakōvadaraiyar recording the gift of a

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[1] Above, Vol. VII. p. 195. This Pṛithivīgaṅgaraiyar, who also bore the surname Hastimalla, was different from and later than his namesake who was a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I. In a Tirukkōvalūr inscription of the Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman, the queen of Vāṇakōvaraiyar figures as the donor (*ibid.* p. 141).

[2] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1904-5, Part II, paragraph 28.

[3] *Ibid.* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 46.

[4] No. 86 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906. This is how he is described in the inscription: *Sakala-sur-āsura-samadhikata(-gata ?)-vijaiya-śrī-manōhāri-vallabha-mahārāja-Maha(hā)bali-kula-tilakāyamāna-[Pa]ṇṇaiśariruḍaiyananda-Nandagri(giri)nātha-Parivaipura-paramēśvara-reṭchi-chinnāl a ṁ g h ṛ i t a (°chihn-ālaṁkṛita)-ṛishabhalāñjanaḥ (°lāñchhanaḥ).*

[5] No. 84 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

[6] No. 109 of the same collection.

[7] In the time of Kulōttuṅga I., his throne at Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷapuram was called Vāṇādhirājaṉ (Nos. 93, 94, 95 and 96 of 1910). One of his officers was Vāṇarājaṉ or Vāṇarāya (No. 138 of 1896 and No. 312 of 1901). Vikrama-Chōḷa had also an officer named Mahābali-Vāṇarāya (No. 545 of 1904 from Tiruvārūr) and another called Virudarājabhayaṅkara-Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ (No. 112 of 1895).

[8] No. 159 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

[9] It is doubtful if this chief is identical with Rājarājadēvaṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉ *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ of Āṟkaḷūr who was a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III. (Nos. 532, 533 and 557 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902).

[10] Nos. 507, 543 and 544 of 1902 and Nos. 381, 382, 383 and 385 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

[11] The chief's claim to have covered with gold (*poṉparappiṉa*) is obscure. He might have gilt the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple. It may also be that he regilt the Śiva temple at Chidambaram.

[12] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II, p. 507.

[13] Above, Vol. VII. p. 161. Toḷudagaiyūr, where Śōḷakōṉ, an adherent of the rebel Peruñjinga, was staying is probably identical with Toḷudūr on the Madras-Trichinopoly road, 8 miles from Vālikaṇḍapuram and 28 miles west-south-west of Vṛiddhāchalam.

village in **Magadai-maṇḍalam.**[1] Three other records from the same village[2] show that the district of Magadai should have been close to the village, if it was not actually included in it. It would not be an altogether wild conjecture to suppose that Mahara, Makara and Magara of the Hoysaḷa inscriptions is identical with the Magadai-maṇḍalam ruled over by the Vāṇakōvaraiyar Poṉparappiṉāṉ mentioned in the foregoing paragraph.[3] If this identification be true, it would indicate the movement of the Bāṇas further south as far as the Pudukkōṭṭai State. The chief of this province who was evidently a feudatory of the rebel **Peruñjiṅga** had to be overcome before the latter could be attacked by the Hoysaḷa generals commissioned to liberate the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III. from captivity.[4]

We have traced the movement of the Bāṇas as far south as the Pudukkōṭṭai State. In still later times they figure as feudatories and officers of the **Pāṇḍyas** in the 13th century A.D.[5] Mr. Sewell mentions two chiefs, one named **Sundara Tōḷ Mahāvilivāṇādirāyar** and the other **Muttarasa Tirumalai Mahāvilivāṇādirāyar** as rulers of Madura in the period A.D. 1451—1499.[6] We have a few inscriptions of the 16th century which show that the Bāṇas continued to wield some power and influence. These have been found at Kāḷaiyārkōyil, Tiruppullāṇi and Dēvīpaṭṭaṇam in the Madura district. The earliest of the chiefs mentioned in them is **Mahābali-Vāṇādharāya-Nāyaka.**[7] Then came **Sundarattōḷ-Uḍaiyār Māvali-Vāṇādarāyar**[8] or **Sundarattoḷuḍaiya Mahābali-Vāṇādarāyar.**[9] He was apparently also known as Māvali-Vāṇādarāyar without any additional designation.[10] In two of them he bears the epithet *irandakālam edutta* 'who revived the past,' (*i.e.* re-established the Pāṇḍya kingdom). This may be taken to show that he took some part in the attempt made by the contemporaneous Pāṇḍya princes Śrīvallabha and Kulaśēkhara to set up a show of Pāṇḍya sovereignty.[11]

Thus the history of the Bāṇas furnishes another instance of the movement of a tribe from one part of Southern India to another. This aspect of Indian history has already been explained in my article on the Pallavas published in the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-7.

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[1] No. 10 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. The donee in the Madras Museum plates of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭilavarman was a native of Śabdāḷi in the province of Magadha. In editing the plates, I assumed (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 74, footnote 91) that this was the well-known province of that name in Northern India. It is, however, not impossible that the former is identical with Magadai-maṇḍalam.

[2] Nos. 12, 14 and 15 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

[3] It is worthy of note that there is a village named Poṉparappi in the Kaḷḷakurchi tāluka of the South Arcot District which may be supposed to have been included in the dominions of the Bāṇa chief Magadēśaṉ. It is just possible that the name Poṉparappi has to be traced to the Bāṇa chief of whom we are now speaking.

[4] Above, Vol. VII. p. 168.

[5] In the Sir Walter Elliot collection is an impression of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṉērimaikoṇḍāṉ, whose feudatory was Aḷagāṇḍār *alias* Mahābali-Vāṇarāyar. The king's surname was apparently Avaṉivēndarāma which may be that of a Pāṇḍya king; *Arch. Surv. of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 185. In the reign of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (A.D. 1216-35) the throne of the Pāṇḍya king at Madura was called Vāṇādharāyaṉ, while Vikrama-Pāṇḍya-Vāṇādarāyaṉ was one of the officers of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (A.D. 1251-61). Prince Kulaśēkhara-Mahābali-Vāṇarāyar figures in a record of Jaṭāvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva from Śiṉṉamaṉūr in the Madura District.

[6] *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 223.

[7] No. 113 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

[8] No. 585 of the same collection for 1902 and No. 109 of 1903.

[9] No. 121 of the same collection for 1903.

[10] No. 587 of the same collection for 1902.

[11] See the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part II. paragraph 32, and the same report for 1909-10, Part II. paragraph 38.

No. 23.—DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

BY R. SEWELL, I.C.S. (RETD.), M.R.A.S.

RAJARAJA I.

223.—In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērirājapuram.[1]

1 [Sva]sti śr[ī] [||*] Tirumaga[ḷ] pō]la . . . .
4 . . . . śrī-Kōv=Irājarāja-Rājakēsariparma[rk]k=iy[ā]ṉ[ḍu 2]6 āvadu . .
5 . . . . i[y]-ā[ṭ]ṭai [Kaṟ]ka[ḍa]ga-nā[ya*]ṟṟu apara-pakshattu padi[ṉā] . . . m Bu[da]ṉ-kiḻamai[2]
6 peṟṟa P[uṉ]ar[pūśat]ti-[ṉ]āṉṟu.

"In the [2]6th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Rājarāja-Rājakēsarivarman,**—on the day of **Punarvasu,** which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the [four]teenth[3] [*tithi*] of the second fortnight of the month of **Karkaṭaka** of this year."

The date in this case is, like most others of this early period, worded in a manner a little different from the stereotyped form of later years in South India; so much so that while Mr. Krishna Sastri has stated it as referring to the 14th, or possibly 16th, solar day in Karkaṭaka, I find that it tallies with the 14th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Āshāḍha but with the 19th solar day of Karkaṭaka, and, since the word for "14th", *padi*[*ṉā*] . . . *m*, occurs in the original between *apara-pakshattu* and *Bu*[*da*]*ṉ-kiḻamai*, I presume that it is possible that the number "14" refers rather to the *tithi* than to the solar day.[4]

In the 26th year of Rājarāja I Rājakēsarivarman, the 14th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Āshāḍha was current at mean sunrise on Thursday, July 13th A.D. 1010, which was the 19th solar day of Karka. Now the 14th *tithi* of Āshāḍha is devoted to one of the Śivarātri festivals, and accordingly this *tithi* is liable to be joined with the Wednesday rather than with the Thursday, the midnight between the two having been included in it (Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* 1897, pp. 177, 181). This 14th kṛishṇa *tithi* began 13h. 15m. before mean sunrise on the Thursday and included the midnight in question; while the *nakshatra* Punarvasu began, according to the equal-space system, 18h. 6m. before that mean sunrise, and considerably earlier than that by the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta, being current both at midnight on Wednesday and at mean sunrise on Thursday. I think therefore that the day corresponding to the given day was **Wednesday, July 12th A.D. 1010.** If this is correct the accession of this sovereign must have taken place between June 25th and July 12th A.D. 985.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

224.—In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērirājapuram.[5]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pugaḻ-mādu viḷaṅga . . . . .
7 . . . . [śrī-Rājakē-
8 śariva]nmar=āna [6]Dhiribhvanachchakkaravatt[i]ga[ḷ] śrī-

[1] No. 624 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.
[2] The letter *m* is engraved at the beginning of line 6.
[3] The *tithi* may also be the sixteenth.
[4] Mr. Krishna Sastri's reason for thinking of the solar day and not of the *tithi* is that the numbers of lunar *tithis* are in South India commonly given in Sanskrit and not in Tamil. But neither the 14th nor the 16th solar day of Karka was Wednesday in this year, but Saturday and Monday respectively, and the use of the Tamil numeral is probably a consequence of the high age of the record.
[5] No. 647 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.
[6] Read *Tribhuva*-.

9 [Kulō]ttu[ṅ]ga-Sōḻadēvarkku iyāṇ-
10 ḍu [nāṟpatton]badāvadu Mēsha-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-
11 [pak]sha[ttu Utti]ramum Budan-kiḻamaiyum [p]e-
12 [ṟṟa] tra[y]ōdaśi-nāṟṟu.[1]

"In the **forty-ninth year** (*of the reign*) of **the glorious Rājakēsarivarman,** *alias* the **emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḻadēva,**— on the day (which was) the thirteenth *tithi* and which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to (*the day of*) **[Uttara-Phalgunī]** of the first fortnight of the month of **Mēsha.**"

The given date corresponds to **Wednesday, March 26th A.D. 1119,** on which day the 13th śukla *tithi* of the first fortnight of Chaitra was current at mean sunrise, as also the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī. This day was the 3rd solar day of Mēsha.

Thus the 49th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḻa I began on, or later than, 27th March A.D. 1118 and the reign must have begun on, or later than that date in A.D. 1070; so that for this king's accession we now have the period March 27th to October 8th A.D. 1070.

225.—In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērirājapuram.[2]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] [Pugaḻ śūḻnda] . . . .
13 . . . . Kō[v=I]rājakēsaka(ri)[va]rmmar=āṉa Tr[i]-
bhuva[ṉach]chakkarava[r]ttigaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḻadēvaṟ[ku] yāṇḍu
47āvadu Dhan[u]-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu piradamaiyum Tiṅgaḷ-
14 kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Mūlatti-nāḷ.

"In the **47th year** (*of the reign*) of **king Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the **emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḻadēva,**—on the day of **Mūla** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Dhanus.**"

To paraphrase the opening passage of Professor Kielhorn's remarks on his Chōḻa date No. 40 (Vol. VI, p. 279),—"a date in the month of Dhanus of the 47th year of the king's reign will be expected to fall near the end of A.D. 1116." Now, as detailed, the given date is incorrect for the 47th regnal year. But it is perfectly correct for the 48th year, *viz.*, towards the end of A.D. 1117. Now Mr. Krishna Sastri informs me that the figures 47 are perfectly clear in the original and cannot be read 48. We must therefore assume that the composer of the record made a mistake.

The given date, except for that mistake, corresponds with **Monday, November 26th A.D. 1117,** which was the 2nd solar day of Dhanus, and on which day at mean sunrise the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha was current. By the equal-space system the nakshatra current at that mean sunrise was Mūla, but by the system of Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta the current nakshatra was Pūrva-Ashāḍha. I conclude that the date is genuine, but that the composer erroneously stated the 47th instead of the 48th regnal year.

226.—In the Sāra-Paramēśvara temple at Tiruchchiṟai.[3]

1 [4]Tr[i]bhvanachchakrava[r]ttigaḷ [śrī-Kulōttuṅ]ga-Śōḻadēvaṟku yāṇḍu
47 āva[du] Ishaba-[n]āyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu daśami[y]um Budan-
k[i]ḻamaiyum
2 poṟṟa Śadaiya[t]ti-nāḷ.

[1] Read *nāṉṟu*.

[2] No. 653 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[3] No. 620 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[4] Read *Tribhuv-*.

"In the 47th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulōttuṅga**-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the **tenth** *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Ṛishabha."

This date is unreliable. In the 47th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I the 10th kṛishṇa *tithi* of Vṛishabha was current on Tuesday, May 9th A.D. 1116 (not on Wednesday), and on that Tuesday at mean sunrise the *nakshatra* current was Uttara Bhadrapadā; so that it was not possible for any moment of the Wednesday to be connected either with the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj or with the 10th kṛishṇa *tithi*. Śatabhishaj had expired before mean sunrise on the previous Monday. Working for the 48th year of this king I find that in that year the 10th kṛishṇa *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 5th day of Vṛishabha, the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise being Pūrva-Bhadrapadā. The corresponding day in European reckoning was April 28th A.D. 1117.

It is incorrect for a possible 47th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II, or of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.

VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

227.—In the Sāra-Paramēśvara temple at Tiruchchiṟai.[1]

1 T[ribhuvanach]chakravattigaḷ śrī-Vi[kki]ra[ma-Śōḷadēva]ṟku yāṇḍu 5āvadu Miduna-[n]āya[ṟṟu] apa[ra-pa]kshat[tu] tra-

2 [yōde]śiyum Viyāḷa-kk[i]ḷa[maiyum] peṟṟa Urōśaṇi-nāḷ.

"In the 5th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Vikrama**-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the **thirteenth** *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

This date is unsatisfactory. Given that the accession day of this sovereign was, as settled by Professor Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 5), the 29th of June A.D. 1118, the date should correspond to a day in A.D. 1122 or 1123. In A.D. 1122 the 10th day of Mithuna was Sunday, June 4th, and on that day the 13th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Jyēshṭha and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī were current at mean sunrise. The week-day stated in the inscription is, however, Thursday. Consequently I hesitate to accept it. Moreover, that June 4th would be in the king's 4th not 5th year.

For A.D. 1123 both week-day and *nakshatra* would differ from those stated in the original; the week-day of June 23rd, which was the day on which the 13th śukla *tithi* in Mithuna was current at mean sunrise, being Saturday, and the then current *nakshatra* being Mṛigaśiras.

Nor does the result agree with the given details for the 5th year of the king, on the supposition that his reign began, as originally set forward by Kielhorn, on 18th July A.D. 1108. Hence I can find no exact agreement in any case.

228.—In the Māgāḷēśvara temple at Tirumāḷam.[2]

1 ||ஸ்ரீ S[va]sti [śr]ī [||*]Pū-mādu puṇara . . . .

3 Kō=[3]Pparakēsa[r]ipanmar=āna Tri[buva]nachchakravattigaḷ śrī-Vikrama-Śōḷadēvaṟku yā[ṇḍu][4] 1[3]āvadu[5] Āni-māsattu Tiṅgaṭ-kkiḷamai peṟṟa Tiruvōṇamum tr[i]tigaiyum=āna nāḷ.

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[1] No. 621 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[2] No. 97 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

[3] The syllable *ppa* is written as a group.

[4] The syllable *ṇḍu* is perhaps written as a group.

[5] *āvadu* is denoted also by an incomplete flourish added immediately after the figure 13.

"In the 1[3]th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,—on the day which was the third *tithi* and (*the day*) of (the *nakshatra*) Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Monday of the month of Āṇi."

This date is correct in all respects for the 13th year of the reign of Vikrama-Chōḷa as fixed by Professor Kielhorn, who established the day of the king's accession as June 29th A.D. 1118. It corresponds to **Monday, June 15th A.D. 1131**, the fourteenth year of the reign beginning June 29th of that year and June 15th being still in the thirteenth year. The date proves that the reign could not have begun before June 16th A.D. 1118.

On that Monday, June 15th A.D. 1131, the 3rd *tithi* of the second fortnight of solar Āṇi (or Mithuna), was current at mean sunrise, as was also the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA II.

229.—In the Māgāḷēśvara temple at Tirumāḷam.[1]

1 || || ஸ்ரீ Svasti śrī [||*]Pūmaṉnu padumam . . . .
4 . . . . Kōv=Ir[ājakēsaripaṉmar=āṉa Tribhuvana-chakravarttigaḷ śrī-Kulō]ttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṟku yāṇḍu
11 pa[di]n-oṉṟāvadu Dauu-ñāyaṟṟu iraṇḍāu-diyadiyum Śani-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa [Pū]śatti-[nāḷ].

"In the **11th—eleventh—year** (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of **Pushya**, which corresponded to **a Saturday** and to the second solar day of the month of **Dhanus.**"

The date regularly corresponds to **Saturday, November 27th A.D. 1143**, which was the second day of the solar month Dhanus, and on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in the *nakshatra* Pushya by all systems. This day fell in the eleventh year of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa II, which began, as at present found by me (Vol. X, p. 138, No. 190), between 26th March and 14th July A. D. 1143, his accession having taken place on some day between those dates in A.D. 1133.

The stated date would be incorrect for the eleventh year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I, in which year the 2nd Dhanus fell on a Thursday (November 26 A.D. 1080), with Bharaṇī as the *nakshatra* current at sunrise. And the record cannot belong to the reign of the third king of that name whose title was Parakēsarivarman.

PARAKESARIVARMAN VIRARAJENDRA-CHOLA (KULOTTUNGA III.)

230.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam.[2]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Puyal vāyttu vaḷam peruga . . .
11 . . . . Kō=Pparakēsa-
12 ri[panma]r=āṇa Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ[3]
13 śrī-[Vī]rarājēndira-[Śōḷad]ē[va]ṟku yā-
14 ṇḍu añjāva[du Mē]sha-ñāyaṟṟu pūrvva-
15 [pa]kshattu [4]pra[dha]m[iyu] [Śa]ṇi-kkiḻamaiyum pe-
16 ṟṟa Aśvati-nāḷ.

[1] No. 109 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

[2] No. 733 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[3] There is, in the original, a letter erased between the syllables *ra* and *va*.

[4] Read *prathamaiyum*.

"In the fifth year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājēndra-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

Vīrarājēndra (Kulōttuṅga III) having come to the throne between the 6th and 8th July A.D. 1178 (Vol. IV, p. 266; VIII, p. 264, No. 108) the month of Mēsha in his fifth year must fall in A.D. 1183, and the details of the date are perfectly correct for Saturday, March 26th A.D. 1183, which day was the 2nd solar day of Mēsha. On that day the 1st *tithi* of the first fortnight of *adhika*-Vaiśākha was current at mean sunrise, the moon being then in the *nakshatra* Aśvinī.

231.—In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam.[1]

1 Svasti śrī [||*]Puyal vāyttu . . . .
4 . . . . Kō=Pparakēsaripaṟmar=āṉa T[r]ib[hu]vanachchakkara-vattigaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṟkku yāṇḍu 9vadu[2] Viruchchiga-ñāyaṟṟu irubat-
5 t[u]-nālān-diyadiyum pūrvva-pakshattu saptamiyum Viyāḷa-kkiḷamaiyum peṟṟa Śadaiyattu nāḷ.

"In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Thursday, to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The date regularly corresponds to Thursday, November 20th A.D. 1186, a day in the 9th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III, which was the 24th day of Vṛiśchika, and at whose mean sunrise the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, the moon being, by the equal-space system, in Śatabhishaj. By the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakshatra* was Pūrva Bhadrapadā, but they do not seem to have been used. By the equal-space system Śatabhishaj ended 7h. 52m. after mean sunrise; whereas by Garga that *nakshatra* had ended 4h. 16m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta 3h. 17m. before that moment.

232.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam.[3]

1 Svasti śrī [||*]
2 Puyal vāyttu . . . .
21 . . . . . . Kō=[Ppa]rakē[sari]pa[ṉma]r=ā-
22 ṉa Tiribuva[ṉachcha]kkarava[tti]gaḷ Madu-
23 rai[yu]m Īḷa[mu]ṅ=Garuvū[rum P]āṇḍi-
24 yaṉai muḍi-t[ta]laiy[u]m koṇḍ-aru-
25 [ḷiya] śr[i]-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadē[vaṟ]ku [y]āṇḍu 26
26 [vadu Ku]m[ba]-ñ[ā]ya[ṟṟu] pūrvva-pa[kshattu] . . . . m Ti-
27 ṅgaṭ-[kiḷa]maiyum peṟ[ṟa Kārtti]g[ai]-nā[ḷ].

"In the 26th year (*of the reign*) of king [Pa]rakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva who was pleased to take Madurai (Madura), Īḷam (Ceylon), Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the . . . . [*tithi*] of the first fortnight of the month of [Kumbha]."

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[1] No. 400 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[2] *vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 9.

[3] No. 732 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

The 26th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III began between the 6th and 8th July A.D. 1203, and in that 26th year this date corresponds to **Monday, February 9th A.D. 1204.** At sunrise on that day, which was the 17th day of Kumbha, the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, and the moon was then in Kṛittikā.

233.—In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērirājapuram.[1]

1 Svast[i] śr[ī]ḥ—Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]gaḷ [Ma]durai[y]um [P]āṇḍi[y]aṉ [muḍi]-tta[laiyuṅ=go]ṇḍ-aruḷ[i]-

2 ṉa śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṟku y[ā]ṇḍu padiṉ-āṟāvadu Mīṉa-nā[yaṟ]ṟu aparapa[kshat]tu pra[ta]maiyum Budaṉ-

3 kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Atta[t*]tu nāḷ.

"In the **sixteenth year** (*of the reign*) of the **emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva** who was pleased to take Madurai (Madura) and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of **Hasta** which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mīna.**"

This date regularly corresponds to **Wednesday, March 9th A.D. 1194,** which was the 15th of Mīna and was in the sixteenth year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. At mean sunrise on that day the 1st *tithi* of the second fortnight was current, and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta.

234.—In the Unnatapurīśvara temple at Melaṭūr.[2]

1 [ஸ்] Tiribuva[na]chchakkara[va]rttigaḷ ś[iri]-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēva[r*]kku yāṇḍu [3]vadu Ishaba-nāyaṟṟu [pū]rva-pashshattu[3] t[i]r[i]t[iy]aiyum Budaṉ-k[iḻa]m-[aiyum peṟṟa Pu]ṉarpūśa[ttu] n[āḷ].

"In the **[3]rd year** (*of the reign*) of the **emperor of the three worlds,** the **glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,**—on the day of **Punarvasu** which corresponded to a **Wednesday and** to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Ṛishabha.**"

Since this date is so worded as to afford no clue as to which of the three known Kulōttuṅgas' reign it belongs, I have tested it for each of those sovereigns; with an unsatisfactory **result** in the end.

In the third year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I the 3rd śukla *tithi* of Vaiśākha in the solar month Vṛishabha was current at mean sunrise on Tuesday, April 24th, A.D. 1072, and also at mean sunrise on Sunday, May 12th, A.D. 1073; either of which days, according to our present knowledge as to the date of that king's accession, might have fallen in his third year. In the first case the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise was either Mṛigaśiras or Ārdrā according to the authority used, and in the second case was Ārdrā by all systems.

For the reign of Kulōttuṅga II we also have the choice of two years; and the day mentioned in the record, so far as the *tithi* is a guide, may have been Friday, May 17th, A.D. 1135 when the *nakshatra* was Ārdrā by the equal-space system for 7h. 1m. after mean sunrise, but Punarvasu by Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta; or it may have been Wednesday, May 6th A.D. 1136, when the corresponding *nakshatra* was similar to that in the last case, Ārdrā lasting by the equal-space system for 7h. 36m. after mean sunrise.

This latter date, therefore, would exactly tally with the given details if we could assume that the *pañchāṅgas* of that day were calculated, in the matter of the *nakshatra*, either by the

[1] No. 662 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[2] No. 30 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

[3] Read *-pakshattu.*

system of Garga or that of the Brahma-siddhānta; but at present I think that the weight of evidence shows that the equal-space system was then in use. Though the week-day is correct therefore the *nakshatra* is not so. And for that reason I hesitate to accept the date.

For the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III the 3rd śukla *tithi* of Jyēshṭha corresponded to Monday, May 18th, A.D. 1181, which was the 25th solar day of Vṛishabha; on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Punarvasu by all systems. This therefore would coincide with the given date if we presumed that the week-day had been wrongly stated as Monday instead of Wednesday. The 3rd śukla *tithi* in question ended at 1h. 41m. after mean sunrise on the Monday, so that it could not be connected with the Tuesday, still less with Wednesday. I am therefore, as before, unable to accept that date as correct.

From the above transliteration it appears that the number of the regnal year "3" is somewhat doubtful. If the number is capable of being certainly ascertained, no doubt the date could be conclusively verified.[1]

RAJADHIRAJA II (?).

235.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam.[2]

1 Svasti śri [||*] Tiribuvanachchakkara[va]ttiga[ḷ śr]i-Rājādh[ir]ājadēvaṟkku yāṇḍu paṉṉiraṇḍā[va]du [3][Si]maha-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu daśa[mi]yum Tiṅga[ḷ-k]-iḻamaiyum peṟṟa Mūlattu nāḷ.

"In the twelfth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Mūla which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of [Si]ṁha."

This date is intrinsically wrong. During the month of Siṁha a tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight can never be connected with the *nakshatra* Mūla; but a tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight can be so, and I have therefore tested the date for both these days in the reigns of Rājādhirāja I and II respectively.

Taking the latter first, the date must, for his 12th year, fall in A.D. 1174. In that year, in the month of Siṁha, the 10th kṛishṇa *tithi* fell on a Friday, and the 10th śukla *tithi* also on a Friday; the *nakshatra* in the second case being Mūla by all systems. As the week-day is thus altogether wrong I reject this date, although in the second case the *nakshatra* stood as stated.

For the reign of Rājādhirāja I we have it, as established by Kielhorn, that his twelfth year began between March 15th and December 3rd, A.D. 1029. Hence the month of Siṁha in that regnal year may have been either in A.D. 1029 or 1030. In the first of these two cases the 10th kṛishṇa *tithi* of Siṁha fell on a Thursday, the *nakshatra* being Mṛigaśiras. This is plainly wrong. The 10th śukla *tithi* of Siṁha in A.D. 1029 was current at sunrise on a Thursday, the nakshatra Mūla having expired 3h. 36m. before that sunrise. This also does not fit the description.

Now for the second case, *viz.*, the Siṁha of the year A.D. 1030 (Śaka 952). The 10th kṛishṇa *tithi* was current at sunrise of Monday, July 27th, A.D. 1030, which was the 1st day of Siṁha; but the *nakshatra* then current was Rōhiṇi. This is altogether wrong. In the same year, A.D. 1030, the 10th śukla *tithi* was current at sunrise of Tuesday, August 11th, which

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[1] After examination of the original Mr. Krishna Sastri informs me that it is possible, though not probable, that the regnal year was "2," and not "3." I have consequently calculated the date for the 2nd year of each of these kings, finding it irregular in each case, both week-day and *nakshatra* being different to the given ones.

[2] No. 728 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[3] The letter *Si* appears to be a correction; read *Siṁha-*.

was the 16th Siṁha, the then current *nakshatra* being, by the equal-space system, Mūla. This 10th śukla *tithi* had begun 13h. 54m. before mean sunrise on the Tuesday, and had been current during that time on the latter part of Monday, August 10th. During the whole of that period of 13h. 54m. on Monday, Mūla had been current. If, therefore, it is assumed that the *tithi* quoted in the record was the *tithi* current at the time the action referred to in the inscription was accomplished, and not the *tithi* current at sunrise, the date may be accepted as genuine and stated as corresponding to Monday, August 10th, A.D. 1030, the second fortnight having been wrongly stated instead of the first. In that case—and it is possibly correct—we shall have the period within which this king's accession must have taken place narrowed to the interval between March 15th and August 11th, A.D. 1018.

But I am rather doubtful about this date because the *tithi* in question was the 10th śukla *tithi* of Bhādrapada, and according to Albērūnī the 10th śukla *tithi* of Bhādrapada was considered an unlucky day.[1]

RAJARAJA III.

236.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.[2]

1 Svasti śri [|| *] Tribhuvaṇa[ch]chakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Rājarājadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 14-vadu Dhanu-nāya-

2 ṟṟu=ppūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Uttirāḍamum peṟṟa nāḷ.

"In the **14th year** (*of the reign*) of the **emperor of the three worlds**, the glorious **Rājarājadēva**,—on the day which corresponded to the (*day of the nakshatra*) **Uttarāshāḍhā** and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Dhanus**."

No week-day being given here we can only be guided by the *nakshatra*. The date corresponds to **Tuesday, December 18th A.D. 1229**, which was the 23rd Dhanus, and on which day at mean sunrise the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha, and, by all systems, the *nakshatra* Uttara-Āshāḍha, were current.

237.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.[3]

1 Svast[i] śr[ī] [|| *] T[iri]buvanachchakkara[va]ṛtigaḷ śr[ī]-Irājarā[ja]dēvar[k]ku 3[rā]vadu[4] Magara-nāyaṟ-

2 ṟu=p[pū]rva-[pa]kshattu [5]saturttiyum Mūlam[u]m peṟṟa [N]āyaṟ[ṟu]-kki[ḻama]i-nāḷ.

"In the **3rd** (year) (*of the reign*) of the **emperor of the three worlds**, the **glorious Rājarājadēva**,—on the day (*which was a*) **Sunday**, (and) which corresponded to (*the day of*) **Mūla** and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara**.

This date is irregular in itself, besides being wrong in other respects. On a 4th *tithi* of the first fortnight in Makara the moon cannot be in the *nakshatra* Mūla. Makara in the 3rd year of Rājarāja III occurred late in A.D. 1218 and early in 1219. The 4th śukla *tithi* corresponded to Monday, January 21st, A.D. 1219, which was the 27th day of Makara, on which day

[1] Mr. Krishna Sastri informs me that it is just possible to read the solar month in the original as "Ṛishabha," and that the characters show that it could not belong to the reign of Rājādhirāja I. I have freshly computed the date: finding that it is irregular for the solar month Vṛishabha in the reign of either of the known Rājādhirājas. In no case can either a 10th śukla or 10th kṛishṇa *tithi* in solar Vṛishabha be connected with the *nakshatra* Mūla. The week days also do not correspond.

[2] No. 264 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[3] No. 270 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[4] The usual flourish for expressing *āvadu* is also written in continuation of the figure '3'.

[5] Read *chaturthi-*.

at mean sunrise the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā. The day corresponding to Mūla in that solar month was Tuesday, January 15, A.D. 1219, which was the 21st day of Makara, and on that day the 12th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current at mean sunrise.

238.—In the Chōḷīśvara temple at Tuṟaiyūr.[1]

1 Svast[i] śrī [||*] Tribhuvanachchakkara[vat]tigaḷ śrī-Rājarājadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 3vadu Mīṉa-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu [ē]kādaśi[yu]m Śaṉi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Śadaiyattu nā[ḷ].

"In the **3rd year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds,** the **glorious Rājarājadēva,**—on the day of **Śatabhishaj,** which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mīna.**"

This date is also irregular. In the third year of Rājarāja III the month of Mīna fell early in A.D. 1219. The eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight in that month corresponded to Thursday, March 14th 1219, which was the twentieth day of Mīna. On that day at mean sunrise the 11th krishṇa *tithi* and the *nakshatra* Dhanishṭhā were current. On Friday, March 15th, at mean sunrise the current *tithi* was the 12th krishṇa and the current *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj. On Saturday, March 16th, at mean sunrise the current *tithi* was the 14th krishṇa, the 13th being expunged, and the current *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Bhadrapadā. So that it is not possible in that year to form at any time a combination, even at any time of a day, of a Saturday, the 11th krishṇa *tithi*, and the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj; nor can we arrive at any solution without altering two out of three of the elements given in the date as stated. This would be dangerous.

The date is irregular for the reigns of Rājarāja I or II.

239.—In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērirājapuram.[2]

1 Svast[i] śr[ī]ḥ [||*] T[i]ribu[va]ṉachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ śrī-R[ā]jarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu irubattunālāvadiṉ ed[i]rām=āṇḍu Mēsha-nāyaṟṟu a[pa]ra-[pakshattu a]shṭamiyum Veḷḷ[i]-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa T[ir]u[vō][3]ṇattu nāḷ.

"In the **year opposite the twenty-fourth year** (*of the reign*) of the **emperor of the three worlds,** the **glorious Rājarājadēva,**—on the day of **Śravaṇa,** which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mēsha.**"

The given date corresponds to **Friday, April 5th A.D. 1241,** which was the 12th day of Mēsha. On that day at mean sunrise the 8th krishṇa *tithi* was current, and the moon was in Śravaṇa.

240.—In the Muktīśvara temple at Samayavaram.[4]

1 [Svas]ti śrī [||] Tirubuvaṉa[ch]chakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Rāśarāśadēvaṟku yāṇḍu [6]-

2 ā[va]du [Mē]sha-[ṉā]yaṟṟu apara-pakshattu pañchamiyum Budaṉ-giḻamai peṟṟa Mūla-

3 [ttu] nāḷ.

"In the [6]th year (*of the reign*) of the **emperor of the three worlds,** the **glorious Rājarājadēva,**—on the day of **Mūla,** which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mēsha.**"

[1] No. 701 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[2] No. 661 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[3] The syllable *vō* seems to be a correction from *śrava-*.

[4] No. 746 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

The date is unsatisfactory. From the details given it would seem that the number of the regnal year is not clear. On the supposition that the number of the year is shown by a single *akshara* I have tested the date for every year of Rājarāja III's reign from the first to the ninth inclusive, and in no case have obtained the desired combination.[1]

The nearest approach was found in the 1st regnal year, Mēsha of A.D. 1217, the 4th regnal year, Mēsha of A.D. 1220, and the 8th regnal year, Mēsha of A.D. 1224.

In A.D. 1217 the week-day corresponding to the 5th kṛishṇa *tithi* was Wednesday, and the day was the 5th day of Mēsha, or March 29th; but the *nakshatra* Mūla only began, by the equal space system, at 1h. 23m. *after* mean sunrise on that day, though at that moment (mean sunrise) the moon was in Mūla by the systems of Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta. This was in the king's *first* regnal year.

In A.D. 1220 the 5th kṛishṇa *tithi* was current at mean sunrise of Thursday, March 26th which was the 2nd day of Mēsha, having been current for the last 20h. 3m. on the previous Wednesday. According to the equal-space system Jyēshṭhā was the *nakshatra* current during all those hours of Wednesday, Mūla only beginning 1h. 38m. after mean sunrise on Thursday; though by the system of Garga Mūla was current for the last 11h. 12m. and by the Brahma-siddhānta for the last 16h. 12m. on the Wednesday. So that by these latter authorities Mūla and the 5th kṛishṇa *tithi* ran together for a considerable period on Wednesday, March 25th. But I can ascertain no reason why the Wednesday and not the Thursday, at whose sunrise the 5th kṛishṇa *tithi* was current, should have been coupled with that *tithi*. There was nothing special, so far as I can gather, in that *tithi* which would warrant a departure from the usual procedure of naming the day from the *tithi* current at sunrise. These days in A.D. 1220 were in the king's *fourth* regnal year.

In A.D. 1224 the 5th kṛishṇa *tithi* fell on Wednesday, April 10th, which was the 17th day of Mēsha, but the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise of that day was Pūrva-Âshāḍhā by all systems, Mūla having ended on the Tuesday. This was in the *eighth* regnal year of Rājarāja III.

The date is irregular for his other regnal years from the first to the ninth inclusive.

It is also irregular for the 6th year of either Rājarāja I or II.

RAJANARAYANAN SAMBURAYA.

241.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.[2]

1 S[va]sti śrī[||*] Irājanārāyaṇaṉ [3]Śambū(bu)rāyarku yāṇḍu[4]

2 13 āvadu[5] Tulā-ravi apara-pakshattu [6]dutiyai[yu]m Na-

3 yaṟṟu-kiḻamaiyum peṟ[ṟa] Kātti[ga]i nāḷ.

"In the 13th year (*of the reign*) of Rājanārāyaṇaṉ Śamburāya,—on the day of **Kṛittikā** which corresponded to a **Sunday** and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā."

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[1] Since the above was in print I have been informed that a clause in the body of the inscription makes it clear that the 6th regnal year was intended. This being so the date must be held to be irregular.

[2] No. 268 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[3] *Śa* is engraved below the line.

[4] The syllable *ṇḍu* is represented by a flourish added to *yā*.

[5] The word *āvadu* is represented by a flourish added to the figure 13.

[6] Read *dvitīyai-*.

Two inscriptions, one at the Ulagaḷanda-Perumāḷ temple at Kāñchi, and the other at the Kailāsanātha temple at Śevvallimēḍu, are dated in the year Vyaya, and expressly state the year as Ś. 1268 (A.D. 1346-47) and as being in the 9th year of this king's reign. A third record of the 7th year also exists at Śevvallimēḍu. If these are found on examination to contain fuller details of the date it may be possible to gather from them sufficient evidence as to the date of his accession. But so far this can only be fixed as being in Ś. 1259 or 1260, *i.e.*, on some day between March 26th A.D. 1337, the first solar day of Mēsha Śaka 1259, and March 25th A.D. 1339, the last solar day of Mīna Śaka 1260. Consequently the thirteenth year must lie between March A.D. 1349 and March 1351, and the month of Tulā stated in the present inscription at Tirukachchūr must correspond either to (about) October A.D. 1349 or the same month in A.D. 1350.

The details of the date are irregular for A.D. 1349, the second *tithi* of the second fortnight in Tulā in that year falling on Tuesday, September 29th, on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Bharaṇī. I doubt even if the date can be accepted as regular for A.D. 1350. In that year the second kṛishṇa *tithi* of Kārttika was current at mean sunrise of *Monday*, October 18th, that day being the 20th day of Tulā, and the moon at its sunrise being in Rōhiṇī. The *tithi* had been current for the last 21h. 11m. of Sunday, October 17th, and up to 3h. 5m. before sunrise on the Monday the moon had been in Kṛittikā, according to the equal-space system. By the system of Garga the moon had been in Kṛittikā up to 15h. 13m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta up to 15h. 56m. before the Monday sunrise. If therefore the week-day had been stated as Sunday, the date given would have proved regular as regards the *nakshatra* but wrong as regards the *tithi*, which should have been stated as the 1st kṛishṇa. The 2nd kṛishṇa *tithi* and the *nakshatra* Kṛittikā had been together current for some hours on the Sunday, but not on the Monday; and I can ascertain no ceremonial reason why a 2nd kṛishṇa in Kārttika should be coupled with the day prior to that on whose sunrise it was current.

I have tested the date for several other years about this period but quite without success. It is not correct for A.D. 1351, in which year the given *tithi* corresponded to Friday, October 6th, which was the 9th Tulā and on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Bharaṇī.

[Incidentally I may mention that I find the date quoted by Professor Hultzsch for the 17th year of this king's predecessor, Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya (*South-Indian Inscriptions* I, p. 78, No. 52) to be perfectly regular. The date corresponds to May 10th A.D. 1339, and the king's accession is fixed as having taken place between May 11 A.D. 1322 and May 10 1323].

RAJANARAYANAN SAMBUVARAYA.

242.—In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam.[1]

1 Svas[t]i [śrī] [||*] Sakalalōkachcha[kra][2]vatt[i] Irāśaṉārā[ya]ṇaṉ Śambuva-rāyaṟku yiyāṇḍu[3] 20 āvadu[4]

2 Magara-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu [5]titigaiyum [6]Buda[ṉu]m peṟṟa Tiruvōṇa[t]tu nāḷ.

"In the 20th year (*of the reign*) of Rājanārāyaṇaṉ Śambuvarāya the emperor of all the worlds,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

[1] No. 396 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[2] Between the syllables *kra* and *va* is a letter which is indistinct.

[3] Cancel the syllable *yi*.

[4] The word *āvadu* is represented by a flourish added to the figure 20.

[5] Read *tritiyai*-

[6] The word *Budaṉum* is written below the line.

It is almost certain that the *nakshatra* or the *tithi* quoted in this inscription must be wrong, for by the equal-space system and that of Garga the 3rd śukla *tithi* in the solar month Makara can never correspond to Śravaṇa, while by the Brahma-siddhānta it could only do so for about 12 minutes at the beginning of the *tithi*. The moon could, however, be in Śravaṇa on the 1st or 2nd śukla *tithi* of that month. In the present case I think that the quoted *tithi* is correct, since it fell on a Wednesday as stated, but that the *nakshatra* has been wrongly quoted as Śravaṇa when it should have been Dhanishṭhā.

If I am correct in this supposition the given date corresponds to Wednesday, January 2nd A.D. 1359, on which day at mean sunrise the 3rd śukla *tithi* was current, the day being the 7th civil day of Makara. The current *nakshatra* at mean sunrise was, however, Dhanishṭhā and not Śravaṇa. This day being in the 20th regnal year of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya we have it that his accession occurred on some day between January 3rd A.D. 1339 and January 2nd 1340. As stated above, p. 251, the Kāñchī and Śevvallimēḍu inscriptions show that the accession could not have taken place later than the last day of Śaka 1260, which was March 25th A.D. 1339. And consequently, if the present date is accepted, the reign of this king began between January 3rd and March 25th A.D. 1339.

But if so, the last date examined, No. 241, is not regular, for it should have corresponded with a day in September-October A.D. 1351, being in the 13th year. And for that year it is incorrect.

PERUNJINGADEVA.

243.—In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam.[1]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Sakalabuvaṇachakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Kō=P[p]eruñjinga-[d]ē-
2 varkku yāṇḍu 19 vad[u] Ṛishabha-nāyaṟ[ṟu] apara-pakshattu t[r]i-
3 tiyaiyum Tiṅgaḷ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Mūlattu nāḷ.

"In the **19th year** (*of the reign*) of the **emperor of all the worlds**, the **glorious king Peruñjiṅgadēva**,—on the day of **Mūla**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Ṛishabha**."

The reign of this king has been previously determined by the late Prof. Kielhorn to have begun between 11th February and 30th July A.D. 1243.

The present date is quite regular for the 19th regnal year. It corresponds to **Monday, May 8th A.D. 1261**, which was the 14th Vṛishabha, Śaka 1184 expired. On that day at mean sunrise, and thereafter for 13h. 32m., the 3rd kṛishṇa *tithi* of Vaiśākha was current; the moon being by the equal-space system in Mūla at sunrise and for 3h. 40m. after it. By the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the nakshatra current at mean sunrise was Pūrva-Āshāḍhā.

We now therefore know that the accession of Peruñjiṅgadēva took place between May 9th and July 30th A.D. 1243.

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[1] No. 417 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

No. 24—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By R. Sewell, I.C.S. (Retd.), M.R.A.S.

MARANJADAIYAN.

96.—In the Jambunāthasvāmin temple at Tiruveḷḷarai.[1]

1 Svasti śri [||*] Kō Māṛañjaḍaiyaṟku yāṇḍu nāl[ā]-
2 vadaṟk=edir oṉbadāvadu Vṛiśchika-ñāiṟṟu Ti-
3 ṅgaṭ-ki[ḻamai] peṟṟa Aśvati [muda]l-āga.

"In the ninth (year) opposite to the fourth year (*of the reign*) of king **Māṛañjaḍaiyaṉ**,—from (*the day of*) **Aśvinī** which corresponded to a **Monday** of the month of **Vṛiśchika**."

The names of two sovereigns bearing the title Māṛañjaḍaiyaṉ have been brought to light in the territories at one time subject to the Pāṇḍyan kings. The earlier was alive in A.D. 770 as is gathered from the Āṉaimalai inscription; the later is believed to have succeeded to the throne some time in A.D. 862-63 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 88). No sufficient details exist for verification of the date given for the former. I have examined the date of the present record on the supposition that it might refer to that Māṛañjaḍaiyaṉ whose reign is said to have begun in A.D. 862-63.

It appears to belong to his thirteenth year, which would perhaps be the year A.D. 874-75. The date given is so far regular that on Monday, the 20th day of the solar month Vṛiśchika, the *nakshatra* Aśvinī was current for 3h. 24m. at the *end* of the day by all the three *nakshatra* systems. This civil day corresponded to **Monday, November 22nd A.D. 874.** On that day Rēvatī expired and Aśvinī began at 20h. 36m. after mean sunrise. Therefore according to the ordinary practice of Southern India the Monday in question would have been coupled with Rēvatī and not with Aśvinī. The lunar day current at the Monday sunrise was the 10th śukla of Margaśīrsha. The 11th śukla *tithi* began at 18h. 34m. on that Monday, or 34m. after midnight.

Now I understand that the 10th śukla of Mārgaśīrsha is considered an unlucky *tithi* (at least Alberūnī says that it is so); but that the 11th is peculiarly auspicious since it is the occasion of the great *Vaikuṇṭha*, or *Mukkōṭi-ēkādaśī*, festival in Southern India, and of the *mōkshada ēkādaśī* in other parts.[2] And as this *tithi* ran for about 5½ hours before the end of the civil day, Monday, while the *nakshatra* Aśvinī was similarly current for about 3½ hours before the end of the day, it seems quite possible that this constituted an occasion justifying a departure from the usual practice and the coupling of the Monday in question with Aśvinī instead of with Rēvatī.

If I am right in this surmise the date may be accepted as genuine, and if so this king's reign began some time between November 23rd, A.D. 861, and November 22nd, 862; always supposing that "in the ninth year opposite the fourth year" means "in the thirteenth year." Coupling with this the date given in the Aivarmalai record (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 88), which makes Śaka 792 synchronous with the king's eighth year, we have for his accession the period **March 22nd to November 22nd A.D. 862.** This presupposes that the quoted Śaka year 792 was the current year.

[1] No. 84 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

[2] That the *Mukkōṭi-ēkādaśī* festival takes place on 11th śukla of *Mārgaśīrsha* I gather from the late S. M. Natesa Sastri's *Hindu Feasts, Fasts, and Ceremonies*, p. 60. Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai (*Indian Chronology*, p. 50,) places it on the 11th śukla of *Pausha*; but I believe that this is not the case.

MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA.

97.—In the Muṇḍīśvaramuḍaiyār temple at Maṇappaḍaiviḍu.[1]

1 ௳ Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Māṟapaṉmar=āṉa Tribhuvaṉachchakravattiga[ḷ] emmaṇḍala-muñ=goṇḍ-aruḷi[ya*] śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 10vadu Vṛiśchikanāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu ashṭamiyum peṟṟa Rēvati-nā[ḷ].

"In the 10th year *(of the reign)* of king **Māṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds,** the **glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,** who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of **Rēvatī,** which corresponded to the 8th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Vṛiś-chika.**"

I have tested this date for the 10th year of the three known Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍyas, the first of whom began to reign between March 29 and September 4, A.D. 1216, the second between June 15, A.D. 1238, and January 18, 1239, and the third between June 2, A.D. 1531, and June 1, 1532; that is to say I have calculated the *tithi* and *nakshatra* mentioned, during the course of the solar month Vṛiśchika, in each of the years A.D. 1225, 1226, 1247, 1248, 1540, 1541. In no case was Rēvatī current at any time during the civil day which might have been connected with the 8th śukla *tithi* of a lunar month. I must therefore hold this date to be unsatisfactory.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA.

98.—In the Neḍuṅgaḷanāthasvāmin temple at Tiruneḍuṅgaḷam.[2]

1 Svasti śrī [||][3]Kō=Chchaḍaipaṉmar=āṉa T[i]r[i]buvaṉachchakkara[vat]tigaḷ śr[i]-Suṇdara-P[ā]ṇḍiyyadēvaṟkku yāṇḍu

2 mūṉṟāvadu Ṛishabha-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kiḻa[m]ai-[yu]m peṟṟa Pūśattu nāḷ.

"In the **third year** *(of the reign)* of **king Jaṭāvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds,** the **glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,**—on the day of **Pushya** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Ṛishabha.**"

This date is also irregular when examined for the third year of any known king of the name declared in the record. Tested for the reigns of the first or second Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya the stated day must fall in either A.D. 1253, 1278, or 1279. In the first case the given *tithi* fell on a Saturday, in the second on a Wednesday, in the third on a Tuesday; in the first two cases the *nakshatra* was Hasta and in the third Chitrā. On an 11th śukla *tithi* in Vṛishabha the moon cannot be in Pushya.

99.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.[4]

1 Svast[i] śrī[||*] . . . . [Kōṟ=Śaḍai] . . . .

2 buvaṉachcha[k]karavatti[ga]ḷ śrī-Śundara-[P]āṇḍi[ya]dēvarkku y[āṇ]-

3 ḍu 7vadu[5] Mīna-nāyaṟṟu pūruva-pakshattu deśamiyum Nāyaṟṟu-[kiḻa]-

4 maiyum [p]eṟṟa ' Atta[t*]tu nāḷ.

"In the 7th year *(of the reign)* of **king Jaṭā[varman** *alias*] **the emperor of the [three] worlds,** the **glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,**—on the day of **Hasta** which corresponded to a **Sunday** and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mīna.**"

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[1] No. 446 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[2] No. 680 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[3] There is some space between *Śrī* and *Kō* which might have been intended for a punctuation.

[4] No. 303 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[5] *vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 7.

ais date is altogether unsatisfactory. In the 7th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman ra-Pāṇḍya I the 10th śukla *tithi* in Mīna corresponded to Saturday, March 10th A.D. the Pushya *nakshatra* being current at mean sunrise.

'or the 7th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II I have tried all the le years. In no case is the *nakshatra* quoted correct for the day corresponding to the 10th *tithi* in Mīna, these being always either Punarvasu, Pushya, or Āślēshā, and never Hasta. in one year, A.D. 1284, does the 10th śukla *tithi* correspond to a Sunday, and that was on February of that year; but the *nakshatra* for that day was Punarvasu.

The record cannot belong to the reign of any possible king of the name coming between varman Kulaśēkhara I, whose last known date is June 9th A.D. 1309, and the second king at name, whose reign began in March A.D. 1314; since in all the possible years that I have , the *nakshatra*, on the given day, is either Punarvasu or Pushya. Indeed during the month .ina the moon cannot be in Hasta on a 10th śukla *tithi*.

100.—In the Vighnēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.[1]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōr=Chaḍapaṇmar=āṇa Tiribhu[va]ṇa[2]chchakkaravattigaḷ e[m*]maṇḍa[la]muṅ=goṇḍ-aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṟkku yāṇḍu 8vadu[3] Risha-

2 bha-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu tradiyaiyu[m*][4] Viyāḷa-kki[ḷa*]maiyum peṟṟa Pūśattu nā[ḷ].

"In the 8th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three rlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the of Pushya which corresponded to a Thursday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight the month of Rishabha."

This date is irregular. To correspond with the 8th year of the named king, either the first the second of the dynasty, the day must fall in either A.D. 1258, 1283, or 1284. In 1258 3rd śukla *tithi* in Vṛishabha was current at sunrise of a Tuesday, and the *nakshatra* was rigaśiras or Ārdrā at sunrise. In 1283 the week-day was Saturday, and the *nakshatra* was rigaśiras by all systems. In 1284 the week-day was Friday, and the *nakshatra* at sunrise s Punarvasu by all systems. Part of the 3rd śukla *tithi*, in this last case, coincided with ursday; it did so in fact for the last $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours of that day; but during that period the *kshatra* was Ārdrā or Punarvasu.

101.—In the Neduṅgaḷanāthasvāmin temple at Tiruneduṅgaḷam.[5]

[Sva]s[t]i [||*]samasta-jagad-ādhāra . . . .

[Sun]da[ra]-Pā[ṇḍiya]dē[va]ṟku[6] yāṇḍu pa[i]to[ṇ]ṟāvadu[7] Makara-nāyaṟṟu pū[rvva]-pakshattu [sha]sh[ṭh]iy[u]m Budhan-kiḷa[m]aiyum

peṟṟa Urōśaṇ[i]-nāḷ.

"In the eleventh year (*of the reign*) of . . . . [Sun]dara-Pāṇḍyadēva, —on the day of Rōhiṇī which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

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[1] No. 319 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[2] Read *Tribhuvana-*.

[3] *vadu* is represented by a flourish.

[4] Read *tṛitīyaiyum*.

[5] No. 677 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[6] The portion of this line, from *ṇḍiya* to *vadu*, is written over an erasure.

[7] Read *padiṉoṉṟāvadu*.

The date is irregular whether for the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, or for the second king of that name. The given *tithi* in Makara corresponded with a Wednesday in A.D. 1261, the 11th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara I, and in January of A.D. 1286 which might possibly have been in the 11th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara II; but the corresponding *nakshatra* on those Wednesdays was either Pūrva or Uttara-Bhadrapadā. In January 1287 the 6th śukla *tithi* in Makara fell on a Tuesday, with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī current at mean sunrise, and in January 1288 it fell on a Sunday, with the *nakshatra* Rēvatī current at mean sunrise.

102.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.[1]

1 Svasti śrī[||*] . . . . ௳ Kō=Ch[cha]ḍa[pa]ṉmar=āṉa Tiribuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-[Śu]ṉdara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṟku yā[ṇ]ḍu 13vaḍu[2] pad[i]ṉmūṉ[ṟ]āvadu Kum[bha]-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-[pa]kshattu pañchamiyum Bu-
2 dan-ki[ḻa]maiy[u]m peṟṟa Aśvati-nāḷ.

"In the 13th—thirteenth—year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Aśvinī which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

This date is irregular. For the 13th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I the 5th śukla *tithi* in Kumbha has Aśvinī for *nakshatra*, but the week-day was Monday. It corresponded to 4 February, A.D. 1264. For the 13th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II we may test the date in two ways, according as we accept one or the other of the accession periods fixed by the two groups of inscriptions. If we accept the earlier period, the 5th śukla *tithi* of Kumbha in the 13th year corresponded to 8 February, A.D. 1288, and at sunrise on that day the *nakshatra* was Aśvinī; but the week-day was Sunday. If we accept the later, the quoted day corresponded to 27 January, A.D. 1289; but on that day at sunrise the *nakshatra* current was Rēvatī, and the week-day was Thursday. The fifth śukla *tithi* was current for 3h. 24m. at the end of Wednesday, but the *nakshatra* Aśvinī did not begin till 13h. 46m. after mean sunrise on the Thursday, so that it could not possibly be connected with the Wednesday previous.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

103.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.[3]

1 Svast[i] śr[ī] [||*] . . . . [Kōṟ=Chaḍai]paṉmar=āṉa T[i]ribuva[ṉa]chcha[k]karavatt[i]gaḷ śr[ī]-Śundara-P[ā]ṇḍ[i]yadēvar[k]-
2 ku yāṇḍu 8va.ḍu[4] Miduṉa-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshatt[u] Tiṅgaḷ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Uttirat[t]ādi-nāḷ.

"In the 8th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadā which corresponded to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

The month of Mithuna in the 8th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I fell in A.D. 1258, in which year the 1st day of that month corresponded to Monday, May 27th, and the 8th kṛishṇa *tithi*. The *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise by the systems of Garga and Brahmagupta was Uttara-Bhadrapadā, but by the equal-space system Pūrva-Bhadrapadā was

[1] No. 315 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.
[2] *vadu* is represented by a flourish.
[3] No. 305 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.
[4] *vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8.

then current. Examining Kielhorn's dates Nos. 11 to 18 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 306 ff.) I find that in six cases it is impossible to say which system was generally in use in the Chingleput tract during that reign; but No. 12 proves that in A.D. 1253, near Trichinopoly, neither the system of Garga nor that of the Brahma-siddhānta was in use, and No. 16 from near Tanjore shows that the latter was not used there in A.D. 1260.

On the morning in question, according to the equal-space system, Uttara-Bhadrapadā began 55 m. *after* mean sunrise; and though this throws a slight doubt on the date I think it may be accepted.

For the reign of the second king of that name the date must fall in A.D. 1283 or 1284 and for those years the quoted *nakshatra* would be incorrect; though it is correct in all respects for Monday, June 1st, A.D. 1282, which was the 6th day of Mithuna. And if the quoted regnal year had been the 6th instead of the 8th, I should have had no hesitation in accepting it.[1] As the case stands, however, I think that the date is genuine and that it belongs to the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

104.—In the Muktīśvara temple at Pūrattukkōyil.[2]

1 Svast[i] śrī [||*] Kō=Ch[cha]ḍai[paṇma]r=ā[ṉa Tribhuva]na[chchakkarava]-
2 tti[gaḷ śrī]-Śundara-[Pāṇḍiya]dēvaṟku [yā]ṇḍu 11vadu
3 Kaṉṉ[i]-nā[ya]ṟṟu [apara-pa]ksha[ttu] . . . . [yuṁ Buda]ṉ-kiḻa[m]ai-
4 [yu]m peṟṟa Śōdi-nāḷ.

"In the 11th year (*of the reign*) of **king Jaṭāvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds**, the **glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,**—on the day of **Svāti** which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the . . . . *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Kanyā.**"

The given elements of the date do not correspond to any possible 11th or—supposing a wrong regnal year to have been stated,—10th or 12th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II; nor to any śukla *tithi* on a Wednesday in Kanyā in any of those years, supposing that the fortnight was wrongly recorded.

The day apparently corresponds to **Wednesday, August 31st A.D. 1261,** which was in the 11th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, and on which day at mean sunrise, which was the 3rd day of Kanyā, the 4th śukla *tithi* was current, the current *nakshatra* being, by the equal-space system, Svāti. By the other two systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakshatra* was Viśākhā.

I think that the record is one of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, and that the fortnight was wrongly stated. The date does not correspond to any day in the dark fortnight during the given solar month.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

105.—In the Neḍuṅgaḷanāthasvāmin temple at Tiruneḍuṅgaḷam.[3]

1 Svast[i śrī] [||*] svast[i] samasta-jagad-ādhāra . . . . .
5 . . . . śr[i] K[ō]=Ch[cha]ḍaipaṉmar=āna T[i]ribuvaṉa-chchakkaravattigaḷ śri-Śundara-Pāṇ-

[1] Since the text was in print I am informed that the figure "8" is quite clear in the original.

[2] No. 741 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[3] No. 667 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

6 [diya]dēvar[k]ku yāṇḍu 8vadu[1] | Ma[ka]ra-[n]āyaṟṟu [p]ūrvva-pakshattu daśamiyum Budaṉ-[k]iḻamaiyum peṟṟa Rō-

7 [śaṇi]-nāḷ.

"In the **8th year** (*of the reign*) of the **glorious king Jaṭāvarman** *alias* the **emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,**—on the day of **Rōhiṇī** which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara.**"

For the 8th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, the 10th śukla *tithi* in solar Makara fell on a Sunday, at whose sunrise the *nakshatra* was Kṛittikā. Neither Rōhiṇī nor the 10th śukla *tithi* could be connected with a Wednesday.

For the 8th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II the year may correspond either with A.D. 1282-83, or 1283-84, according to the initial date accepted for the reign. The given date is irregular for both these years. It is, however, perfectly regular for the 9th regnal year of this king, if his accession dated from some day in the year 1276-77; for the given lunar day falling on the 23rd day of Makara, corresponds regularly to **Wednesday, January 17th A.D. 1285,** on which day at mean sunrise the 10th śukla *tithi* and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī were current. Since this date is regular in all its details, I think it should be accepted. But in that case either it clashes with most of the other records of this king as to the initial date of his reign, or the regnal year is wrongly given as the 8th, when it should have been stated as the 9th. A mistake of this kind is frequently made, and I believe it to have been made in this instance.

106.—In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam.[2]

1 Svasti śrī : Kō[ṉ]-Śaḍaipaṉmar-āṉa Tirubu[va]ṉa[ch]chak[ka]ra[va]ttigaḷ śrī-

2 Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu 13[vadu] Mīna-[nāya]ṟṟu pū[rvva]-paksha-

3 ttu Śaṉi-kkiḻamaiyum[3] shash[th]iyu[m][4] peṟṟa Rō[śa]ṇi-nā[ḷ].[5]

"In the **13th year** (*of the reign*) of **king Jaṭāvarman** *alias* the **emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,**—on the day of **Rōhiṇī** which corresponded to the sixth *tithi* and to a **Saturday** of the first fortnight of the month of **Mīna.**"

For the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I the date is irregular, as the given *tithi* in his 13th year fell on a Wednesday, though the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī.

Working by the group of inscriptions which fixes the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II as beginning in 1276 and, therefore, his 13th year as beginning in 1288, I find the date so far satisfactory that for 4h. 31m. at the *end* of Saturday, February 26, A.D. 1289, which was the 4th day of Mīna, the 6th śukla *tithi* of Phālguna and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī were together current. At sunrise on Sunday, both this *tithi* and *nakshatra* were current, and by ordinary practice they would have been coupled with Sunday, February 27, and not with Saturday, February 26th. Phālguna śukla 6th began 7h. 8m. *after* mean sunrise on that Saturday.

Working by the earlier accession-date fixed by the other inscription-group the date is irregular.

With the reservation above stated the date corresponds to **Saturday, February 26th, A.D. 1289**; and this fixes the beginning of the reign as subsequent to February 26th, A.D. **1276.**

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[1] *vadu* is represented by a flourish.

[2] No. 418 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[3] The syllables *yum* are engraved below the line.

[4] The *akshara m* is engraved below the line.

[5] The *akshara ḷ* is engraved below the line.

107.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.[1]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] . . . . Kō=Chchaḍapaṉma[r]=āṉa Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]rkku yāṇḍu 1[3]vadukku edirām=ā-

2 ṇḍu Kaṟkaḍaga-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu deśamiyum Tiṅgaḷ-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Kāttigai-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite to the 1[3]th year (*of the reign*) of **king Jaṭāvarman** *alias* the **emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,**— on the day of **Kṛittikā** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Karkaṭaka.**"

The date given is incorrect for the 14th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, but correct for that of the second of that name. It corresponds to **Monday, July 3rd, A.D. 1290,** which was the 6th day of solar Karkaṭaka, or Karka, and on which day the 10th kṛishṇa *tithi* of Jyēshṭha was current at sunrise. At sunrise, also, on that day the *nakshatra* Kṛittikā was current according to all the three systems of calculation. According to this the accession-day of Jaṭāvarman-Sundara-Pāṇḍya II must have been subsequent to July 3rd A.D. 1276.

108.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.[2]

1 . . . . Kō Śaḍapaṉmar=āṉa Tiribuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu 17vadu Siṅha-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu

2 . . miyum Tiṅgaḷ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Uttirāḍattu nāḷ.

"In the **17th year** (*of the reign*) of **king Jaṭāvarman** *alias* the **emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,**—on the day of **Uttarāshāḍhā** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the . . *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Siṁha.**"

This date is incorrect for the 17th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. It is, however, correct for the reign of the second king of that name. It corresponds to **Monday, August 25th A.D. 1292,** which was the 28th Siṁha, and on which day at sunrise the 11th śukla *tithi* was current, the *nakshatra* being Uttara-Āshāḍhā by all systems. This was in the 17th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., if his accession took place on or before August 25th, A.D. 1276.

I have given great attention to the question of the date of accession of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, because the evidence regarding it has hitherto been in a very unsatisfactory condition; and after concluding my examination of the eleven inscription-dates sent to me this year, which, with those previously examined by the late Professor Kielhorn and myself, make a total of twenty-six records, I have come to the conclusion that this king **ascended the throne on a day between the 6th and 25th August A.D. 1276.**

As I differ from the opinion expressed by the late Professor Kielhorn and have modified the conclusions I had previously formed (above, Vol. X, pp. 144 f.) it is necessary to state the case at some length. The difference of opinion alluded to has reference to records Nos. 23 to 27. Kielhorn considered that the regnal years stated in Nos. 23 and 24 were wrong, and adhered to those given in Nos. 25 and 27. He considered that a wrong *tithi* had been stated in No. 26, and corrected, rightly as I think, the "13th" *tithi* to the 3rd. After this correction the date

[1] No. 302 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[2] No. 308 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

agrees with Nos. 23 and 24 as regards the day of the king's accession. Accepting this alteration I think that instead of altering the regnal years given in Nos. 23 and 24, it was those given in Nos. 25 and 27 that required correction. It is only fair to remember that apparently Professor Kielhorn had, at the time that he wrote, very few inscriptions of this king before him.

With these preliminary remarks I proceed to summarize the results for all the records yet examined, from which it will be seen that there is now a strong presumption in favour of the accession-date put forward by me. In the list, "K" stands for Kielhorn, and "S" for Sewell. The inscription-dates are published above, in Vols. VI, pp. 310-12, VIII, pp. 278-280, and X, pp. 127-28 as well as in the present article.

No.		Date of inscription A. D.	Regnal year.	Accession later than A. D.	Notes.
K	23	Mon. 1 Aug. 1289 .	13	1 Aug. 1276.	
,,	24	Fri. 5 Aug. 1289 .	13	5 Aug. 1276.	
,,	25	Mon. 21 July 1281 .	6	21 July 1275 . .	Year 6 should be year 5.
,,	26	Fri. 12 Sept. 1287 .	12	12 Sept. 1275 . .	"13th *tithi*" should be "3rd."
,,	27	Mon. 15 May 1290 .	15	15 May 1275 . .	Year 15 should be year 14.
,,	52	Mon. 23 July 1285 .	10	23 July 1275 . .	Year 10 should be year 9.
,,	53	Wed. 29 Oct. 1287 .	11	29 Oct. 1276 . .	Year 11 should be year 12.
,,	54	Wed. 27 Aug. 1287 .	12	27 Aug. 1275.	
,,	55	Mon. 28 Aug. 1290 .	15	28 Aug. 1275 . .	"Kanyā" should be "Siṁha."
,,	56	(*Doubtful*).			
S	74	Mon. 30 Sept. 1286 .	10	30 Sept. 1276 . .	Year 10 should be year 11.
,,	75	Mon. 20 Feb. 1290 .	15 (?)	20 Feb. 1275 . .	Year 15 should be year 14.
,,	76	Wed. 18 Mar. 1293 .	17	18 Mar. 1276.	
,,	77	Sat. 14 Mar. 1293 .	17	14 Mar. 1276.	
,,	78	(*Irregular*).			
,,	98	(*Irregular*).			
,,	99	(*Irregular*).			
,,	100	(*Irregular*).			
,,	101	(*Irregular*).			
,,	102	(*Irregular*).			
,,	103	(Reign of J. Sun. P.I.)			

No.	Date of inscription A. D.	Regnal year.	Accession later than A. D.	Notes.
S 104	(Reign of J. S. P. I.)			
„ 105	Wed. 17 Jan. 1285 .	8	17 Jan. 1277	Year 8 should be year 9.
„ 106	Sat. 26 Feb. 1289 .	13	26 Feb. 1276.	
„ 107	Mon. 3 July 1290 .	14	3 July 1276.	
„ 108	Mon. 25 Aug. 1292 .	17	25 Aug. 1275.	

From this statement it will be seen that we have six dates, *viz.*, Nos. 23, 24, 76, 77, 106 and 107 which as they stand, without any alteration, show that the king's accession took place in 1276 A.D. after August the 5th; one, No. 108, which shows that it may have taken place on or before August 25, 1276; and two, which, as they stand show that it took place before August 27th in that year. These are Nos. 54 and 55. Also one, No. 26, which, without alteration of the regnal year, supports that conclusion though a wrong *tithi* was quoted. Seven others, Nos. 25, 27, 52, 53, 74, 75 and 105, are not inconsistent with it if one year is either added to or deducted from the given regnal year. Nine others are either irregular or belong to the reign of a different king.[1]

Referring to my remarks on the accession-date of this king at p. 129 of Vol. X, it will be seen that I now accept K. 26, with Kielhorn's proposed alteration. It was "intrinsically wrong" for the stated *tithi*, but, with the alteration made, it supports the accession-date which I now believe to be the correct one. With regard to two other dates, Nos. 55 and 75, I was doubtful on account of apparent errors in them; but in view of the light since thrown on the matter they may be accepted with those errors corrected.

JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

109.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Teṉkarai.[2]

1 ||| Svasti śr[ī] : śrī[3] Kō=Chcha-
2 ḍaiyavarmmar=āṇa Tribh[uv*]a-
3 ṇach[cha]kravattigaḷ śrī-[3]
4 Kulaśēkharadēva-
5 rkku yāṇḍu 2vadu
6 Midhuna-nāyaṟṟu iru-
7 badān-diyadiyum pū-
8 rvva-pakshattu trayō-
9 daśiyum Budhaṉ-kiḻa-
10 maiyum peṟ[ṟa A]-
11 ṉiḻattu nāḷ.

"In the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Anurādhā which corre-

[1] Since this paper was in print I have seen Professor Jacobi's article above (pp. 132, ff.). His No. 86 (p. 136) confirms my opinion, since it shows that the king could not have begun to reign earlier than 10th August A.D. 1276, 9th August of that year being stil in his 14th year. This still further reduces the doubtful days of his accession, and, being accepted, proves that he ascended the throne on a day between 10th and 25th August A.D. 1276.

[2] No. 135 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

[3] A letter *ku* has been engraved and erased after *śrī* ; *kula* is written

sponded to a **Wednesday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the twentieth solar day of the month of **Mithuna.**"

This date is irregular for any year in the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I, as well as for any in the reign of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara II; nor is it correct for any date between A.D. 1190 and 1350 except in the case of two years. One is in A.D. 1239 and the other is in A.D. 1334. In each case the 13th śukla *tithi* coincided with the 20th day of solar Mithuna; and in each case the week-day was Wednesday and the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise was **Anurādhā**; the only exception being that in A.D. 1239, if the calculation were made by the Brahma-siddhānta, Anurādhā had expired 20m. before mean sunrise on that day. But this objection need not be taken into account, since that *nakshatra* was probably current at true sunrise.

For the year A.D. 1334 the coincidence is absolute. In the first case the given date corresponds to Wednesday, June 15, A.D. 1239; in the second case it corresponds to Wednesday, June 15, A.D. 1334. In the first case the king's reign began after June 15, 1237, and before June 15, 1238; in the second case the reign began after June 15, 1332, and before June 15, 1333. Careful study of the characters and form of the original inscription will doubtless lead to certain determination as to which of these two years is the correct one.[1] If this king's reign should be found to begin between 1332 and 1333 A.D., we shall have the name of a hitherto unknown Pāṇḍyan king, coming probably between Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara II and Māṛavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya, and bearing the title "Jaṭāvarman" according to custom. And if his reign began between 1237 and 1238 A.D. we shall similarly have a new "Jaṭāvarman" between Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II, but with a certain overlapping of reigns. In the other case there is no overlapping; and if this should prove correct the king's title will have to be, at least provisionally, stated as "Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara II."

MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

110.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Teṉkarai.[2]

1 Svast[i] śrī: . . . . śrī: Kō Mā[ṛa]paṉmar=āna Tribhuvanachchakkaravatti-

2 gaḷ e[m*][ma]ṇḍalamuṅ=goṇḍ-aruḷi[ya śrī]-Kulaśēgaradēvaṛ[k]u yāṇḍu 23va[du Ma]gara-

3 nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu [sapta]m[i]y[um] T[iṅ]gaḷ-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Attattināḷ.

"In the **23rd year** (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Māṛavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,** who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of **Hasta,** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara.**"

This date is irregular. In the first place the moon can never be in Hasta on a 7th śukla *tithi* during the solar month Makara. For the 23rd year of either of the known kings of the name stated, which correspond, for the 7th śukla *tithi* of Makara, to a day in January A.D. 1291 or January A.D. 1337, the week-day is Monday in the first case, and Friday in the second; and the corresponding *nakshatras* are Rēvatī in the first case, and Aśvinī in the second. Working for a possible 7th kṛishṇa *tithi*, on the supposition that a mistake had been made by the engraver, I find the week-days to have been respectively Tuesday and Friday, with *nakshatras* **Chitrā** and **Viśākhā.**

[1] I have since been informed that, while it is difficult to decide the point from characters alone, the earlier date is the more probable.

[2] No. 123 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

111.—In the Muktīśvara temple at Pūrattukkōyil.[1]

1 Svasti[2] śrī [||*] Kō Māṟupaṉmar=āṉa Tir[i]buvaṉachchakkaravatt[iga]! śr[i]-Kulaśē-garadēvaṟku yāṇḍu

2 28vadu Kaṉṉ[i]-nāyaṟṟu [ama]ra-pakkashattu[3] deśamiyum Veḷḷi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Attattu

3 nāḷ.

"In the **28th year** (*of the reign*) of king **Māṟavarman** *alias* the emperor of the three **worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,** — on the day of Hasta which corresponded to a **Friday and to the tenth** *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

This date is intrinsically wrong, for on a tenth kṛishṇa *tithi* in solar Kanyā the moon cannot be in the *nakshatra* Hasta. In such a month the day of Hasta must be either the 14th or 15th kṛishṇa, or the 1st or 2nd śukla *tithi*. Moreover the week-day given is incorrect for the tenth kṛishṇa *tithi* in Kanyā, both in the 28th year of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I (A.D. 1295) and in a possible 28th year of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara II, which would fall in A.D. 1341.

MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

112.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Teṉkarai.[4]

1 || Svasti śrī : . . . . śrī-Kō Māṟapaṉmar=āṉa Tiribuva-[ṉa]chchakkiravattigaḷ [em]maṇḍalamuṅ=

2 [goṇḍ-a]ruḷ[i]ya śrī-Kulaśēgaradēva[ṟ]ku yā[ṇ]ḍu 14vadu Kaṉṉi-nāya[ṟ]ṟu pū[r]vva-pakshattu [sa]pta[m]iyum [N]āyaṟṟu-kki[ḻa]maiyum peṟṟa

3 [M]ūlattu nāḷ.

"In the **14th year** (*of the reign*) of the **glorious king Māṟavarman** *alias* the **emperor of the three worlds**, the **glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,** who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of **Mūla**, which coresponded to a **Sunday** and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kanyā**."

This date is regular for the 14th year of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I, and incorrect for that of **M. Kulaśēkhara II.** For the former it corresponds to **Sunday, September 21st, A.D. 1281,** which was the 24th day of solar Kanyā. At mean sunrise on that day the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, and the current *nakshatra* was Mūla, by all systems.

For the 14th year of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara II the given day would correspond to September 23rd, A.D. 1327; but that day was Wednesday.

113.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Teṉkarai.[5]

1 Svast[i] śr[i] : . . . . śrī-Kō [Māṟapaṉmar-āṉa Tri]bhuva[ṉachcha]-kravatt[i]ga[ḷ . em]maṇḍalamu[ṅ]=go[ṇḍ-aru]ḷ[i]ya [śri]-Kula[ś]ēgaradēvar-[kku yāṇ]ḍu [2]8vadu[6] Vṛiśchika-[nāya]ṟṟu

2 apara-pakshattu chatu[r]tthiyum Nā[ya]ṟṟu-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Pūśat[tu] nāḷ.

"In the **[2]8th year** (*of the reign*) of the **glorious king Māravarman** *alias* the **emperor of the three worlds**, the **glorious Kulaśēkharadēva**, who was pleased to take every country,—

[1] No. 784 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[2] The *va* of *Sva* is not added in the right place.

[3] Read *apara-pakshattu daśamiyum*.

[4] No. 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

[5] No. 126 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

[6] The year might also be read as 20. What is taken for 8 would in that case be the first letter *ā* of *āvadu*

on the day of **Pushya**, which corresponded to a **Sunday** and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Vṛiśchika.**"

For the 28th year of the reign of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I, which began in June A.D. 1295, this date is perfectly regular. It corresponds to **Sunday, November 27th, A.D. 1295** on which day, the 30th day of solar Vṛiśchika, the 4th *tithi* of the second lunar fortnight was current at mean sunrise, the *nakshatra* then being Pushya by all systems.

It would be incorrect for the 20th year of that king, or for a possible 20th or 28th year of the second king of that name.

MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

114.—In the Muktīśvara temple at Pūrattukkōyil.[1]

1 Sva[s]t[i] śr[ī] [||*] Kō Māṟa[paṉ]ma[r=ā]ṉa T[i]rubu[va]ṉachcha[ka]ravattiga[ḷ] [śrī]-Kulaśē[ga]radēvarkku y[ā]ṇ[ḍu 6vadu]

2 Magara-nāya[ṟ]ṟu pūrvva-pakshat[tu pratha]maiyum Śaṉi-kkiḻa[m]ai[yum p]eṟṟa Aviṭṭattu nāḷ.

"In the **[6th]** year (*of the reign*) of **king Māṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds,** the **glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,**—on the day of **Dhanishṭhā** which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the [first] *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara.**"

This date regularly corresponds, for the 6th year of the reign of **Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara** II, to **Saturday January 12th, A.D. 1320,** which was the 17th day of Makara; on which **day** at mean sunrise the 1st śukla *tithi* was current, the *nakshatra* being Dhanishṭhā by all systems.

It is incorrect for the 6th year of the reign of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I.

JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA.

115.—In the Vikrama-Pāṇḍyēśvara temple at Śōḻapuram.[2]

1 Svasti śr[ī] [||*] Śakābdam āyirattu-iru-[n]ūṟṟu-[nāṟ]pattu-nālin mēl śrī-Kō=Chchaḍaipa[ṉmar=āṉa] Tr[i]bhuva[na]chchakravatt[iga]ḷ śrī]-Parākrama-P[ā]ṇḍiyadēva[rku yāṇḍu 8] M[īṉa]-nāya[ṟṟu] 28[3][tēdi]yu[m] pau[r]ṇ[y]ai[yu]m Budaṉ-kiḻamai[y]um peṟṟa Śittirai-n[ā]ḷ.

"After **the Śaka year** (one) **thousand two hundred and forty-four (had passed)**—in the **year 8** (*of the reign*) of the **glorious king Jaṭāvarman** *alias* the **emperor of the three worlds,** the **glorious Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,**—on the day of **Chitrā,** which corresponded to **a Wednesday,** to the full-moon *tithi*, and to the 28th solar day of the month of **Mīna.**"

This date is regular when calculated by the Ārya-siddhānta. It corresponds to **Wednesday, 23rd March, A.D. 1323,** on which day at mean sunrise—the day being the 28th of Mīna,—the full moon, or 15th śukla *tithi*, was current; it having begun 15h. 35m. in mean **time** before, and ending 7h. 52m. after mean sunrise.

The *nakshatra*, however, is found to have begun, by the equal-space and Garga systems, 1h. 30m. *after* mean sunrise; though by the Brahma-siddhānta it was current at mean sunrise, having begun 2h. 14m. earlier. I have calculated the date by the Brahma-siddhānta, and find that that authority was *not* used by the framers of the *pañchāṅga* in current use at the

[1] **No. 742 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.**
[2] **No. 487 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.**
[3] **The syllables *tēdi* are expressed by a symbol.**

time ; for by it the day of the week, of the solar month and the number of the *tithi* all work out differently, as also does the *nakshatra* for mean sunrise of the day so established. It follows that the date was calculated by the Ârya-siddhânta; but that (i) either there was a slight error in the calculation of the *nakshatra*, or (ii) the *nakshatra* for which calculation was made was the one current at the time of the action recorded in the inscription,— which action probably took place between 1h. 30m. and 7h. 52m. after mean sunrise on the same 23rd March. The inscription belongs to the reign of a king named Jaṭāvarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya whose reign began between 24th March A.D. 1315 and 23rd March 1316.

MARAVARMAN VIKRAMA-PANDYA.

116.—In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam.[1]

1 [S]vasti śrī [||*] Kō [M]ārapatmar=āṉa[2] Tribhuvaṉach[ch]akkaravattigaḷ śrī-[3]Vikrama-Pāṇḍ[ya]yadēvaṟku yāṇḍu

2 [6]vadu [Kaṉṉi]-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Nāyaṟṟu-k[ki]ḻamaiyum peṟṟa At[ta][t*]tu nāḷ.

"In the [6]th year (*of the reign*) of king **Māravarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

According to the information supplied to me, doubtless from palæographic deduction, this inscription belongs to a period later than the fifteenth century A.D., and consequently to a king whose date has not yet been established, and with whose name we are not yet familiar. This may well be so, but I find it impossible, the details being given as they are here, to find a date which would correspond with those details, without examining them separately for every year; and this would entail a vast and perhaps unnecessary amount of labour.[4]

Meanwhile I would point out that, if it is permissible to suppose that this Māṟavarman Vikrama may be identical with the Kōṉēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ Vikrama whose reign began (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 228) between 13th January and 27th July, A.D. 1401, the given date very fairly well fits in with his reign. In the 6th year of this king's reign the 15th day of Kanyā corresponded to Monday, September 13th, A.D. 1406. On that day at mean sunrise the 1st *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, as also, by all systems, the *nakshatra* Hasta. The 1st śukla *tithi* had begun 11h. 20m. before mean sunrise, that is to say, it had been current for 11h. 20m. on the Sunday (September 12); and during that time the *nakshatra* Hasta had been current by all systems, it having begun by the equal-space system and that of Garga 17h. 11m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta 20h. 35m. before the Monday sunrise. That Sunday was a particularly sacred day being the Mahālaya-amāvāsyā day, with both sun and moon in Hasta. The moon's *nakshatra* has been already stated. At the moment when the 1st śukla *tithi* began on the Sunday the sun's mean longitude was 165° 4′ 27″, proving him to have been in Hasta.

It may be that the same conditions existed at an altogether later date, and the years can be examined individually if a palæographic study of the original inscription can be undertaken which would confine possibilities within a limit of, say, 50 years.

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[1] No. 410 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[2] The length of *rā* is written in continuation of the letter *r*.

[3] Read *Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadē-*.

[4] [Mr. Krishna Sastri now informs Mr. Sewell that palæographically the inscription more probably belongs to the end of the 13th century. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has accordingly calculated the date as corresponding to Sunday, August 29, A.D. 1288.—S.K.]

MARAVARMAN VIRA-PANDYADEVA.

117.—In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam.[1]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Māṟapaṉmar [2]Ntribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Vīra-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 15vadu Dhanusu-nāyaṟṟu [a]para-
2 pakshattu ash[ṭa]m[i]yum Saṉi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Attattu nāḷ.

"In the **15th year** (*of the reign*) of **king Māṟavarman**, the **emperor of the three worlds**, the **glorious Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Hasta**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Dhanus.**"

The date is incorrect for the reign of the only Māṟavarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya as yet known to history, whose 15th year began between 13th March and 28th July, A.D. 1457. In that year the 12th Dhanus corresponded to Friday, December 9th, A.D. 1457, on which day the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current at mean sunrise. But the week-day was not Saturday, and the given *tithi* could not be connected with Saturday; while though the *nakshatra* at mean sunrise was Hasta by the Brahma-siddhānta having begun 2h. 26m. earlier, it was Uttara-Phalgunī by the equal-space system and that of Garga.

In the previous year the given *tithi* was current at sunrise on a Monday.

The date, however, is perfectly regular for the 15th year of *Jaṭāvarman* Vīra-Pāṇḍya which year began between the 11th November A.D. 1266 and the 13th July 1267. In that 15th regnal year the 14th day of Dhanus corresponded to Saturday, December 10th A.D. 1267, and at mean sunrise on that day the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current, having begun 5h. 40m. before mean sunrise. At that sunrise the *nakshatra* Hasta was current by all systems.

I think, therefore, that the date is correct, but that the record belongs to the reign of *Jaṭāvarman* Vīra, and not of *Māṟavarman* Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva. A study of the palæography of the record will settle this question, since of course the inscription may belong to the reign of a later sovereign, bearing the name as given, who is not yet known to us historically.[3]

If my identification is considered satisfactory the commencement of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya is fixed as having taken place between December 11th, A.D. 1252, and July 13th, 1253.

No. 25.—THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

Tibetan accounts of its origin.

As regards Tibetan historiography in general, there are two distinct schools of it, *viz.* the Central Tibetan and the West Tibetan school. Thus, the records referring to the introduction of the Tibetan alphabet vary to a certain degree, according to the schools of writers.

Central Tibetan records.—The Petersburg *rGyal rabs gsalbai melong*, Sarat Ch. Das' *The Tibeto-Mongolian dictionary*, Togbarlowa and the Bodhimör. They all agree on the following points: king **Sroṅ btsan sgampo** (c. 600—650 A.D.) sent his minister **Thonmi** to Hindustan, Southern Hindustan or Magadha, to learn reading and writing. He received instruction from a certain **Li byin** (the Lijin of the Mongols) in reading and writing, and formed the Tibetan alphabet after the **Lañtsha** and **Vartula** characters, Tibetan **dBu chan** after Lañtsha, and Tibetan **dBu med** after Vartula. He brought the Tibetan alphabet up to 30 characters,

[1] No. 395 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909. [2] Read *Tribhuvana-*.
[3] Since the above was in print I am assured that the title *Māṟavarman* is quite clear in the original.

by taking 24 from the Indian alphabet, and inventing six new characters himself. For the expression of the Tibetan vowels he added four vowel signs.

The West Tibetan school states that king Sroṅ btsan sgampo sent his minister Thonmi and 16 fellow students to Kashmir, to learn the characters. They learnt the characters from the Brahman Li byin, and pandit Seṅge taught them the language (Sanskrit). Bringing them into agreement with the Tibetan language, they formed 24 *gSal byed* and 6 *Riṅs*, altogether 30 characters. (The following sentence is probably a later addition): Besides, they made them to agree with the Nagara characters of Kashmir and brought them into shape.

Looking at these two, the West Tibetan record strikes me as being the more original of the two. In the first place, the country from which the alphabet was brought to Tibet, is given here as being Kashmir. This is more in accordance with the result of Dr. Vogel's examination of the alphabet. Then, the passage about the forming of the Tibetan alphabet after the Indian Lañtsha and Vartula characters, which is altogether doubtful, is omitted here. The West Tibetan account makes mention of the Indian Nāgari alphabet, it is true, but this passage looks like a later interpolation.

European statements.—The Central Tibetan account, which makes the Indian Lañtsha and Vartula characters the parents of the Tibetan alphabet, was accepted by a number of European and Indian writers on this subject. Thus, Jäschke in his Tibetan grammar, p. 1, says that the Tibetan script was adapted from the Lañtsha form of Indian characters. Grünwedel, in his *Mythology* says, that the Tibetan script was formed after the Indian characters of those times, the so-called Vartula; and Sarat Ch. Das, in his article 'The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet' (J. A. S. B., Vol. LVII, p. 41) speaks of the 'letters which Sambhoṭa had introduced from Magadha, and which he had shaped partly after the form of some of the Wartu characters of Magadha'.

As we now know, the Tibetan characters were directly derived from Indian Gupta. And this fact was already recognised by Csoma de Kőrös, the Nestor of Tibetan studies. He says on p. 204 of his grammar: "The Tibetan alphabet itself, as has been noticed in other places, is stated to have been formed from the Dēvanāgarī prevalent in Central India in the seventh century. On comparing the forms of its letters with those of various ancient Sanskrit inscriptions, particularly that at Gaya, translated by Mr. (now Sir Charles) Wilkins, and that on the column at Allahabad, translated by Capt. Trover and Dr. Mill, a striking similitude will be observed." When Csoma wrote this, the term of Gupta had not yet been coined for that particular kind of script. Otherwise he would have used the term.

The next student of Tibetan, who told me the same thing, was Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office Library. In his opinion, this fact was so apparent and firmly established, that he did not think it necessary to write a line about it. And in his letter of the 7th June, 1906, he sent me a list of Gupta characters from Indore, of the year 465 A.D., which agree very closely with the Tibetan characters.

The same view has been expressed more recently by Col. Waddell, in his article on ancient Tibetan inscriptions from Lhasa (J. R. A. S., 1910).

With regard to the date of the introduction of the Tibetan alphabet, and the place of its provenence, Dr. Vogel has favoured me with the following note:—

Relation of Tibetan to Indian scripts.

"Besides the ordinary Tibetan character, the lamas have the so-called Lañtsha which is exclusively used for Sanskrit formulas. The local tradition (of Central Tibet) holds, that the

Lañtsha is the older of the two, and that from it the ordinary Tibetan alphabet has been derived. This has been repeated by European writers, but in view of palæographical evidence there cannot be the slightest doubt that the tradition has reversed the real facts.

"The ordinary Tibetan character is the more ancient of the two, and the Lañtsha originated several centuries later. Both were derived from Indian scripts, but quite independently of each other. The time of their origin can be approximately fixed, by a comparison with the characters used in Indian Sanskrit inscriptions.

"The Tibetan alphabet is based on the Indian script, which had developed from the **Western Gupta** and which used to be designated by the name of **Kuṭila.** Bühler has rejected this appellation and has proposed to call it 'acute-angled' (spitz-winklig).[1] The Tibetan has retained the characteristics of this script; acute angles at the lower ends, small wedges at the tops, and in general a very ornamental and elegant appearance. As regards the date, when it was introduced into Tibet, the following points may be noted:

"Initial *ā* is indicated by the sign for initial *a* with a curve attached to the bottom of the vertical, and not by a stroke to the right as in Nāgarī. The stroke came into general use in India from about 900 A.D. [Let me note that this curve is a subjoined small *'a* (No. 23 of the Tibetan alphabet). But another ancient form of *a* is found in inscriptions near Khalatse. There the syllable *ōm* is written like that  —F.].

"The *ja* has the ancient type of the Gupta period (with central bar to the right) which was preserved in India till about 700 A.D. [The Śāradā has kept this form throughout].

"The *ta* closely agrees with the corresponding Śāradā letter in that the left half of the curve has disappeared. [But see some forms of the 8th century.—F.]

"The *da* has no wedge at the lower end, as is found in India from about 700 A.D.

"In *pa* the vertical is not prolonged beneath, as happens in India from about 700. Neither is this the case in Śāradā.

"The *pha* has retained its Gupta type, which existed in India till about 700 A.D. It differs considerably from the Śāradā *pha.*

"The *ba* resembles Śāradā *va.* The vertical, as in *pa* is not prolonged beneath. [But see one case from the 8th century.—F.]

"The *ma* has a loop, but the vertical is not prolonged beneath. It is therefore different from the Śāradā letter, but closely resembles the Indian *ma* of about 700 A.D.

"The *ya* is of special importance, as it has the tripartite shape, which in India became changed into the bipartite form in the seventh century. [The most ancient Ladakhi *yē dharma* formula from Khalatse which Dr. Vogel believes to date from c. 600 A.D., exhibits already the bipartite form of *ya.*—F.] The Śāradā has the bipartite type.

"In *la* we observe the same as in *pa* and *ba*: the vertical is not prolonged beneath, as happened in India after 700 A.D. The absence of these prolongations is the more remarkable, as the Tibetan is fond of long down-strokes.

[1] *Indische Palæographie*, p. 49.

"Our conclusion is, that the Tibetan is derived from the Northern Indian script, which was used in the 7th century. It is not based on the Sāradā, but has certain points of similarity with this script, which suggest that both were derived from the same Northern Indian character."

My own view is, that the Tibetan alphabet was quietly worked out in the ancient monasteries of Turkistan, the Tibetan Li yul and that Sroṅ btsan sgampo's minister Thonmi reaped the fruit of such learning. My reasons are the following: The script used for Sanskrit in Turkistan, the so-called Central Asian Brāhmī, is another descendant of Indian Gupta, and closely related to the Tibetan script.[1] Similar characters were used also in Ladakh for Sanskrit formulas between 600 and 800 A.D. These characters were probably the parent of the so-called Brutsha (*Bruzha*, Dard) form of writing.[2] The Turkistan monasteries were the very places where any new kind of script might have been invented, as is shown by a number of new languages which were first reduced to writing in Turkistan. Then, the man who taught Thonmi in Kashmir, is called Li byin which name doubtless means, 'Blessing of the land Li' (blessing of Khotan). This name may be compared with such names as *Khri bdun yul byin*, 'Blessing of the land Khri bdun.' Thus, the man who taught Thonmi may have been a native of Turkistan. We have a single testimony of history for the early use of Indian characters in Western Tibet, in the Chinese *Sui shu*, where it is stated, that such characters were used in the Empire of the 'Eastern Women' (Guge), etc. The Tibetan alphabet, though probably invented earlier, may have followed the development of the North Indian alphabets, until it remained stationary from the 7th or 8th century.

Regarding the language for which the alphabet was invented, I am of opinion, that it certainly was the classical Tibetan. But we must not believe that classical Tibetan was generally spoken in the 7th century. From passages occurring in a good number of documents excavated by Sir Aurel Stein in the deserts of Turkistan, we know for certain that the Tibetan dialects were then already developed to an advanced degree. It is very improbable that the prefixes should have been pronounced in full in those days. There is a possibility that Tibet was in possession of an archaic sacred language from time immemorial, that it was this language which was first reduced to writing, and that this already sacred language was accepted as the language of Buddhism. In this connection the following note from Dr. Barnett's article 'Tibetan MSS., in the Stein collection' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 112) will be of interest. "It was probably in the reign of Khri Sroṅ lde btsan, if not later, that the larger part of the Northern Canon, including the Śālistamba Sūtra, was translated into Tibetan. If this be so, it is singular, that a nation, which according to tradition had been hitherto buried in barbarism, should within a century and a half have accepted a new faith, assimilated its doctrines in the most scholastic form of Mahāyāna, and concurrently developed a culture and a political organisation, which made it a formidable rival to the older homes of civilisation on its north-western frontier. Probably tradition has exaggerated the facts; it may be that Buddhism was fairly well known in Tibet before the seventh century, and Sroṅ btsan sgampo was only its Constantine. A new page of history is opening before us."

The Tibetans themselves distinguish between two types of characters in their alphabet. One type was taken directly from the Indian alphabet, whilst the other was invented by Thonmi Sambhoṭa, or his forerunners. The first type is called gSal byed (consonants), and the second.

[1] Compare A. H. Francke, *The similarity of the Tibetan to the Kashgar-Brahmi Alphabet.* Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 43 ff. [The correspondence between Central Asian Gupta and Tibetan is not so great that it is necessary to assume that they have been developed in the same locality. They have both been developed from the same source, and that explains the similarity—S. K.]

[2] Plate III, *e* of Sarat Ch. Das' article 'The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVII, p. 41.

Riṅs. The order of the Tibetan alphabet is of Indian origin. But it is strange to observe, that the group of gSal byed was divided into two parts, by inserting the Riṅs between them. The Tibetan alphabet was arranged as follows :

gSal byed		gSal byed		Riṅs		gSal byed	
1	k	9	t	17	ts	24	y
2	kh	10	th	18	tsh	25	r
3	g	11	d	19	dz	26	l
4	ṅ	12	n	20	w	27	ś
5	ch	13	p	21	ź	28	s
6	chh	14	ph	22	z	29	h
7	j	15	b	23	'a	30	a
8	ñ	16	m				

As we see, there are seven Riṅs, instead of six. Regarding the gSal byed, Dr. Vogel's note will suffice. Let me add a few words about the Riṅs. The sibilants *ts*, *tsh*, and *dz* are distinguished from the signs for the ordinary palatals by an additional stroke.—The Tibetan *w* is a combination of *l* and *b*. We may say it is a *b* with a prefixed *l*. Also *b* with other prefixes may become a *w* ; thus, the West Tibetan pronunciation of the word *dbaṅ*, power, is *waṅ*.—The Tibetan *ź* was derived directly from the most ancient form of the Tibetan *ś*, by omitting the stroke on the left side of the *ś*.—The letter *z* is simply an inverted *j*.—The Tibetan character for *'a* may have been developed from the Indian *g*. *'A* as initial is in many dialects pronounced like *gh*. But as a prefix it generally has a nasal sound. Before the noose of the Tibetan *g* was properly developed, the characters for *g* and *'a* may have looked much the same. To distinguish them, *'a* was furnished for a time with an additional stroke. Compare the accompanying tables.[1]

It is strange that *a*, the first letter of the Indian alphabet, should be found at the end of the Tibetan alphabet. I am rather inclined to believe that it was a later development. In many ancient documents, the Tibetan *a* looks almost exactly like a *ya*, and there are a number of words in which an original *ya* has been dropped, or been turned into a vowel-bearer *a*. Thus, *yaṅ* becomes *'aṅ ; yid* becomes *id ; yoṅ* becomes *'oṅ*, etc. But in its later development the letter *a* became decidedly similar to the *a* of the Ṭākarī script, for which reason it was derived from it by General Cunningham. As has been noticed, old forms of the *a* in Ladakh are furnished with a hook at the lower left hand corner.

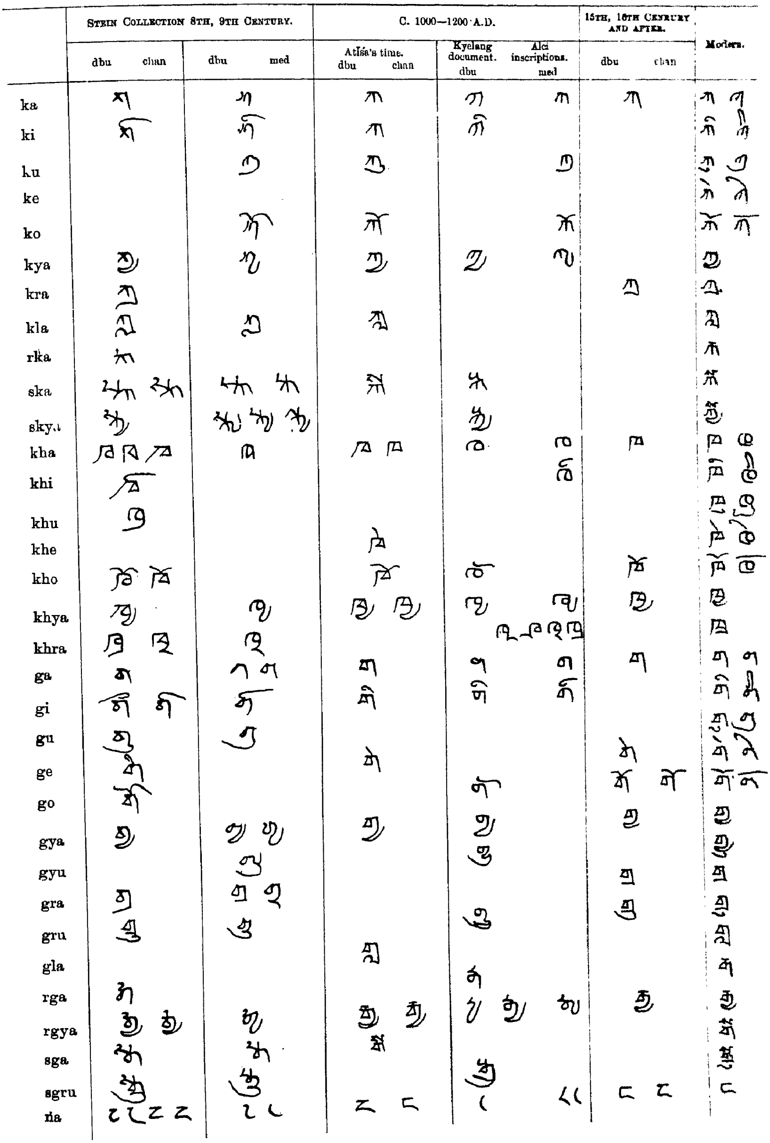
Lañtsha and Vartula.

Dr. Vogel has favoured me with the following note on Lañtsha : "As regards the Lañthsa, it is based on the Indian script of the tenth century. A characteristic of this script, to which Bühler has drawn attention, are the small tails, slanting to the right from the ends of the verticals. These are most prominent in the Nāgarī of the 10th century. Notice also the long straight topstrokes found in Nāgarī. Notice especially the letters *gha*, *ja*, *ya* (bipartite), *ra* (with loop). See plates in Sarat Ch. Das' 'Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet,' *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVII, and Hodgson's plates in *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. XVI (1828).

[1] There are several incomplete tables of Tibetan alphabets from the eighth or ninth century among the documents of the Stein collection. There, the arrangement of the characters is in the following respect different from the present day arrangement : The letter *b* (often pronounced *v*) is not placed between *ph* and *m*, as shown above, but between *l* and *ś*. Thus it has the place of the *v* in the Sanskrit alphabet. In the same tables the letter *wa* appears as a *ba* with a superadded *'a*. This ancient alphabet consists of 29 letters only.

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

PLATE I.



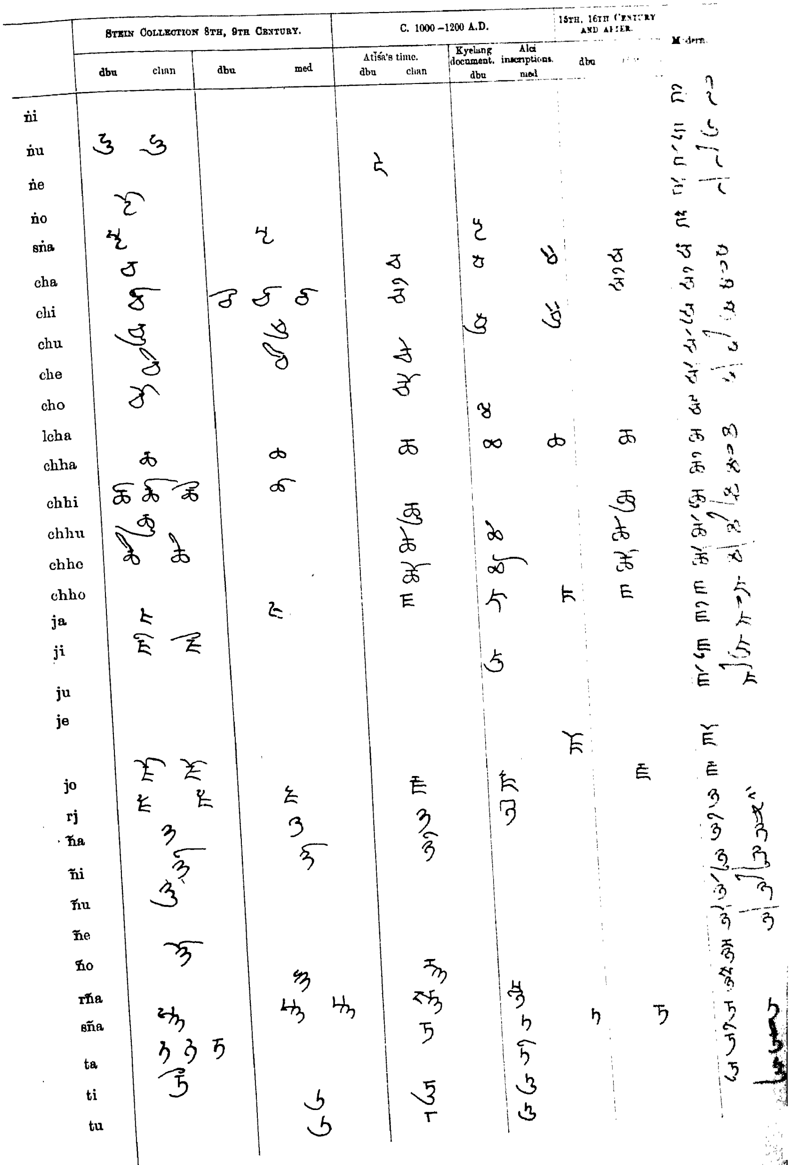
A. H. Francke, *fecit.*

Scale—Seven-tenths.

S. I. O., Calcutta.

Reg. No. 4455 E., 12.—H.— 408.

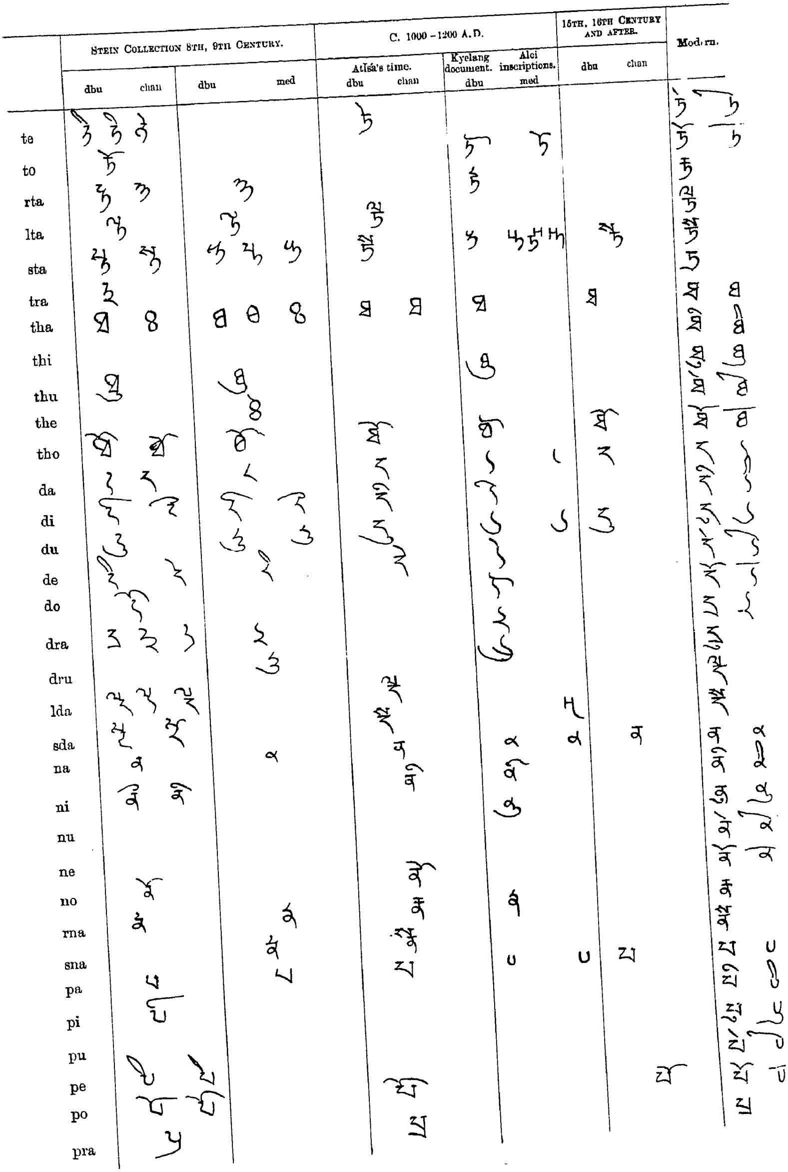
THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.



Scale—Seven-tenths.

A. H. Francke, *fecit*

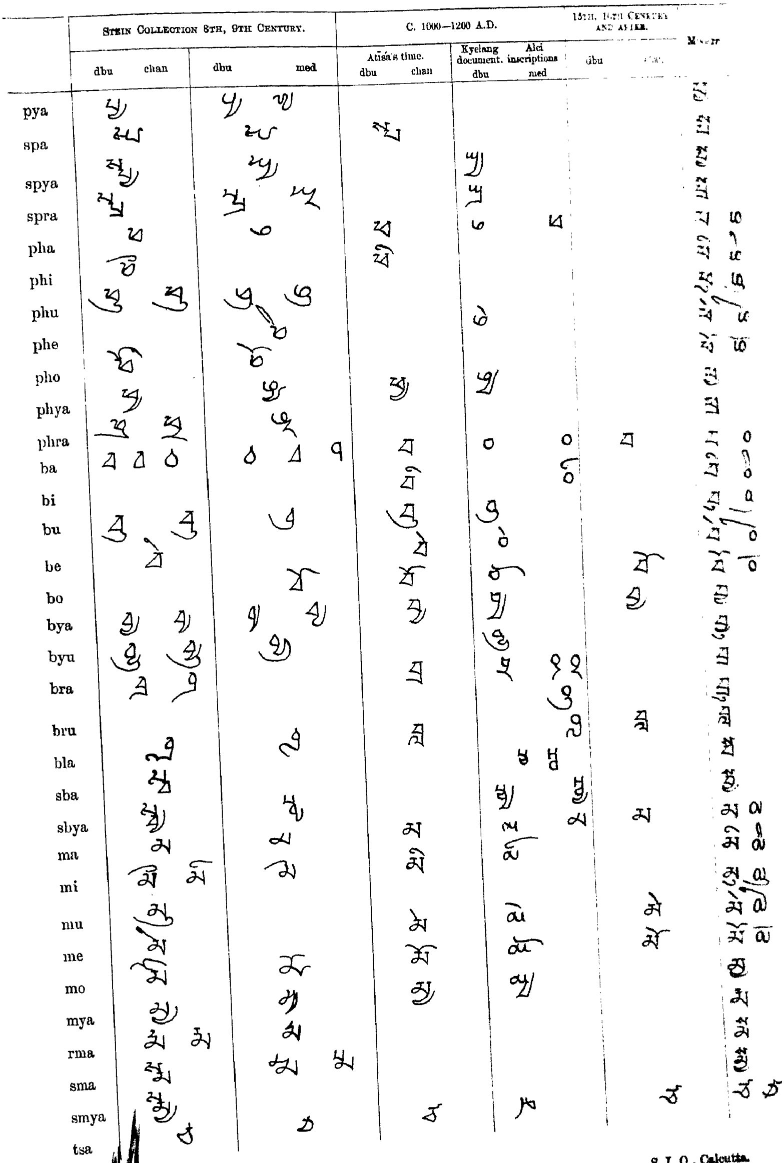
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A. H. Francke, *fecit.*

Scale—Seven-tenths.

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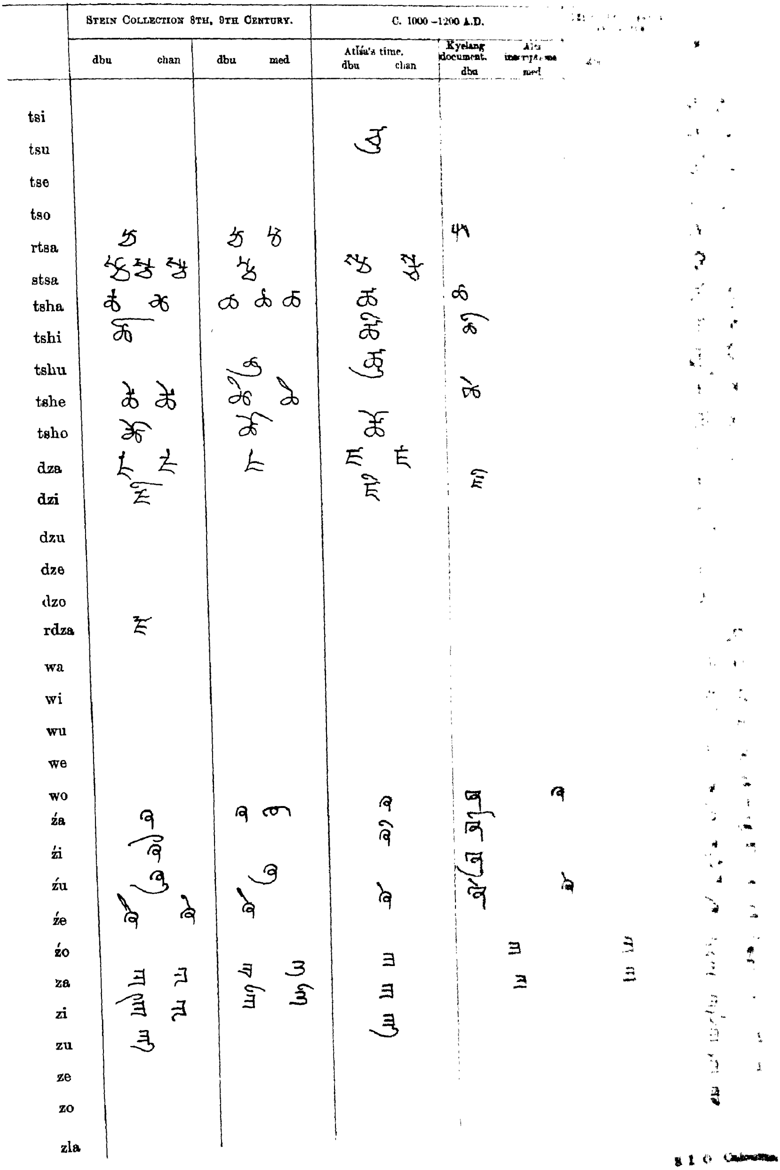


Scale—Seven-tenths.

S. I. O., Calcutta.

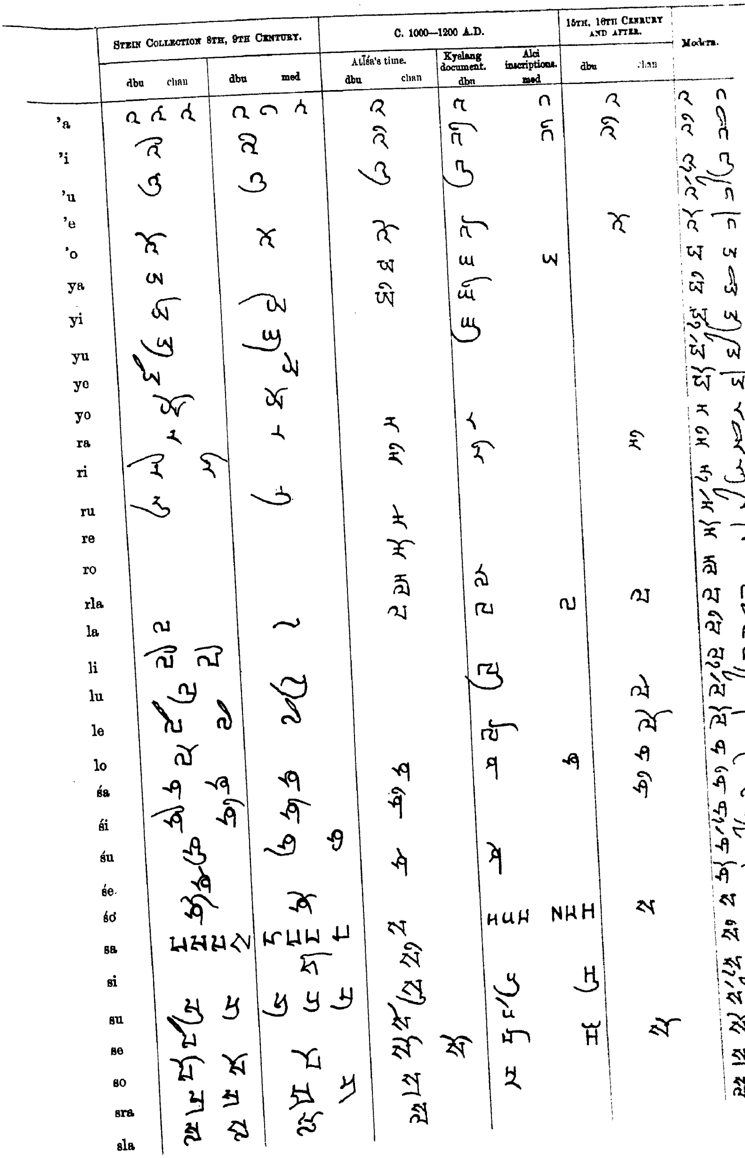
…ncke, *fecit.*

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.



Scale—Seven-tenths.

A. H. Francke, *fecit.*

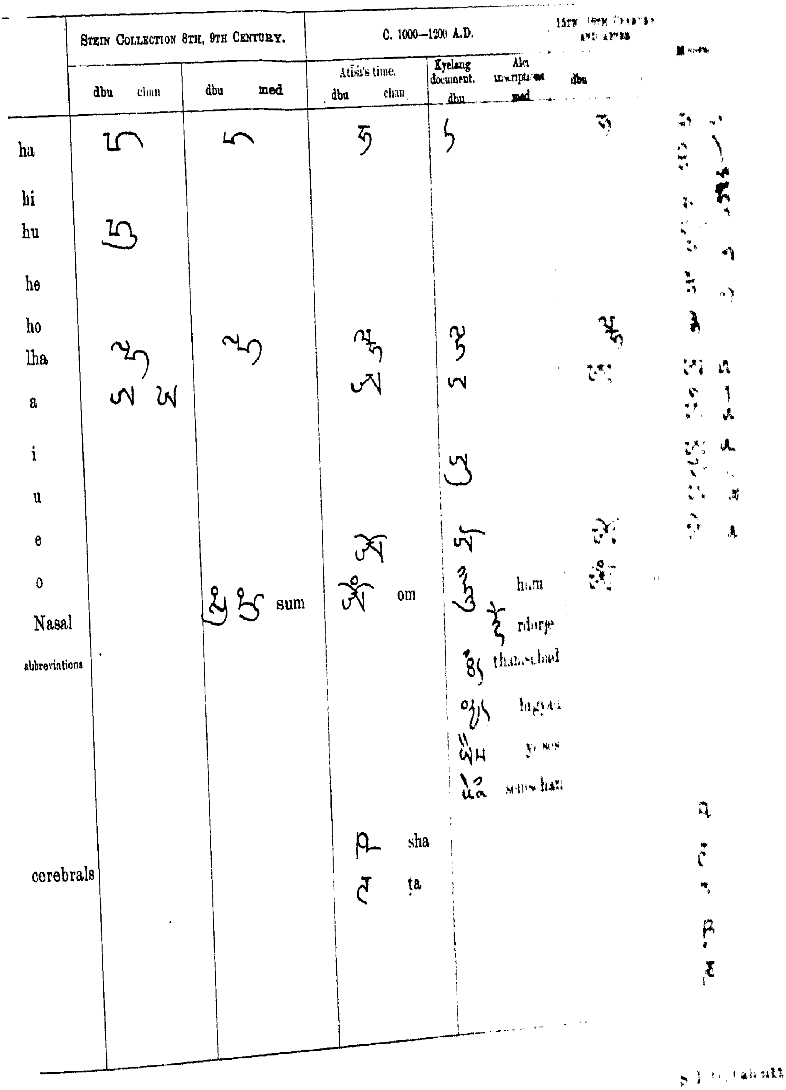


Scale—Seven-tenths.

A. H. Francke, *fecit.*

S. I. O., Calcutta.

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.



Scale—Seven-tenths.

A. H. Francke, *fecit.*

Our conclusion is, that the **Lañtsha** was introduced into **Tibet** about 1000 A.D. and in this instance not from Northern, but from Eastern India. It should be remembered, that in the hill districts of Northern India, and probably in the plains of the Paujab also, **Śāradā** was used, and not Nāgari. The Indian alphabet was adopted wholesale and practically unchanged, probably because it was intended to be used for Sanskrit exclusively.

This explains how the Tibetan tradition came to reverse the real facts. The Lañtsha used exclusively for the sacred language, was considered as the holy script, and consequently the belief arose that it was the original character from which the ordinary Tibetan alphabet was derived. The Vartula is only a variety of Lañtsha."

Although the Tibetan script has almost remained stationary since the eighth century, it has undergone a few slight changes, which help us roughly to date ancient documents and inscriptions. The following are the chief characteristics :

(1) **The Stein MSS. from Turkistan, and stone monuments from Lhasa, of the 8th or 9th century.**—The *j* has only two parallel horizontal strokes to the right of the vertical stroke. The *t* in many cases looks as if the left half of the curve had not yet entirely disappeared. The shape of the *th* in many cases reminds us strongly of the old Brāhmi or Gupta form. The *b* is almost invariably of triangular shape. In one case the right vertical stroke of the *b* is prolonged below the line. The letter *'a* in many cases is furnished on the top with a short additional stroke. The *ś* in many cases shows the structure of the *ś* distinctly. In *s* the connecting line between the two vertical lines mostly proceeds from the lower end or the middle of the left vertical line. The *h* mostly has a horizontal position like the *h* of **Central Asian Brāhmī.**

Vowel signs.—The *i* vowel sign is very often inverted, and, apparently in the older documents, joined to its consonant base. All the other vowel signs are joined to their consonant bases. The *o* vowel sign prefers the left upper end of the consonant, with the exception of *ch*, *tsh*, *kh*, and *y*, where it is joined to the middle, and *l*, where it is joined to the right upper end. The *u* vowel sign is joined to the right lower end of the consonant. The *e* vowel sign is joined to the middle of the upper line of the consonant, with the exception of *s*, *m*, and *p*, where it is joined to the left upper end, and *l*, where it is occasionally joined to the right upper end. It is often of the shape of a whip.

Other characteristic marks.—(a) The suffixed *d* (called *drag*) is used rather frequently ; (b) subjoined *y* appears regularly below *m* when the latter is followed by *i* or *e*; (c) the articles *pho* and *pha* instead of *po* and *pa* are found occasionally, and also *chhin* instead of *chin* in the supine, *chhi* instead of *chi* as interrogative pronoun ; (d) the vowels *e* and *o* are occasionally followed by a lengthening *'a* ; (e) there are a good number of cases, where the final consonant of a syllable is written below the first consonant; (f) the euphonic laws are somewhat different from those of the present day ; (g) aspirated consonants suffer a *g*, *d*, or *b* prefix to be placed before them (*gchhig*, one, etc).

(2) **Documents of the 11th and 12th centuries, from Lahoul and Spiti.**—The *b* is of quadrangular form, and all the consonants have their present beautiful shape.

Vowel signs.—The *i* vowel sign is no longer inverted (with the exception of a few cases in *dBu med*), nor is it joined to its consonant base. The *o* vowel sign shows a tendency to be joined to the right upper end of its consonant base, but occasionally changes about, especially in the case of *s*. In *p* and *m* it is still joined to the left upper end. The *e* vowel sign is joined to the left upper end of the consonant base in the case of *s*, *m*, and *p* (probably). In most other cases it shows a tendency to being joined to the right upper end. The *u* vowel sign is always joined to the right lower end of its consonant base. In *dBu med*, the *u* vowel sign alone is joined to its consonant base.

No. 6.

Text: (blon-dmag) ....

Translation: (crowd of ministers?) ... ...

No. 7.

Text: (blon-rgyal) ....

Translation: (royal minister ?) .... (or: minister and king ?).

No. 8.

Indistinct.

No. 9.

Text: chhab-srid .... Khod-ne-stan.

Translation: government .... Khod-ne-stan.

The name *Khod-ne-stan* has not yet been found in the Stein collection.

No. 10.

Text: chhab-srid-kyi-blon-po-chhen-po-źan-khri-bźer-lha-mthon.

Translation: The great minister of the government, uncle Khri-bźer-lha-mthon.

NOTES: The word *źan* 'uncle,' in connection with names of ministers is repeatedly found among the Stein relics. It may be compared to the title *agu*, 'uncle,' of the heroes of the Kesar Saga. The name *Khri bźer* is probably the personal name, and *lHa-mthon* (god-seer) may be a clan-name.

The name *Khri-bźer* is found in the following documents of the Stein collection: M. Tagh. aV, 0015; aIV, 00122; bI, 0092; MI, i, 23; xvi, 1, 3; xxviii, 0016, etc.

The name *lHa-mthon* has been found only once, *viz.* in M. Tagh, aI, 0012.

No. 11.

Text: chhab-srid-kyi-blon-po-chhen-po-blon-rgyal-bzan-'adus-(r)kan.

Translation: The great minister of the government, minister rGyal-bzan-'adus-(r)kan.

NOTES: Here again, as in all the following cases, I take the first name as the personal name, and the second as the clan-name.

The name *rGyal-bzan* occurs in MI, xiv, 108g, and xiv, 0016 of the Stein relics. The name *'aDus-rkan* has not yet been found.

No. 12.

Text: Bod-chhen-poi-blon-po ...... l-gyi-thabs-dan-myin-rus.

Translation: Titles, names, and clan-names of the .... ministers of great Tibet.

No. 13.

Text: Nan-blon-mchhims-źan-rgyal-bźer-khod-ne-brtsan.

Translation: The perfect minister of Inner Affairs, uncle rGyal-bźer-khod-ne-brtsan.

NOTES: *mchhims* is probably connected with *'achhims-pa*, to be full, perfect.

The name *rGyal-bźer* occurs in the following documents of the Stein collection: M. Tagh, aIV, 00122 bI, 0092; bI, 0095; bI, 00104; MI, xxx, 001; xlii, 002. In No. M. Tagh, bI, 0096, we find the name *rGyal-bźer-legs-brtsan*.

The name *Khod-ne* has not yet been discovered in the Stein collection.

No. 14.

Text: Phyi-blon-bkā-la-gtogs-pa-chog-ro-blon-btsan-bźer-lha-goṅ-

Translation: The minister of Chog-ro, who is under the command of the minister of Outer Affairs, **bTsan-bźer-lha-goṅ.**

NOTES: *Chog-ro* is the well known name of a province.

The name *bTsan-bžer* is found in the following of Sir Aurel Stein relics: M Tagh, aII, 0057; MI, xxvii, 19.—The name *lHa-goṅ* occurs in MI, xiv, 58 in the following connections: *'O-nas-lha-goṅ* and *dBaṅ .... lha-goṅ.*

No. 15.

Text: .... mchhims-źaṅ-brtan-bźer-stag-tsab(tsaṅ?).

Translation: The perfect ...., uncle **brTan-bźer-stag-(tsab).**

NOTES: The name *brTan-bžer* has not yet been found in the Stein's relics.

No. 16.

Text: mÑan-pon(Kha-ba-soi-slog-gi-bla-'abal)-blon-Klu bzaṅ-myes-rma.

Translation: The lord of curses (magician) the superior of **Kha-ba-soi-(slog?),** minister **Klu-bzaṅ-myes-rma.**

NOTES: *Pon*, instead of *dpon*, master; several syllables between *Khab* and *'abal* are indistinct. *Kha-ba-so* are mentioned as officials in the account of *gNya-khri-btsan-po* in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs.*

For the name *Klu-bzaṅ* see No. 17. A name similar to *myes-rma* is found in No. MI, xxiv, 0034 of Sir Aurel Stein's relics, in the name *Laṅ-khrug-sme-rma.* Let me add that several ancient names contain the syllable *myes* as well as *rma* as one of their parts in the Stein collection.

No. 17.

Text: bKai-phr(i)n-blon- .... n-ka-blon-stag-bźer-(hab?)-(nyen).

Translation: The minister who announces the orders, ... minister **sTag-bźer-(hab-nyen?).**

NOTES: The name *sTag-bžer* is found in the following of the Stein documents: MI xxvii, 19; xxviii, 5; xxviii, 0038, 0041; xlii, 2; xvi, 3.—In No. MI. xvi, 19, the name *sTag-bžer-legs-koṅ* is found.

No. 18.

Text: rTsis-ba-chhen-po- .... blon-stag-gzigs.

Translation: The great accountant, ... minister **sTag-gzigs.**

NOTES: *rTsis-ba*, instead of ordinary *rTsis-pa.* The name *sTag-gzigs.* has not yet been found in the Stein relics.

No. 19.

Text: Phyi-blon .... źaṅ-klu-bzaṅ.

Translation: The minister of Outer Affairs, ... uncle **Klu-bzaṅ.**

NOTES: The name *Klu-bzaṅ* is found in the following of the Stein documents: M. Tagh, aII, 0078; MI, xxvii, 19.

No. 20.

Text: Źal-che-ba-chhen-po-zal-blon-rgyal ....

Translation: The great judge, the minister of judgment, **rGyal ......**

NOTES: *che-ba* instead of ordinary *chhe-pa.* Unfortunately, the name of the minister has not been preserved in full; there are many names, beginning with *rgyal*, occurring in the Stein relics.

GENERAL NOTE: Let me add that in the ancient documents of Sir Aurel Stein's collection, we generally find only the personal names of the ancient ministers, preceded by their titles. It is only in rarer cases that we find the personal names and clan-names combined. My explanation of this fact would be that in all those cases, where the personal name alone is given, we may be sure that the document deals with the 'famous' minister, whose personal name and clan-name are both found on the Mu-tsung monument. But there were certain officials, whose personal names were in agreement with those of one or other of the famous ministers, but whose clan-name differed from theirs. It is only in such cases, as I believe, that the documents of the Stein collection give both names, so as not to leave any doubt with regard to the identity of the person in question.

In conclusion let me say that up to this I have examined more than six hundred of Sir Aurel Stein's relics.

No. 27.—TIWARKHED PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA NANNARAJA; SAKA 553.

By Rai Bahadur Hiralal, B.A.

Tiwarkhēḍ is a small village on the south bank of the Ambhōrā-nadī, in the Multāi tahsīl of the Bētūl District in the Central Provinces. It is 14 miles south of the Multāi town which is 29 miles south-east of Badnūr, the head-quarters of Bētūl District. The village has no ancient remains except a mud fort built as a protection from the Piṇḍārī free-booters during the declining period of the Nāgpur Bhonslā rulers. This *garhī*, as it is called, is now dug up in several places, and the site occupied by the villagers. Within its premises Nandgiri Gosain, a resident of Tiwarkhēḍ, built a new house about 40 years ago. While digging for the foundations he came upon a set of copper-plates, but not knowing what they were, he stowed them away in his lumber room, where they continued to enjoy the same obscurity as they had done underground, until Mr. Balwant Singh, Sub-Inspector of Police, Multāi Station house, visited the village in the beginning of the year 1910, when Bāpūjī Gosain (son of Nandgiri now dead) observing that the plates contained some curious writing presented them to him for decipherment. Mr. Balwant Singh treated the plates with nitric acid to remove the accretions of centuries and then kindly forwarded them to me. It is a somewhat curious coincidence that the Multāi plates referring to the same line of kings were also found in the custody of a Gosain.[1]

Our plates are two in number, each measuring $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{8}''$. They are substantial, being $\frac{1}{8}''$ thick. Each plate is inscribed on one side only, the inscribed surface giving an appearance of a depression owing to the edges having been made slightly thicker. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation except that the left top corner of the first plate and the left bottom corner of the second one are a little bit corroded; still the lettering is pretty clear. The ring which was uncut when it reached my hands has a seal on a flattened out surface. It is oval in shape and bears the stamp of a figure which is now indistinguishable, but the legend *śrī-Yuddhāsura* underneath, is fairly distinct. The record contains 16 lines, each plate bearing 8 lines. Under the eighth line the word *svahastēna* is inscribed, but this word occurs in its proper place in line 11. On the margin of the second plate there appear to be 3 figures and 2 letters (probably after-additions) engraved one under the other, which I read as 553 *shāra*,[2] meaning apparently 'the year 553.'

The characters of the record belong to the northern class of alphabets. The engraving is well done throughout. The average size of letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The orthographical peculiarities worth notice are:—(1) the doubling of the letter with a *rēpha* on, as in *vistīrṇṇā* (l. 1 f.); but this is not uniform as in *-Durgarājā* (l. 2) *ga* has not been doubled; (2) the two different ways in which the vowel sign of *ē* has been expressed as in *Rāshṭrakūṭānvayē* (l. 1 f.) of which the *ē* of *yē* is formed by attaching the sign to the letter instead of superscribing it as in *grāmē* (l. 9); (3) the letter *t* has been doubled before *r* in *sagōttrāya* (l. 6) and *puttrāya* (l. 7) and *dh* before *y* in *Māddhyandina-*, l. 7; (4) the sign of *ā* attached to the letters *j* and *ṭ* is represented by an upward stroke, instead of a downward one, as in *jā* of *-Durgarājā* (l. 2) and in *ṭā* of *Muṇḍibhaṭṭāya* (l. 7); (5) *b* is not distinguished from *v* as in *-vrahmaṇya* (l. 5). Final form of *t* occurs in line 2.

The language is Sanskrit, but the record seems to have been composed by a clerk who did not properly remember the *ślōkas* in praise of the dynasty mentioned in the plates. He therefore introduced prose, maintaining the sense, if not the original wording which, if correctly put in, would have turned the first 6 lines into verse. At present, they are a mixture of verse and prose.

[1] See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII. p. 230, *et seq.*

[2] This word seems to have some connection with the Hindi word *sāla* 'year,' unless it is a mistake for *Śaka*. [As will be seen from the accompanying photo.-lithograph the first two figures look very much like the English numeral 5. *Shāra* is probably meant for Shāka.—V. V.]

Commencing with *vistīrṇṇē* in line 1 to *-Durgarājā(jō) nṛipaḥ* in line 2 there is the first half of a *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* verse, the other half of which may be completed from the Multāī plates, where it is given in full.[1] Again in line 4 f. we find a quarter of the same kind of verse beginning with *dānārdrīkṛita* and ending with *dvipēndrāyitaṁ*. In line 6 we again find a quarter of a *Vasantatilaka* verse beginning with *śrī-Nannarāja* and ending with *-chand[r*]aḥ*. All the rest is prose except a benedictive quotation in line 12. It is again the first half of a verse incorrectly quoted, other words of similar meaning having been inserted for words forgotten, thereby affecting the metre. It appears to me that the record being a business matter, no great attention was paid to formal portions which were copied from memory in the office of the record-keeper, wherewith synonymous words were sometimes substituted for the original ones without any consideration for metre.[2]

The inscription refers itself to the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of which four kings are mentioned. It records a grant of land in the villages Tivērēkhēṭa and Ghūikhēṭā situated on the south bank of the Amvēviaraka-*nadī*, to one Muṇḍibhaṭṭa, son of Svāmibhaṭṭa, a Mādhyandina Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*, by king Nannarāja[3] (Nandarāja ?). The grant was made on two occasions, *viz.* on the Mahākārttikī day and on a solar-eclipse, the latter at the Kapilā-*tīrtha*. Apparently the Rāja went to bathe there and made the gift, as did his two principal officers, Gōvinda in charge of religious affairs and Narasiṁgha (Narasiṁha) the minister for peace and war, who gave away 10 *nivartanas* (of land) of Karañjamalaya on the eastern bank of the Sārasavāhalā and the Darbhavāhalā. The charter was afterwards issued from Achalapura and is dated in the Śaka year 553 increased by eight months, *i.e.* in the month of Kārttika as specified in the text. The date corresponds to October 631 A.D.

It does not, however, appear that there was a solar-eclipse in the month of Kārttika. Mr. Gōkul Prasād Īśwardās (now Tahsīldār of Hōshaṅgābād) informs me that there was a solar eclipse in the expired Śaka year 553 on the *amāvāsyā* of Māgha (27th January, 632 A.D.) *i.e.* after our charter was given away. But the solar-eclipse referred to must have occurred prior to the date of the issue of the charter. In the Śaka year 553 current, there were two eclipses, a total one in the month of Śrāvaṇa on the 13th August 630 A.D. and an annular one in the month of Māgha on 7th February 631 A.D. The total eclipse having occurred at night was not visible, but the annular one was, as it occurred 17 minutes after sunrise. The former took place on a Monday and the latter on a Thursday. Thus while a grant made on an *amāvāsyā* falling on Monday (*sōmavatī*) coupled with a total eclipse would be more meritorious than that made on a Thursday with an annular eclipse, it is possible that the visibility of the latter may have counterbalanced other considerations and invested it with greater importance. So the greater likelihood is that the grant was made on the 7th February 631 A.D. And this date falls much nearer the date of the issue of the charter than the other.

With regard to the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, this record does not throw any additional light on what is known from the Multāī plates. It gives the same information (in rather a vague form on account of its defective composition) as the Multāī record, mentioning Durgarāja as the original ancestor, whose son was Gōvindarāja, from whom was born Svāmikarāja, whose son was Nannarāja (Nandarāja), whose second name Yuddhāsura occurs on the seal. Our charter is, however, very important from one point of view. In the Multāī plates no less than five villages are mentioned, *viz.* the village granted with four others which bounded it on its

[1] See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 234.

[2] [The text is so full of mistakes that the exact sense of the original is not apparent in several cases. For instance the part played by Śaṁragaṇa (if it has to be taken as a proper name) in line 9, is obscure. No attempt is therefore made to correct the text.—V. V.]

[3] In the Multāī plates the name of the king is *Nandarāja*. The name *Nanna* in the Rāshṭrakūṭa family is also known from later times. A grant of Śaṅkaragaṇa, the son of Nanna, the son of Kakkarāja, dated Śaka 715, has been published above, Vol. IX, pp. 193 ff.

four sides. None of these has been as yet identified. Dr. Fleet writing in 1889 remarked :—'Mr. Ommanney reported that neither have the villages mentioned any resemblance in name to any in the Multāi District nor could he discover any at all like them at Hōshaṅgābād or Jabalpur. It is therefore not even certain that the grant really belongs to the locality in which the holders of it have resided for so long a time. All that can be said on this point is that the characters show that it belongs to some part of Central India, or of the Central Provinces.[1] On 30th July 1909 Dr. Fleet wrote to me, 'It would be a valuable bit of work if you can locate this record. It is important to decide by identification of places, what locality it does belong to, because it has a bearing on three leading matters :—(a) the origin of that branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas which had the Garuḍa crest; (b) the northern or southern use of the Śaka era; (c) the origin of that particular type of Nāgarī. It is almost impossible that all these 5 villages should have ceased to exist. But though some years ago I closely examined many sheets of the Indian Atlas I could not locate them. All the probabilities are that this record belongs to the south of the Narbadā. I have practically satisfied myself that the places do not exist in Gujarāt and Khāndēsh.' Although it has not been possible for me to locate with anything like certainty the villages of the Multāi plates, our present charter has come to light as if to solve the difficulty which antiquarians have felt for the last twenty years or for the matter of that for three quarters of a century calculating from the date of the first discovery of the Multāi plates. The fact of the Rāshṭrakūṭa domination on the Multāi plateau is now once for all fully established inasmuch as our plates were found in the very village where Nannarāja granted lands to Muṇḍibhaṭṭa. **Tivērēkhēṭa** of the inscription is undoubtedly the present **Tiwarkhēḍ** and the **Amvēviaraka**-*nadī* the **Ambhōrā**-*nadī* on whose south bank the present village is still situated. As noted above, the engraver has made no difference between *b* and *v*. The real name of the river appears to have been Ambēviara, *ka* being a pedantic addition to make it sound like Sanskrit. According to the record **Ghūikhēṭa** should also be somewhere near the Ambhōrā-nadī, but it is untraceable now. There is one **Ghūikhēḍ**, about 40 miles south of Tiwarkhēḍ in the Chāndūr tāluk of the Amraoti District of Berār, but I do not find the river running to it. About 55 miles from Tiwarkhēḍ lies the town of Ellichpur (commonly pronounced Elachpur or Alachpur) which I take to be the corrupted form of **Achalapura** from whence our charter purports to have been issued. Ellichpur is a well known historical[2] place and was the headquarters of a district until 1905. The transposition of letters *cha* and *la* in *Achalapura* to *Alachapura* is of the same category which changed the old name of Benares from *Vāṇārasī* to *Vārāṇasī*.[3] Even at the present day we often hear *Lakhnau* pronounced as *Nakhlau* and *matlab* as *matbal*. In the Nirvāṇa-kāṇḍa of a Prākṛit work of the Jains there is mention of Achalapura as follows :—

Achchalapuravaraṇiyaḍē īsāṇaibhāya-Mēḍhigirisiharē
āhuṭṭhayakōḍīō ṇivvāṇagayā ṇamō tēsiṁ.

'On the summit of Mēḍhigiri near the good town of Achchalapura towards north-east (of it) three and a half crores (of saints) obtained salvation. I bow down to them.'

This Mēḍhigiri or Meṇḍhagiri is now better known as Muktāgiri,[4] a hillock on which several Jain temples are constructed, which contain idols dated in the 14th century A.D. It is only

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230-231.

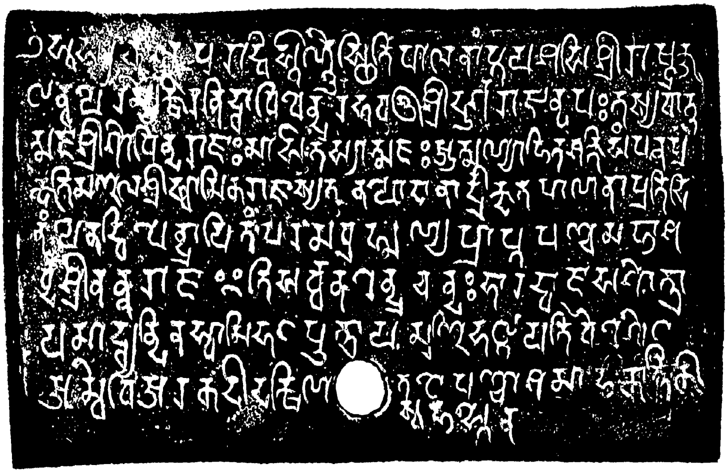
[2] **Chammak**, the old Charmāṅka, which was granted by a Vākāṭaka king is only 6 miles from Ellichpur; see *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 236.

[3] In the Nirvāṇa-kāṇḍa, a manuscript preserved in the Deccan College Library at Poona, the name of Benares appears as *Vāṇārasī*, whereas latterly elsewhere we have it as *Vārāṇasī*.

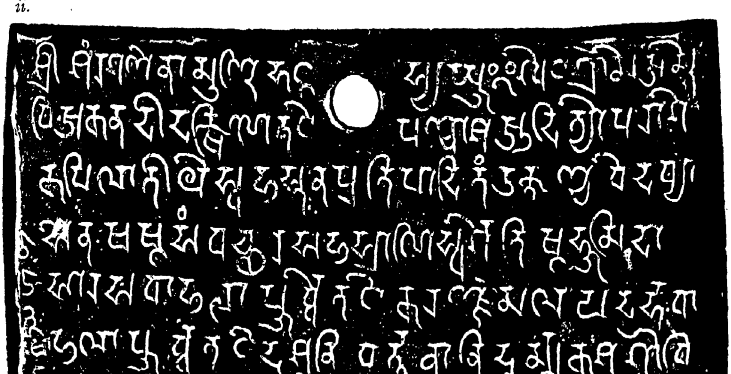
A modern recorded example of similar transposition may be seen in Mr. R. Hughes Buller's Census Report of Baluchistan for 1901 where on p. 99 he says: "The Mengāls, Bizanjos and Zahris, the three largest of the Brahui tribes are termed *Jadgāl* or *Jagdāl*."

[4] See *Betul District Gazetteer* (1907), p. 249.

Tiwarkhed Plates of the Rashtrakuta Nannaraja ; Saka 553.



ii.



V. VENKAYYA. FULL-SIZE. W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., PHOTO-LITH.

6 miles north-east of Ellichpur and is classed as a *Siddha-kshētra* by the Jainas. It is visited by the pilgrims of that community from all parts of India. In the Śrēṇikā-Purāṇa[1] of the Jainas the name of the town again appears without transposition of letters. These references not only prove the identity but indicate that Ellichpur was an important place in olden days and that the Rāshṭrakūṭas had made it the head-quarters of a province if not their capital which is believed to have been at Mālkhēḍ further south. The old name Achalapura was apparently given to Ellichpur with a certain meaning, as the latter is situated just at the foot of the Satpura Hills (*achala*). With regard to other places mentioned in the inscription, the **Sārasavāhalā** and **Darbhavāhalā** appear to have been streamlets which I have been unable to identify. It is not clear what **Karañjamalaya** was. It may have been a village, in which case it may be identified with one of the numerous Kāranjās in Berār. If it was a forest of *karañja* or *kañji* trees (*Pongamia glabra*) or a field having *karañja* trees, it would now be very difficult to identify with certainty even if we came upon a forest or field having these trees.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Oṁ[2] [||*] Svasty=**Acha[la]pur[ā]d**=[||*] Vist[ī]rṇṇē sthiti-pālan-āpta-yaśasi śrī-**Rāshṭrakū-**

2 **ṭ**-ānvayē ramyē kshira-niddhā(dhā)v=iv=ēndur=abhavat śrī-**Durgarājā(jō)** nṛipaḥ tasyavātta-[3]

3 tmaja[ḥ*] śrī-**Gōvindarājaḥ** māsī[4] tasy-ātmajaḥ ātmaṇ(n)y=āhita-śakt[i]-sampana[5]-pra-

4 kṛiti-maṇḍala-śrī-**Svāmikarāja**[s=ta*]sya tanayō dānārdrīkṛita-pāṇa(ṇi)nā pratidi-

5 naṁ yēna dvipēndrāyitaṁ parama-vra(bra)hmaṇya[ḥ*] prāpta-pañcha-mahāśa-

6 v(b)da[ḥ*] śrī-**Nannarāja** iti sarvva-narēndra-chand[r*]aḥ Bhāradvāja-sagōttrā-

7 ya Māddhyandina-Svāmibhaṭa[6]-puttrāya Muṇḍibhaṭṭāya **Tivērēkhēṭa**

8 **Amvēviaraka**-[na*]dī-dakshiṇa-taṭē pañchāśa **Māhakārttiki**[7] (svahastēna[8])

Second Plate.

9 śrī-**Śaṁragaṇēnā**[9] Muṇḍibhaṭṭasya **Ghūikhēṭa**[10]-grāmē **A[mvē]-**

10 **via[ra*]ka**-nadī-dakshiṇē taṭē pañchāśa ādityōparāgē

11 **Kapilā-tī[rthē]** svahasta(stē)na pratipāditaṁ [||*] Uktañ=cha **Vēda-Vyā-**

12 sēna [||*] Shashṭa saṁvachchhara[11]-sahasrāṇi svargē tishṭa bhūmidā[12]

13 **Sārasavāhalā**-pūrvvē taṭē **Karañjamalaya** **Darbhavā-**

14 **halā**-pūrvva-taṭē daśa-ṅivarttanāni ddharmmakaśa[13] **Gōvi-**

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1 [*Śrēṇikāpurāṇa* is the name of a work by Śubhachandra preserved in the Deccan College Library at Poona.—V. V.]

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Read *tasy=aiv=ā-*.

4 Read *āsīt*.

5 Read *-sampanna-*.

6 Read *-bhaṭṭa-*.

7 Probably *Mahākārttikyām*.

8 The word *svahastena* has been added under the line and probably applies to the correction which is made at the end of this line. The syllables *māhakārttiki* are entered over an erasure.

9 Probably *Śaṁkaragaṇēna*.

10 [On the impression and on the plate the reading seems to be °*khēṭha*°.—V.V.]

11 Read *shashṭiṁ varsha*°.

12 Read *tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ*.

13 Read *dharmakaśa* or *dharmāṅkuśa*.

15 **nda**-mahāsandhivigraha-Narasiṁgha[1]-sahitā[2] || Śaka-kāla-saṁvachchha(tsa)ra-

16 śatēshu pa[ṁ]cha[su*] [tra]ya[ḥ*]-paṁchāśa-varshādhikēshu ashṭamāśābhyatikēshu.[3]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! Hail! From **Achalapura**. In the widely spread (and) pleasing glorious **Rāshṭrakūṭa** lineage, which has acquired reputation by the preservation of stability there was (born) a king, the illustrious **Durgarāja**, just as in the (broad and charming) ocean of milk (was produced the moon). His own son was the illustrious **Gōvindarāja**. His son was the illustrious **Svāmikarāja**, possessed of a host of subjects acquired by self-centred prowess. His son, who resembles the lord of elephants in having his hand moistened (with the water poured) at donations (*dāna*) while the elephant has the trunk wet with the rutty juice (*dāna*),[4] (is) called the illustrious **Nannarāja**, who is most kind to the Brāhmaṇas, who has attained the five great sounds and who is the moon amongst all the kings.

To **Muṇḍibhaṭṭa**, son of Svāmibhaṭṭa, of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* (and) the Mādhyandina-(*śākhā*), fifty (*nivartanas*[5] *of land*) in **Tivērēkhēṭa** (*village*) on the south bank of the **Amvēviaraka** river (were given) through the illustrious Śaṁ[ka]ragaṇa on the **Mahākārttikī** (*day*). To (the same) **Muṇḍibhaṭṭa** were given by our own hand at the **Kapilā**-*tīrtha*, fifty (*nivartanas of land*) in the **Ghūikhēṭa** village on the south bank of the **Amvēviaraka** river, on (the occasion of) a solar eclipse.

And it has been said by (Vyāsa) the arranger of the Vedas :—The giver of land dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years.

Ten *nivartanas* (of land) on the east bank of **Sārasavāhalā** (and) on the east bank of **Darbhavāhalā** of **Karañjamalaya** (were given) (*perhaps to the same donee*) jointly by the **Superintendent** of religious affairs (*dharmakaśa*) **Gōvinda** and the Great Minister for peace and war (*mahāsandhivigrahin*) **Narasiṁha**.

In five centuries of years increased by fifty-three years (and) also increased by eight months of the Śaka era.

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[1] Read -*Narasiṁha*-. [2] Read -*sahitaṁ*. [3] Read -*māsābhyadhikēshu*.

[4] I am indebted to Mr. Venkayya for drawing my attention to the pun on the word *dāna* in this sentence.

[5] *Nivartana* is a land-measure which the dictionaries give as equivalent to 20 *rods*. The word occurs in a commentary on *ślōka* 21, chapter 140 of the Śāntiparvan in the Mahābhārata *yaḥ kīnāśaḥ śataṁ nivartanānī bhūmēḥ karshati tēna vishṭirūpēṇa rājakīyam api nivartanadaśakaṁ karshaṇīyaṁ srīyavad rakshaṇīyaṁ cha*. From enquiries which I personally made in Berar, I came across some old men both of the literate and the illiterate class who told me that in their younger days, about 50 years ago, a land-measure called *netana* equal to 9 *bighas* was in use, and that 13 *netanas* made a *chāhur* which is still in use and is equal to 120 *bīghas*. In Berar a *bigha* is 2,670 sq. yds. A *netana* would, therefore, be equal to 2,670 × 9 or 24,030 sq. yds., a little less than 5 acres or 20 *rods* which contain 24,200 sq. yds. Taken with reference to a *chāhur* of 120 *bighas* a *netana* would be equal to $9\frac{3}{13}$ *bighas* or 24,646 sq. yds., *i.e.* slightly in excess of 5 acres. In popular calculations such complex fractions as $\frac{3}{13}$ are often neglected and it seems to me that the real value of a *netana* was somewhere midway between 9 and $9\frac{3}{13}$ *bighas* and this would be 5 acres or 20 *rods*. I therefore feel no hesitation in holding that *netana* is a corruption of the old *nivartana*. In the *sannads* in possession of the Berar jāgirdars *netana* occurs as a land-measure. That the use of the *netana*-measure was much prevalent in the Deccan may be inferred from the Gadvāl plates of Vikramāditya I. of A.D. 674 (about the same period as our grant); above, Vol. X, pp. 102 to 106.

No. 28.—THE PARIKUD PLATES OF MADHYAMARAJADEVA;

BY R. D. BANERJI, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

The plates bearing the subjoined inscription were sent in 1906 to the late Dr. Theodor Bloch, then Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, by Mr. J. R. Blackwood, I.C.S., Magistrate of the Puri District of Bengal. They were handed over to me by Dr. Bloch in 1908 for decipherment. I finished my article early in 1909 and gave the paper to Dr. Bloch; but he fell ill after looking through the transcript of the first plate and never recovered sufficiently so as to be able to finish it. The plates were not presented to the Indian Museum and consequently there is no record of them in that office. I had only heard from Dr. Bloch that they had come from **Pārikud** in the Puri District.[1] When I was touring in that district for collecting specimens for the Indian Museum, in September 1910, I learnt from Mr. J. Clarke, I.C.S., the then Magistrate, that the plates belonged to the Rāja of Pārikud, who had no intention of presenting them to the Museum. The plates will, accordingly, be sent back to the Rāja after publication. I am obliged to Mr. Clarke for the following information about the plates. The name of the present owner is Śrī-Gaurachandra-Mānasinha Hari-chandana Mardarāja Bhramaravara Rāya, Rāja Bahādur of Pārikud. The Rāja is not able to trace which of his ancestors first secured the plates and from what source they were received, nor is he able to state the locality in which they were discovered. The plates used to be preserved in his record room. Mr. Clarke kindly procured for me the genealogical tree of the Pārikud family, but I find that none of the kings mentioned in the subjoined inscription could be traced in the copy sent to me, though I heard from Mr. Clarke that the Rājas of Pārikud claim to have been descended from the kings mentioned in the copper-plate record.

The inscription is incised on three thin plates of copper, measuring $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ and held together by a circular ring of the same metal whose diameter is roughly $3\frac{1}{8}''$. To this ring was affixed a seal of some other metal, presumably brass (?), of which, however, there remains only a mutilated part and the solid base in which the edges of the ring are fixed. The last of the plates is broken in the right upper corner, while the first shows a slit from the ring-hole to the edge, as in the case of the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman.[2] This record which has been engraved on the second side of the first plate, and on both sides of the other two plates has already appeared in the *Vaṅgīya-Sāhitya-Parishad-Patrikā*.[3] It refers itself to the reign of **Madhyamarājadēva** of the **Śailōdbhava** family who ruled in the **Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala**. The language of the grant is very incorrect **Sanskrit** and the record has been very carelessly incised. Doubling of consonants has been avoided, and almost invariably letters are left out at the ends of words. There is one incorrectly spelt word in the inscription, which is quite unintelligible to me. It is *viśrakē* in l. 49.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village in the **Kaṭakabhukti-vishaya** to twelve Brāhmaṇas, *viz.* Śilasvāmi, Gōvardhanasvāmi, Vandhusvāmi, Kavaḍisvāmi, Nārāyaṇasvāmi, Mādhavasvāmi, Bharaṇisvāmi, Durgasvāmi, Ādityasvāmi, Rudrasvāmi, Śiva-svāmi and Sukhasvāmi.

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1 [It may be noted that these plates were sent to the office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, in 1906 by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar while the latter was the acting Archæological Surveyor of the Bengal Circle. The plates were returned to Mr. Bhandarkar with a set of ink-impressions for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica* (*vide* Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Appendix A, No. 8). The accompanying photo-lithographic plate is prepared from the impressions supplied by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent's office (Madras).—V. V.]

2 Above, Volume III, p. 41 f.

3 Volume XVI, p. 193.

The inscription supplies the new word *tīmmira* which is not found in published copper-plates, in the phrase *dvādaśa-tīmmira-pramāṇa*, l. 44. Perhaps "*timira*" is the correct spelling. The new verses of the inscription, which are not found in the Buguḍa plates, contain nothing of importance. I could only infer from them that the kingdom of Madhyamarāja contained all sorts of hermits (vv. 12 and 13). There is no mention of the doings of the king. We may gather, however, that he was a man of great strength (v. 17), a capable archer comparable to the son of Pṛithā (*i.e.* Arjuna) (v. 16) and an ardent devotee of Śiva (vv. 14 and 15). The inscription is dated twice: 1st, in the regnal year twenty-six: **shaḍ-viṁśatimē vijaya-varddhamāna-rājyē** (l. 45) and again at the end, in an era which has not been specified.[1] The letters on the third plate have suffered very much from corrosion and the numerals of the date have become very indistinct. I find on prolonged examination that the numerals are 80, 8, but Messrs. Venkayya and Krishna Sastri to whom the paper was first submitted are of opinion that nothing whatever can be discovered. If my reading of the date be correct, I would refer it to the Harsha era, though no instance of the use of this era has so far been found in Orissa.[2] If my views be correct, the date of the grant would be 88 + 606 = 694 A.D.

Up to this date three inscriptions of the **Śailōdbhava** dynasty of the **Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala** have been published:—The Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman;[3] (2) the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja,[4] and (3) the Khurda plates of Mādhavarāja.[5]

The first part of the inscription on the Pārikud plates is in verse, like that of the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman, and the first nine verses of both are identical. The tenth verse of the Buguḍa grant is not to be found in this record and the eleventh verse of that record appears as the tenth of the Pārikud inscription. The Buguḍa grant furnishes the genealogy of the family from Raṇabhīta to Sainyabhīta, while the Pārikud grant carries the genealogy two generations further.

The following tables show the genealogy according to the Buguḍa and Pārikud grants:—

Buguḍa plates.

Śailōdbhava
(*in his family*)
Raṇabhīta
|
Sainyabhīta I.
(*in his family*)
|
Yaśōbhīta
|
Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta II.

Pārikud plates.

Śailōdbhava
(*in his family*)
|
Raṇabhīta
|
Sainyabhīta I.
(*in his family*)
|
Yaśōbhīta I.
|
Sainyabhīta II.
|
Yaśōbhīta II.
|
Madhyamarāja.

[1] [From the accompanying photo-lithographic plate it will be clear that the date is here very badly damaged. What is seen is a circle which may denote 20. It is just possible that the regnal year of the king is simply repeated in numerical symbols preceded probably by the word *saṁvatsarē*.—V. V.]

[2] It may have been imported from Northern India as was the Gupta era in the case of the date of the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅka; above Vol. VI, p. 143. [Palæography is hardly in favour of this early date. Professor Kielhorn thought that the Buguḍa plates, which are earlier, may belong to the 10th century; see above, Vol. VII, p. 102.—S. K.]

[3] Above, Vol. III, pp. 41 ff. and Vol. VII, pp. 100 ff. and plate.

[4] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

[5] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXIII, Pt. I, 1904, pp. 282 ff.

The Khurda and Ganjam plates mention three generations only:—

Khurda plates.	*Ganjam plates.*
Sainyabhita	Mādhavarāja.
|	|
Yaśōbhīta	Yaśōbhita
|	|
Mādhavarāja	Mādhavarāja II.
	(619-20 A.D.)

Both of these plates, like the Buguḍa and Pārikud grants, were issued from the Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala and the similarity in names as well as the name Sainyabhita found on the seals of the Buguḍa, Ganjam and Khurda grants leads one to believe that Mādhava was the surname of both Yaśōbhīta's father and son. But the characters of the Ganjam and Khurda grants are much older than those of the Buguḍa and Pārikud plates. It may be that the former were written in the current alphabet of North Eastern India while in the latter the alphabet prevalent in the Northern Circars, was used.[1] If the four grants be held to belong to the same country, then it may be affirmed with some degree of certainty that the Sainyabhita of the Khurda grant is the same as the Sainyabhita I of the Buguḍa and Pārikud grants. As Yaśōbhita is a common factor, we have to admit that Sainyabhita II. is the same person as Mādhavarāja of the Khurda and Ganjam plates.

It is not certain whether Yaśōbhita II. and Madhyamarāja are different persons. When the late Professor Kielhorn published the Buguḍa grant for the first time, he was of opinion that Mādhavavarman was a son of Sainyabhita II.[2] Dr. Hultzsch, in his paper on the Ganjam grant of the time of Śaśāṅkadēva,[3] pointed out that Sainyabhita was probably a surname of Mādhavavarman, and this view was subsequently also adopted by Professor Kielhorn.[4] A similar case occurs in this inscription also. In the metrical portion of this inscription, there is nothing to show that there was any relationship whatsoever between Yaśōbhita II. and Madhyamarājadēva. In ordinary circumstances and on the analogy of the Buguḍa inscription, it may be assumed that Madhyamarāja is a *biruda* of Yaśōbhita II, but there is one small phrase, the import of which, though very weak, yet may prove that king Madhyamarāja was a son of Yaśōbhita II. This is the phrase in the 27th line:—*Madhyamarājadēva-guṇa-dhṛid-rājyaṁ pituḥ prāptavān.* The word *pituḥ* may refer to Yaśōbhita II.

The inscription records the grant of a village in the **Kaṭakabhukti-vishaya.** As the king addresses the officers of the **Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala,** it is apparent that the village was situated in that district. The identity of **Kōṅgōda** with **Kong-u-t'o is,** perhaps, well known.[5] Very little can be added to Dr. Kielhorn's remarks about the characters of these inscriptions in his note on the Buguḍa plates.[6] The king **Madhyamarāja** had performed the *vājapēya* and *aśvamēdha* sacrifices (ll. 38-39). He was a devout worshipper of Śiva and the fact that he performed the *aśvamēdha* sacrifice shows that he claimed the rank of a supreme monarch (*chakravartin*).

[1] [It is difficult to follow Mr. Banerji when he says that the alphabet of the Ganjam and Khurda plates is uch older than that of the Buguḍa and Pārikud plates and at the same time asserts they may be local varieties urrent simultaneously.—V. V.]

[2] Above, Vol. III, p. 42.

[3] Above, Vol. VI, p. 136.

[4] Above, Vol. VII, p. 100.

[5] Above, Vol. VI, p. 144.

[6] Above, Vol. VII, p. 101.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 Ōm[2] svasti [||*] Indōr=ddhauta-mṛiṇāla-tantubhir=iva ślishṭāḥ karai[ḥ*] kōmalai[r=va] (r=ba)ddh-āhēr=aruṇ[ai][ḥ*] sphurat-pha-

2 ṇi-maṇair=digdha-prabhā[ś]ō-ṅśubhi[ḥ][3] [|*] Pārvvatyā[s*] sa-kacha-graha-vyatikara-vy[ā]vṛi[t*]ta-va(ba)ndha-ślathā Gaṅg-āmbha[ḥ*]-pluti-

3 bhi[n*]na-bhasma-kaṇikā[ḥ*] Śambhōr=jaṭā[ḥ*] pāntu va[ḥ*] [|] [1*] Śrīmān=n[ch*]chair=nabhastō gurur=Achala-patē[ḥ*] kshōbhaj[i]d=ya[ḥ*]

4 kshamāyā [4]gambhīrāmbhīya-rāśēr=atha divasakarā[d]=bhāsvad-ālōkakārī [|*] hlādī [sa]rvvasya ch=ē[ndōs]=tri-

5 bhuvana-bhavana-prērakaś=ch=āpi vāyō rājā sa Sthāṇu(ṇu)mu(mū)rtti[r*]=jayati Kali-mala-kshālanō Mā[dha]-

6 vēndra[ḥ*] [|] [2*] Prāṅśur[5]=mmahēbha-kara-pīvara-chāru-vā(bā)hu[ḥ*] kṛishṇ-āśma-saṁchaya-vibhēda-viśāla-vaksh[āḥ] [|*] rāji[va]-

7 k[ō]mala-dal-āyata-lōchanānta[ḥ*] khyāta[ḥ*] Kaliṅga-janatāsu Pulindasēna[ḥ*] | [3*] Tēn=ē[t*]thaṁ

8 guṇin=āpi sa[t*]tva-mahatā nyashṭaṁ(n=ēshṭaṁ) bhū(bhu)vō mma(ma)ṇḍalaṁ śaktō yaḥ paripālanāya jagata[ḥ*] kō nā-

9 ma sa syād=iti | pratyādish[ṭ]a-vibh-ūtsavēna bhagavān=ārādhita[ś*]=śāśvataṁ |[6] s=ta[ch*]-chi[t*]t-ānuguṇaṁ

10 v[i]dhitsur=adiśā(śa)d=vāñchhā[ṁ*] Svayambhūr=api | [4*] Sa śilā-[sa](śa)kal-ōdbhēdī tēn=āpy=ālōkya dh[ī]ma-

11 ta(tā) | parikalpita-sad-vaṅśai-prabhū[ś][7]=Śailōdbhava[ḥ*] kṛita[ḥ*] || [5*] Śailōdbhavasya kulaj[ō] Raṇa-

12 bhīta āsīd=ya(yē)[n=ā]sakṛi[t*] [kṛi]tabhiyā[ṁ] dvishaḍ-aṅganānāṁ [|*] jyōts[n]ā-[pra]vō(bō)dha-sama-

Second Plate; First Side.

13 yē sva-dhiy=[ai]va sārdham=ākampitō nayana-pa[k]shma-ja[l]ēshu chandra[ḥ*] [|| 6*] Tasy=[ā]bhavad=v[i]vu(bu)dhapā[la]-samas[ya sū]-

14 [nu][ḥ*] śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhūmipatir=ggarīyā[n*] [|*] yaṁ prāpya [nai]-ka-śata-nāga-ghaṭā-vigha[ṭṭ]a-laddha(bdha)-pras[ā]da-

15 vijaya[ṁ*] mumudē dharittri(trī) [|| 7*] Tasy=āpi [8]vaṅśē=tha yathā[rtha-nāmā] jātā(tō) Yaśōbhīta iti kshiti(tī)śa[ḥ*][|*] yēna prarū-

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[1] From the original plates and from a set of impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist. [The text was revised by Mr. Krishna Sastri when he was officiating as Government Epigraphist for two months in 1911.—V.V.]

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read *-maṇēr=digdha-prabhāsō-ṁśubhiḥ.*

[4] Read *gambhīrō=mbhīya-rāśēr=. Ambhīyarāśi* as a synonym for *ambhōrāśi,* is peculiar. The Bugaḍa plates use the word *tōyarāśi.*

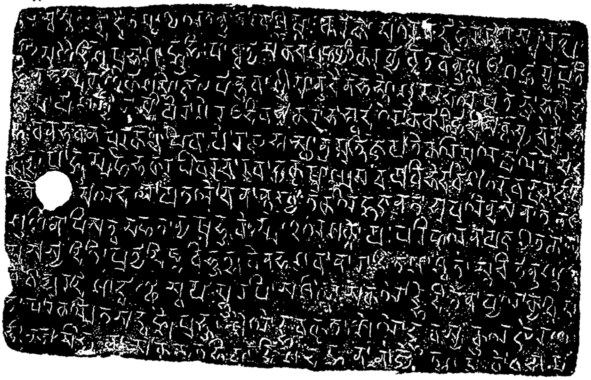
[5] Read *prāṁśur=.*

[6] This mark of punctuation is superfluous. Read *śāśvatas=* as in the Buguḍa plates.

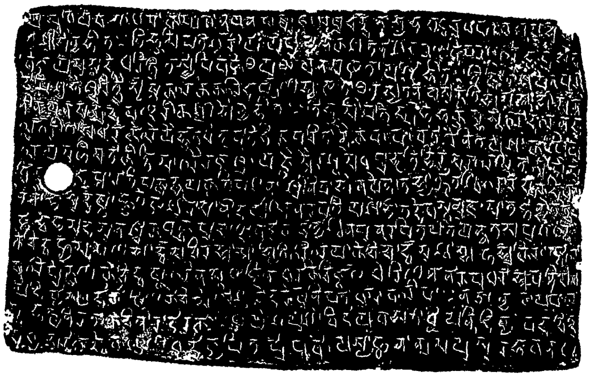
[7] Read *-vaṁśaḥ.* A superfluous mark of punctuation is inserted after the syllable *bhū.*

[8] Read *vaṁśē=.*

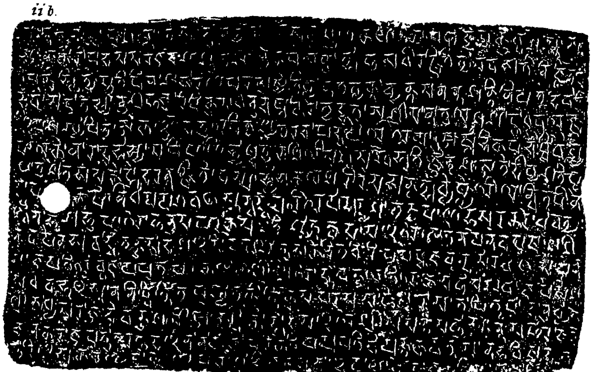
i.



ii a.



ii b.

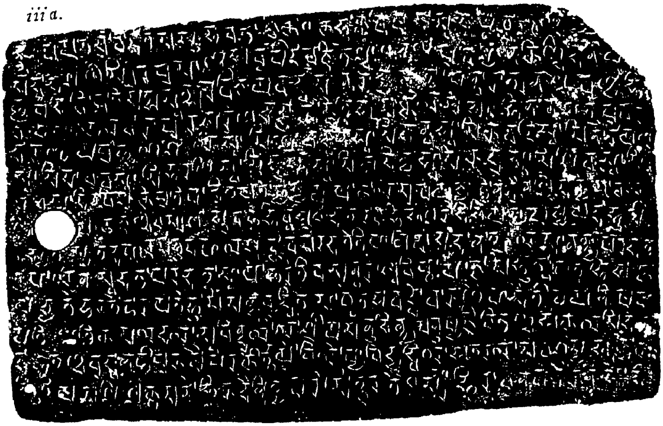


V. VENKAYYA.

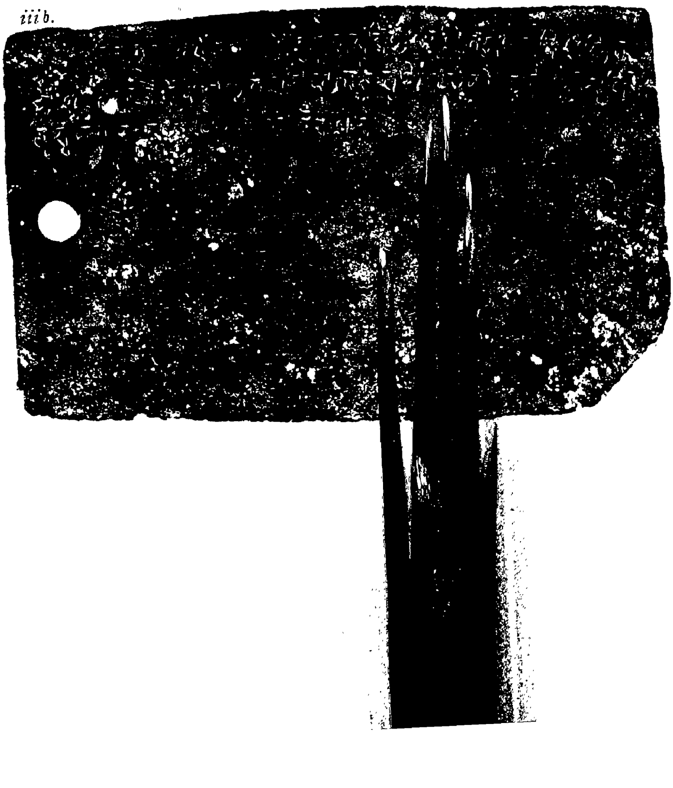
SCALE ·8

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iii a.



iii b.



16 ḍhō=pi śubhaiś=charittrair=mrishṭa[ḥ*] kalaṁka[ḥ*] Kalidarppaṇasya | [8*] Jātō=tha tasya tanaya[s*]=sukṛiti(tī) samasta-sīmanti(nti)-

17 nī-nayana-shaṭpada-puṇḍarīka[ḥ*] [|*] śrī-**Sainyabhīta** iti bhūmī(mi)-patir=mmahēbha-kumbha-sta(stha)lī-dalana-d[u]-

18 rllali(li)t-āsidhāra[ḥ*] [|| 9*] Kālēyair=bhūta-dhātṛi(trī)-patibhir=upachit-ānai(nē)ka-pāp-âva[t]ārai[r*]=ni(nī)ta(tā) yēśā(shā)ṁ ka[th=ā]pi pra-

19 layam=abhimatā kī[r]tti-sā(pā)lair=ajaśra(sra)[ṁ] | yajñais=tair=Aśvamēdha-prabhṛitibhir=amarā lambhitās=[tr]i(tri)ptim=u-

20 rvvi(rvī)[m=uddṛi]pt-ārāti-paksha-kshaya-kṛiti-paṭunā **Śrīnivāsēna** yēna | [10*] Tasy=ōtkhāt-ākhil-ārē[r]=mmarud=iva a-

21 vanau(?) bhāsvad-ushṇāṅśu-tējā[1] śi(śū)rō mānī dayālu[r*]=narapati[shu*] **Yaśōbhīta**-dēvas=tanūja[ḥ*] | mātaṅgān=yō=tī(ti)tu-

22 ṅgā[n]=va(ba)ha[la*]-madamuchaś=chāru-vaktra-prachaṇḍaḥ va(ba)dvā(ddhvā)[2] karshaty=a[ś]vēna punar=api tapatē ya[n]-nata[s*]=sa pragalbha[ḥ*] [|| 11*]

23 Kē chid=vahnya(nya)-mṛigēṇa sārddham=achi(cha?)raṁs=tās=tā sthiti(tī) li(lī)layā kē chi[ch*]=ch=[ō]rddh[v*]a-mukhās=sahasra-kiraṇa-jvāl-ā-

24 vali-prēkshaṇa(ṇā)[ḥ*] [|*] kē chid=vashka(lka)linas=tath=ājina-dharā[ḥ*] kē chirj=ja(j=ja)ṭā-dhāriṇā(ṇō) [n]ānā-ru(rū)pa-dharās=tapanti yati-

25 pā divy-āspa[d]-ā[k]ā[ṅ]kshiṇa[ḥ*] [|| 12*] Kē chit=selā[3]-guh-ōdarēshu niyatā dhūmāvali-pāi(yi)na[ḥ*] anyē vāyu-phal-ā-

26 mvu(mbu)-bhaksha-niratā[ḥ kē] chi[n=nī](nni)rāhārakā[ḥ*] [|*] itha[4] yōga-yugō[5] vihāya vasatī dh[y]āyanti divyaṁ padaṁ chittraṁ

27 **Madhyamarājadēva**-guṇa-dhṛid=rājya[ṁ*] pitu[ḥ*] prāptavā[n*] | [13*] Yasy=āhva(hvā)nān=mama[d*]yu[s*]=sura-bhavana-ga-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

28 tā divya-sa[t*]tvā[ḥ*] pragalbhā[s*]= |[6] tai[s*]=sārddha[m*] nityakālaṁ sa(su)kṛi[ta*]-guṇa-kath-ālāpa-hṛidya(dyā)[ḥ*][7] prakurvva[n*] [|*] Śambhō[s*]=sa[ṁ]-

29 sthāna-kārī padam=amarajava[ḥ*] śāśvata[ṁ*] śānta-rūpaṁ lavdh(bdh)-ōtsāha[s*]=sa vīra[ḥ*] kshititala-vasatī(ti)ṁ nirjjit-ārā-

30 ti-paksha[ḥ*] [|| 14*] Sthity-upta(tpa)[t*]ti-[v]ināśa-kāraṇa-parama[8] jyō ⏑—vyāhata[ṁ*] vyakt-āvyaktam=ananta-śakti niyataṁ d[ē]vāti-

31 dēvō mahā[n*] [|*] tasy=ānugrahakāri-vikrama-dhanu[ś*]-chēshṭā[ṁ] karōty=adbhutā[ṁ*] sa śrīmān=atula[ś*]=Śaśāṅkā(ṅka)dhavala-kshō-

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[1] Read *-ushṇāṁśu-tējāś=*.

[2] It would suit the exigencies of metrical purposes if the two syllables *baddhvā* came after *=aśvēna* ; but purport would still be indefinite.

[3] Read *chich=chhaila-*.

[4] Read *itthaṁ*.

[5] Read *-yujō*.

[6] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[7] One would expect *hṛidya-sukṛita-guṇa-kath-ālāpān*.

[8] Read *paraṁ*. The missing syllables may be *s=svayaṁ*.

32 [ni](ṇī)-yaśa[ḥ*]-khyāpitā[ṁ*] [|| 15*] Ā karṇṇād=atula[ṁ*] vikṛiśya(shya) tara[sā*] chāpa-dvayair=līlayā ||[1] [a]shṭābhi[ḥ*] kapa(va)chair=vvivēshṭya

33 phalakō(kā)n=ārād=ubhābhyām=api [|*] pāṇibhyā[ṁ*]ś=chaturaḥ śili(lī)mukhai(kha)-mukhai[ḥ*] — — suti(tī)kshṇai[r*]=bhṛiśaḥ[2] jātō dī(di)vya-gati[ḥ*] Pṛi-

34 thā-tu-śata-sama[ḥ*][3] Kōṅgōda-ra[tna]-kshitō(tau)[|| 16*] Varmmā(rma)bhyāṁ sakala[ṁ*] śarīram=asakṛit=saṁvyē(vē)shṭyē(shṭya) līl-ānvitaṁ pīnē(nau)

35 dvō(dvau) purushō(shau) nidhāya yagavat[4] skandha-[dvayē] līlayā [|*] sadya[ś*] śāta-kṛipāṇa-bhāsura-karō dhāvaty=a-

36 khi[n*]nō bhṛiśa[ṁ*] bhūpālō Hanuma[t*]-parākrama iti khyāta[ḥ*] kshamā-maṇḍalē | [17*] Jātēna yēna vapushā śa[ś]i-

37 n=[ē]va yēna sa[ṁ]varddhitaṁ=kumuda-śa(sha)ṇḍam=iv=ātma-gōttra[ṁ*] [|*] saṁkōchitaṁ cha ripu-paṅkaja-vṛindam=ārādhāt[5] k[ō]pēna

38 [yō] jayati lavdha(bdha)-jaya-pratāpa[ḥ*][6] | [18*] Kaṭāt[7] śrī-Śailōdbhava-kula-tilakō mahā-makha-Vājapēy-Āśva-

39 mēdh-[ā]vabhṛithasnāna-nirvvi(rva)rttita-prakhyāta-kīrtti-krama[ḥ*] parama-māhē-śvarā(rō) mātā-pitṛi-pādānudhyāta[ḥ*]

40 śrī-[Ma]dhyamarājadēva[ḥ*] kuśa[lī] asmiṁ Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalē śrī-sāmanu[ta]-mahāsā[ma*]nta-mahārāja-rā-

41 ja(jā)naka-rājaputir-ā[ṁ]taraṅga-daṇḍanānāyak-[8]ōparika-vishayapati-[ta*]dāyu[k]taka-varttamāna-bhavishyad-v[y]ava-

42 hāriṇa[ḥ] sa-kāra(ru)ṇyaṁ vrā(brā)hmaṇa-purōgādi-[9] janapadāñ=cha yath-ārha[ṁ] mā[na]yati [bōdha]ya[ti ā]-

Third Plate; First Side.

43 jñāpayati cha [||*] viditam=astu bhavatā[ṁ] jñā(śrī ?)-Kaṭakabhukti-visha[ya*]-saṁva(mba)ddha-purvva-[kha]ṇḍa . . .

44 [mō] dvādaśa-[t]immira-pramāṇa[s*]=sarvva-pīḍā-varjitaś=chāṭa-bhaṭ-āpravēśy[ō] na kiñchid=anapa[ragrā*]-[10]

45 hya[ḥ*] shaḍ-viṅśatimē saṁvatsarē vijaya-varddhamāna-rājy[ē] mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhi[vṛi*]-

46 [d*]dhayē salila-dhārā-pura[s*]sarēṇa(ṇ=ā)-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālam=asmābhi[r*]=nānā-gōtra-pravara-

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[1] This sign of punctuation is superfluous. Read *chāpa-dvayaṁ.*

[2] Read *=bhṛiśaṁ.*

[3] This corrupt phrase is, perhaps, to be corrected into *Pṛithāsuta-samaḥ. Ratna-kshiti,* as applied to Kōṅgōda, is difficult to explain. Perhaps *Kōṅgōda-rāḍ-rakshitā* was intended.

[4] Read *yugapat=.*

[5] Read *=ārāt=.*

[6] Compare this verse with verse 10 of the Buguḍa plates, which is omitted in the first part of the subjoined inscription. Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman is there compared to the Sun, while here Madhyamarāja is compared to the Moon.

[7] Read *Kaṭakāch=chhrī-.*

[8] Read *-daṇḍanāyak-.*

[9] *Purōgādi* is pleonastic. Read *purōgāñ=jānapadāṁś=cha.* One would have expected, as in other allied plates, *jānapadān=anyāṁś=cha.*

[10] Perhaps we have to read *na kena chit=parigrāhyaḥ.*

47 charaṇāya vrā(brā)hmaṇa-[Śī]lasvāmi-Gōva[r]ddhanasvāmi-Vandusvāmi-Kavaḍisvāmi-Nārāyaṇa-

48 svāmi-Mādhavasvāmi-Bharaṇisvāmi-Durggasvāmi-Ādityasvāmi-Rudrasvāmi-Śivasvāmi-

49 S[u]khasvāminē [1]vi[śra]kē(?) pratipādita[ḥ*] yatō [h]y=asya yathā-kālam=upayujyatō na k[ē]na śchi(chi)d=[vighāta][ḥ*] kara-

50 ṇīya[ḥ*] | Uktañ=cha Dharmmaśāstr[ē] [||*] Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā data(ttā) rājabhi[s*]=Sagar[ā]dibhi[ḥ*] [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mi[s*]=

51 tasya tasya tada(dā) phalaṁ [|| 19*] Mā bhu(bhū)d=aphala-śaṅkā va[ḥ*] para-da[t*]t=ēti pā[r*][th]ivā[ḥ*] [|*] [sva]-dānāt=phalam=ānantya[ṁ*] para-dat[t-ā]-

52 nupālana(nē)[2] [|| 20*] Sva-da[t*]tā[ṁ*] para-da[t*]tām=vā yō harēti(ta) vasundharāṁ [|*] śva-vishṭhāyā[ṁ*] krimir=bhu(bhū)tvā |[3] pitṛibhi[s*]=saha

53 pachyatē [|| 21*] Haratē hārayatē bhu(bhū)mi[ṁ*] manda-vu(bu)ddhi[s*]=tamā-vṛita[ḥ*] [|*] sa va(ba)ddhō Vāruṇai[ḥ*] pāsai(śai)[s*]=ti(ti)[r*]ya[g*]-yōnisha(shu) jā-

54 yati(tē) [||] [22*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlāṁ śri(śri)yam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha [|*] sakalam=ida[m=u]-

55 dāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi(hi) purushai[ḥ*] para-kīrttayō vilōpyā[ḥ*] [|| 23*] Vidyud-vilāsa-taralām=avagamya sa[mya*]k(g)=lōka-

56 sthitiṁ yasa(śa)śi(si) śa(sa)kta-manōbhir=u[ch*]chai[ḥ*] [|*] nitya[ṁ*] par-ō[pakṛiti*]māttra-ratai[r=bhavadbhir*]=dharmm-ābhirādhana-parair=anu[mōdita]-

Third Plate; Second Side.

57 [vyaṁ] [|| 24*] . . . . [likhi]ta[ṁ] sāndhivigrahika-

58 . . . . dēvēna [|*] Lāñchi(ñchhi)taṁ . . . .

59 dṛiddhēna || Sa[mvat] . . [88] Kārttika-śukla . . . .

No. 29.—EIGHT CHOLA DATES.

BY THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BAHADUR L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M.A., B.L., L.L.B.

In his paper on the dates of Chōḷa kings (above, Volume X, pp. 121 ff.) Mr. R. Sewell has shown, by an elaborate calculation of a Tamil date from Nandalūr and of five Telugu dates from Bāpaṭla (Nos. 186 to 190) of king Kulōttunga-Chōḍa II., that the accession of **Kulōttunga-Chōḍa II. (Kulōttunga-Chōḷa II.** of Tamil inscriptions) must be placed between **March 26th and July 14th A.D. 1133.** The subjoined eight dates, besides confirming the correctness of Mr. Sewell's results, enable us to reduce the limits of the accession of Kulōttunga-Chōḷa II. to the period **May 9th—July 14th A.D. 1133.** Also, in the date from the Nandalūr Tamil inscription (which I have included among the eight dates now calculated) the difficulty felt by

[1] [The reading intended is perhaps *vipaśchitē*.—V. V.]

[2] See above, Vol. III, p. 45, note 15.

[3] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

Mr. Sewell about the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa is explained by a reference to the custom usually followed in fixing the day of the Śivarātri in Southern India. The Śivarātri begins at midnight, when the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa must be current, and is kept all the following day. The inscription presumably refers to the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa only in this sense, as it was not current at sunrise on the following day.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA (II)

244.—In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tirumalavāḍi.[1]

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Pū-maruviya puriyêḻum . . . . .

33 . . . . Kōv=Irājakēśari-

34 patmar=āṉa Tribuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḻadēvaṟku

35 yāṇḍu 2āvadu Danu-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu navamiyu[m] Ti[ṅ]-

36 gaṭ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Attatti-nāḷ.

"In the **2nd year** (*of the reign*) of **king Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the **emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva**,— on the **day of Hasta**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Dhanus**."

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 10th December A.D. 1134**, on which day the *nakshatra* Hasta ended at 54 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, while the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the lunar month Mārgaśira *commenced* on the same day at 45½ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The solar month was Dhanus, as recorded in the inscription.

245.—In the Karavandiśvara temple at Uḍaiyārkōyil.[2]

1 Svast[i] Śr[i] ||— Pū-ma[nn]u-padumam . . . .

29 . . . . Kōv=I[rā]jakēsaripaṟmar=āṉa

30 [Tr]ibuva[ṉa]chchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Ku[l]ōttuṅga-Śōḻadēvaṟkku yā-

31 ṇḍu 4 nāl-āvadu . . . .

33 Śiṅṅa-nāyaṟṟu apara-paksha[tt]u Tiṅga[l-ki]ḻamai[yu]m [śadurtt]iyu[m] peṟṟa Irēvadi-[nāḷ].

"In the **4th— fourth— year** (*of the reign*) of **king Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the **emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva**,— on the day of **Rēvatī**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Siṁha**."

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 17th August, A.D. 1136**, on which day the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the lunar month Bhādrapada ended at 41 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Rēvatī ended on the same day shortly after sunrise. The ending moment of the *nakshatra* in mean Laṅkā time was just *before* sunrise on the 17th August, but from the time of the year and for any place in Southern India, it will be seen, from Table XIII of my *Indian Chronology* that the ending moment of the *nakshatra* in *local* time must have been shortly *after* sunrise, so that the inscription is correct in giving the *nakshatra* as Rēvatī. The solar month was Siṁha.

[1] No. 85 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

[2] No. 405 of the same for 1902.

246.—In the Saumyanāthasvāmin temple at Nandalūr.[1]

1 [Sva]sti śr[i] [||*] Pū-mēvu tirumagaḷ . . . .

2 . . . . kōv=Irr-ā(Irā)jakēsaripa[ṉmar=āṉa] Chakrava[rtti]-ga[ḷ] śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṟku yāṇḍu eṭṭ-āvadu

6 . . . . śrī-Kulōttu[ṅga]- Śōḷadēvaṟ[ku] yāṇḍu eṭṭ-āvadu Kumbha-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu=chchaturddaśi[yum] Veḷḷi-kkiḻamaiyu[m] Tiruvē(vō)ṇamum=āṉa Śivarāttiri-nāḷ.

"In the eighth year (*of the reign*) of king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the **emperor the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,**— on the day of **Śivarātri,** which was (*a day of*) **Śravaṇa, a Friday,** and the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Kumbha** in the **eighth year** (*of the reign*) of the **glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva."**

The date corresponds to **Friday, the 7th February, A.D. 1141,** on which day the 14th *tithi* of the second fortnight of the lunar month Māgha ended at 41½ *ghaṭikās* after mean Laṅkā sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa had ended at 8 *ghaṭikās* after midnight between the 6th and 7th February. Now, Śivarātri is celebrated on the day following the *midnight* (nearest to Māgha *amāvāsyā*) at which the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa is current. Therefore Śivarātri in the year in question fell on a Friday, and it was the solar month of Kumbha, as stated in the inscription.

247.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.[2]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-maṉṉu-padumam . . . .

4 . . . . kōv=Irājakēsaripaṉmar=āṉa Tiribu[va]ṉa[ch]cha-[k]karavattigaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅ[ga]-Śōḷadē[va][r*]kku yāṇḍu 10 āvadu [Da]ṉu-nāyaṟṟu [pū]rva-paksha[ttu] ēkāde(da)śi[yum Tiṅga]ṭ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa A[ś]vati-nāḷ.

"In the **10th year** (*of the reign*) of **king Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,**— on the day of **Aśvinī,** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Dhanus."**

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 30th November, A.D. 1142,** on which day the 11th *tithi* or *ēkādaśī* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Mārgaśiras ended at 59 *ghaṭikās* after mean Laṅkā sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Aśvinī ended on the same day at 41 *ghaṭikās* after mean Laṅkā sunrise.

It may appear at first sight that a *tithi* which ended at 59 *ghaṭikās* after mean Laṅkā sunrise may possibly have been carried forward to the next day in local time, but it will be seen from Table XIII of my "Indian Chronology" (p. 157 of the Tables) that in the year A.D. 1142, on the 251st day of the solar year, which was our day, the difference between mean Laṅkā time and Tanjore time was only an addition of 4 *palas* to the former, which would still have placed the ending moment of the *tithi* within the civil day noted above, *i.e.* the 30th November. The solar month was Dhanus, as stated in the inscription.

[1] No. 572 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

[2] No. 553 of the same collection for 1904.

248.—In the Karavandiśvara temple at Uḍaiyārkōyil.[1]

1 [Svasti śrī] [||*] [Pū-maṉṉu-padumam] . . . .

21 . . . . . . kōv=Irājak[ē]sar[i]panmar=āna Tribhuvanachchakkaravatti[gaḷ śrī-Kulōttu]ṅga-Śōḷa[d]ē-

22 vaṟku yāṇḍu 14 āvadu Mēsha-nāya[ṟ]ṟu pūrvvapakshattu navamiya(yu)[m] V[i]yāḻa-kkiḻa[mai]ya(yu)[m peṟṟa] Āyilai[ya]ttiṉ nāḷ.

"In the **14th year** (*of the reign*) of **king Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,**— on the day of Āślēshā, which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mēsha.**"

The date corresponds to **Thursday, 10th April, A.D. 1147,** on which day the 9th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Vaiśākha *commenced* at 26 *ghaṭikās* after mean Laṅkā sunrise, while the *nakshatra* for the whole of that day and for $5\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās* of the next, was Āślēshā, the *nakshatra* Pushya having ended shortly *before* sunrise on the 10th April. The solar month was Mēsha.

249.—In the Kṛipāpurīśvara temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr.[2]

5 . . . . . . [i]nda śrī-mey-kkīrttiy-uḍaiya Tribhuvaṉa[ch]chakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śō[ḷa]dēvaṟku yāṇḍu 15 vadu [pa]dinaiñj[3] . . . . shṭiyun[4]=Diṅgaḷ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Bara-

6 ṇi-nāḷ.

"In the **15th— fifteenth— year** (*of the reign*) of the **emperor of the three worlds,** who had this glorious panegyrical poem (in his honour)[5], the **glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,**— on the day of **Bharaṇī,** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the sixth *tithi* . . . . "

Neither the solar nor the lunar month is traceable in the inscription which only refers to a sixth *tithi*; but it will be observed from Table XI of my "Indian Chronology" that a 6th *tithi* can concur with the *nakshatra* Bharaṇī only in the dark fortnight of lunar Śrāvaṇa or of lunar Bhādrapada. We work for the latter in the year A.D. 1147 and find that the date corresponds to **Monday, 18th August, A.D. 1147,** on which day the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended at $39\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Bharaṇī ended on the same day at $12\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The solar month was Siṁha. *N.B.*—Monday, 9th August A.D. **1137,** would have satisfied the *vāra*, *tithi* and *nakshatra*, but we reject this date, as A.D. 1137 was obviously not the 15th year of our king.

250.—In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tirumalavāḍi.[6]

1 || Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-maṉṉi yāṉar . . . .

27 . . . . kōv=I-

28 rājakēsari[pa]nmar=ā[ṉa*] Tribhuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadē-varkku

29 yāṇḍu 15 āvadu . . . .

32 . . . . ivv=āṭṭai Magara-nāyaṟ[ṟu] pūrvvapakshattu piri[di]-pada[mu]m Viyāḻa-kkiḻamaiy peṟṟa Uttirāḍatti-nāḷ.

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[1] No. 401 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

[2] No. 316 of the same collection. [3] Read *padinaiñjāvadu.* [4] Read *shashṭhiyun=.*

[5] *Viz* the introduction *pū mannu-padumam,* etc. of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva mentioned in No. 315 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902 (No. 251, below).

[6] No. 83 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

"In the 15th year (*of the reign*) of king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the **emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,**— on the day of **Uttarāshāḍhā** which corresponded to a **Thursday,** and to the first *tithi* (*pratipadā*) of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara** in this year."

The date corresponds to **Thursday, the 25th December, A.D. 1147,** on which day the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Pausha ended at 29½ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Uttarāshāḍhā ended at 20½ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise on the same day. The same day was also the first of the solar month Makara.

251.—In the Kṛipāpurīśvara temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr.[1]

1 . . . [P]ū-maṉṉu-padumaṁ . . . .

. . .

2 . . . . . śrī-mey-kki[r*]ttiy-uḍaiya Tribhu[va*]nachchakkaravatti[ga]ḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvarkku yāṇḍu [1]5 vadu Ishaba-nāyaṟṟu=ppadiṉāṟān=diyediy=āṇa Nāyaṟṟu-kkiḻamai-nāḷ.

"In the [1]5th year (*of the reign*) of the **emperor of the three worlds,** who had (*this*) panegyrical poem (in his honour), the **glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,**—on a **Sunday** which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of **Ṛishabha.**"

The lunar *tithi* is not cited, but the week day affords a clue to the date. During the 15 years A.D. 1135 to A.D. 1149 there were only two years in which the 16th day of solar Vṛishabha was a Sunday, and they were A.D. 1137 and A.D. 1148. We reject the former date, as it obviously was not the 15th year of our Chōḷa king, and we conclude that the date of the inscription was **Sunday, 9th May, A.D. 1148,** which was the 16th day of Vṛishabha.

Summary.

We can now arrange the eight dates discussed above in chronological order and endeavour to discover therefrom the commencement of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II.

(244) 2nd year : Monday, 10th December, A.D. 1134.
(245) 4th year : Monday, 17th August A.D. 1136.
(246) 8th year : Friday, 7th February A.D. 1141.
(247) 10th year : Monday, 30th November A.D. 1142.
(248) 14th year : Thursday, 10th April A.D. 1147.
(249) 15th year : Monday, 18th August A.D. 1147.
(250) 15th year : Thursday, 25th December A.D. 1147.
(251) 15th year : Sunday, 9th May A.D. 1148.

Dates disclosed by Inscriptions.

We see that the 15th year of the reign must have commenced between the 10th April, A.D. 1147, which fell in the 14th year and the 18th August A.D. 1147 which fell in the 15th year. At the same time the last inscription shows that the regnal year did not change till after 9th May. Therefore regnal years of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II. must have regularly commenced between 9th May and 18th August, rather 9th May and 17th August, if we bear in mind the result of inscription 245; that is, the reign itself commenced between 9th May and 17th August A.D. 1133; the 2nd year of the reign in May, June or July, A.D. 1134, and so on with the 3rd and subsequent years.

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[1] No. 315 of the same collection for 1902.

No. 30.—MANNARKOYIL INSCRIPTION OF JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-CHOLA-PANDYADEVA.

By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A.; Ootacamund.

The subjoined inscription[1] is engraved on the base of the north wall of the central shrine in the **Gōpālakrishṇasvāmin temple at Maṉṉārkōyil** in the Ambāsamudram tāluka of the Tinnevelly district. With the kind permission of the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya I edit it from an inked impression prepared in 1905.

The inscription which is in tolerably good preservation consists of 8 lines of **Tamiḻ** prose written in the **Tamiḻ** alphabet of the period to which the record belongs. The letters are well engraved. There are a large number of Sanskrit words and syllables in Grantha characters.[2] Two forms of *ya* occur, one with a closed loop to the left which occurs only in the beginning of line 1, and the other, which is more common, without this loop. The secondary *ā*-symbol is, in a few cases, not separated from the consonant to which it is added. In the majority of cases the central loops of the consonants *ṉ* and *ṇ* appear fully developed, though there are instances where they are written without the loops. Another peculiarity is that the secondary *i*-sign is marked on the left top corner instead of on the head of the letters as is generally seen in records of this period. This is especially the case with *pi*, *vi*, and *li*, while in *ni* the *i*- sign is sometimes added on to the top of the letter and sometimes by its right side, according to the shape of the letter *n* which, in this record, is not uniform. The signs for *u* and *ū* in the letters *mu* and *ru* are not distinguished. Only in one case a curve has been added to the *u* in *mu* in order to denote the length. Except in the letters *lai* and *ḷai* where the first part of the vowel *u* is used to denote the *ai*-symbol, the secondary *ai* is invariably marked by two secondary *e*-signs written side by side as in Grantha. The group *nta* is always employed whenever the two letters come together. The palatal *ñ* is so shaped in some cases that it may at first sight be mistaken for *ṇā*. The guttural *ṅ* occurring in *puraṅgarai* (l. 3), *=Tiruvaraṅga-* (l. 6) and *Iruṅgaṇḍi-* (l. 8) and the syllable *ṟu* are peculiarly shaped.

The object of the inscription is to register a sale of land to the Vishṇu temple called **Rājēndrasōḷa-Viṉṉagar.** Lines 2 and 3 give the boundaries and extent of the various fields that were sold, and line 4 describes the formal transfer of the land to the temple by the assembly of **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.** Lines 5 and 6 give the names of some of the members of the assembly at whose instance the lands appear to have been sold. The conveyance was drawn up by the accountant (*karaṇattāṉ*) of the village and was attested by several of the persons who ordered the sale (ll. 7 and 8). It is interesting to note that most of the members of the assembly were learned men, and this is indicated by the titles *bhaṭṭa*, *sōmayājin* and *kramavit* affixed to their names. Further, it might also be pointed out that these members were not natives of the village but immigrants from other parts of Southern India, who had settled in the several suburbs (*śēri*) of the village. A list of these suburbs and villages is given at the end of this paper.

This inscription is a record of one of the **Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya** kings.[3] South-Indian inscriptions point to the existence of at least three **Chōḷa** princes who bore the title Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya. **Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.** (A.D. 1011-44), after he had subjugated the **Pāṇḍya** country, is said to have appointed his son Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya to rule over it.[4] **Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva** (A.D.

[1] No. 109 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

[2] It is worthy of note that two of the signatures at the end of the inscription are in Sanskrit. Such admixture of Sanskrit words in a Tamiḻ record of this period may be accounted for, to a certain extent, by the revival of learning brought about by the immigration to the Southern country of a large number of Brāhmaṇas from the north as a result of the conquests of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I., which extended as far as the Ganges.

[3] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905, Part II, p. 56, paragraph 25.

[4] *Ibidem*, 1906, Part II, p. 68, paragraph 17.

1052-64) is reported to have conferred the title of Śōla-Pāṇḍiyaṉ[1] on his younger brother, the victorious **Mummadiśōlaṉ**.[2] The Chōḷa king **Vīrarājēndra** (A.D. 1062-70) is also stated to have been pleased to grant the **Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam** "whose crown of jewels is exalted in this world, to his royal son **Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōlaṉ**[3] along with the title Śōḷa-Pāṇḍiyaṉ, the leader of an army of very tall elephants."[4] Inscriptions discovered so far reveal the names of two Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya princes, *viz.* **Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya** and **Māravarmaṉ Vikrama-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya**. The former of these is spoken of in a Maṉṉārkōyil record as one of the sons of **Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.**[5] and he is, therefore, identical with the first Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya ruler. It is perhaps to the same king that we must attribute inscriptions dated during the reign of Jaṭāvarmaṉ *alias* **Uḍaiyār Śōḷa-Pāṇḍyadēva** found at **Śuchīndram**[6] and **Śevilipēri**,[7] though the name **Sundara** does not occur.

The title Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya given to them seems to have been invented to indicate the double fact that they were members of the Chōḷa family and were made to rule over the Pāṇḍya territory. The position held by them was apparently that of a viceroy acting under the orders of the Chōḷa king ruling at Tanjore. The necessity for their appointment arose from the fact that the Pāṇḍyas could never be completely subdued. They continued in a state of chronic revolt against the Chōḷa yoke during the whole period of Chōḷa supremacy in Southern India.[8]

The subjoined record is dated in the 13th year of the reign of king **Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍyadēva**. As his accession to the throne has been fixed at A.D. 1020-1 from the fact that his 15th year probably coincided with the 24th of his father,[9] it follows that this inscription should have been engraved about A.D. 1033-4 which corresponded to his 13th year. A few facts concerning the king's reign deserve mention.[10] His latest known date is the 23rd year[11] corresponding to A.D. 1043-4, which was the last year of the reign of his father. Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions have so far been traced in the ancient Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa dominions, *i.e.* in the modern districts of Madura and Tinnevelly and portions of the Pudukkōṭṭai and Travancore States.[12] His Chōḷapuram[13] inscription is dated in the 11th year and registers the gift of a lamp by a certain **Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja** *alias* **Śaḷukki-**

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[1] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 62.

[2] The title Mummaḍiśōḷaṉ was first borne by Rājarāja I.

[3] Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. appears to have first assumed the title Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷaṉ after his conquest of the North. The city of Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram owes its name to him.

[4] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III., Part I, p. 36.

[5] No. 112 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

[6] Nos. 69 and 70 of the same collection for 1896.

[7] No. 408 of the same collection for 1906.

[8] Parāntaka I. is known to have defeated the Pāṇḍyas thrice in the field. His grandson Sundara-Chōḷa claims to have driven the Pāṇḍya king into the forest, while Āditya II. (Karikāla), even when he was a youth, fought against Vīra-Pāṇḍya. Uttama-Chōḷa's title Madhurāntaka indicates his hostility to the Pāṇḍyas and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates give Amarabhujaṅga as the name of the Pāṇḍya sovereign defeated by Rājarāja I. Rājēndra-Chōḷa I., Rājādhirāja and Vīrarājēndra I. claim to have defeated the Pāṇḍyas. The Pāṇḍyas seem to have asserted their independence already during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. At any rate, we have no reason to suppose that the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya kings continued very long. In fact their rule could not have lasted more than half a century, which was probably occupied by the rule of the few princes known from inscriptions.

[9] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905, Part II, paragraph 25.

[10] Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍīśuram-uḍaiyār, the ancient name of the ruined Śiva temple at Perunduṟai in the Pudukkōṭṭai State suggests that the temple was probably called after the king and built in his time.

[11] No. 18 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894 and No. 438 for 1909.

[12] His inscriptions found at the following places roughly indicate the extent of the country ruled by him :—

Āṇaimalai, near Madura; Perunduṟai in the Tirumaiyam tāluka of the Pudukkōṭṭai State ; Maṉṉārkōyil, Tiruvālīśvaram, Ambāsamudram, Vīraśikhāmaṇi, Kaḷugumalai, Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ, Śevilipēri, Shērmādēvi, and Āḍaṉūr in the Tinnevelly district; Chōḷapuram and Śuchīndram in the Travancore State.

[13] No. 32 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1896.

Vijayādittan-Vikki-aṇṇaṉ. The terms Śaḷukki and Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja, occurring in the name of the donor, suggest that he must have been a member of the **Eastern Chālukya** family.[1]

According to the **Tiruvālaṅgāḍu** grant, the Pāṇḍyas were first attacked by Rājēndra-Chōḷa I., with the result that their king deserted his country from fear. Establishing his son Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya as the protector of the Pāṇḍya territory, Rājēndra-Chōḷa proceeded westwards, conquered the forces of the **Kēraḷa** ruler in a fearful battle and returned to his capital leaving that country also in charge of the same prince. That the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya here referred to is none other than **Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya** of our record has already been noticed. It may be pointed out now that while the stone inscriptions of the 5th and 6th years of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. mention his conquest of the Kēraḷas, the invasion of the Pāṇḍya country is practically omitted in the historical introduction of all his records. If, as stated in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant, the Chōḷa king conquered the Kēraḷas immediately after he had overcome the Pāṇḍyas, the latter event would have taken place before A.D. 1016-7, which corresponds to his 5th year.[2] It would thus appear that Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya was in charge of the two conquered countries from or prior to A.D. 1016-7, *i.e.* four years before his accession.[3] That he actually ruled over the Kēraḷas is borne out by some of the inscriptions at Maṉṉārkōyil, where mention is made of two of his **Chēra** feudatories named **Rājasiṁha** and **Rājarāja**.[4] In one of his inscriptions,[5] it is stated that the Chēra king (*Śēramāṉār*) Rājasiṁha built the Vishṇu temple called **Rājēndrasōḷa-Viṇṇagar**, *i.e.* the modern Gōpālakṛishṇasvāmin temple at Maṉṉārkōyil. The name of the Chēra king conquered by Rājēndra-Chōḷa is not given. Nor do we know if it was Rājarāja or Rājasiṁha.

Among the geographical names that occur in this inscription, **Maṉṉārkōyil** does not find a place. It seems to be a shortened form of Maṉṉaṉārkōyil[6] and probably denotes the modern Gōpālakṛishṇasvāmin temple. The village in which the temple was situated, was called **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** in ancient times. It was a *brahmadēya* in **Muḷḷi-nāḍu**, a district of **Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu** which was a subdivision of **Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu**. A number of hamlets appear to have been attached to this village in early days. The modern villages of **Ambāsamudram**[7] and **Kalladaikkuṟichchi**[8] were its southern hamlets, while **Pāpāṅguḷam**[9] (Vēḷārkuṟichchi) and **Āḻvārkuṟichchi**[10] (Kāḍēṟu; text l. 2) situated at a distance of about 8 miles from Ambāsamudram, formed its hamlets on

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[1] We do not know of any Eastern Chālukya prince with this name at the time. About A.D. 1030 the approximate date of the Chōḷapuram inscription, the ruler of Vēṅgī was Rājarāja I. (A.D. 1022-1063).

[2] It cannot, however, be inferred from this that the Pāṇḍyas remained independent even until this date, because earlier inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. have been found in the Tinnevelly and Madura districts. The existence of these records in that part of the country might be taken to show that the Pāṇḍyas acknowledged the overlordship of the Chōḷa sovereign even before the invasion, conquered as the Pāṇḍya country was by Parāntaka I. and Rājarāja I. It was perhaps the Pāṇḍya king's attempt to assert his independence that caused the invasion in the present instance.

[3] Perhaps he was not formally installed in the Viceroyalty but allowed to issue orders in his own name as soon as he was placed in charge of the Pāṇḍya territory. This privilege was probably granted some time after he had been actually governing the subjugated province.

[4] Nos. 111, 113 and 114 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

[5] No. 112 of the same.

[6] *Maṉṉaṉār* means Vishṇu.

[7] No. 102 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905. The ancient name of Ambāsamudram was Iḷaṅgōykkuḍi.

[8] No. 90 of the same collection for 1907.

[9] The Vishṇu temple of Rāmasvāmin at Pāpāṅguḷam is called in its inscriptions Bagavadi-Viṇṇagar-Āḻvār at Vēḷārkuṟichchi, the north-western hamlet of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (No. 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907).

[10] The Vaṉṉiyappar temple at Āḻvārkuṟichchi was called in ancient times Tiruvaṉṉichchuramuḍaiyār at Kāḍēṟu, the north-western hamlet of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (No. 121 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907).

the north-western side. Four other hamlets of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, *viz.* **Pāmbuṇāri, Kōṇāḍu, Kaḍaiyam** and **Pulakkuḷam** *alias* **Vārimāyileṭṭi** are also mentioned in this inscription. Of these, Kaḍaiyam may be identified with the village of the same name, situated to the west of Ambāsamudram. The modern name of Pulakkuḷam is Punakkuḷam[1] and it is also in the vicinity of Ambāsamudram. I am not able to identify the two others. The position assigned to several of the hamlets would point to the identification of the *brahmadēya* of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam with the modern village of **Brahmadēśam** in the same tāluka and it may be noted that the Śiva temple of **Tiruvālīśvaram** and the Vishṇu temple of Rājēndraśōla-Viṇṇagar which are stated in their inscriptions to be in Rājarāja-chāturvēdimaṅgalam, are quite close to Brahmadēśam. From the boundaries described in the grant portion of the subjoined record it appears that at Maṇṇārkōyil there was in ancient times another Vishṇu temple called **Rājarāja-Viṇṇagar.** This has now disappeared. The district of Muḷḷi-nāḍu mentioned above seems to be different from another of the same name in which Shērmādēvi was situated, because while the first was in the subdivision of Muḍigoṇḍaśōla-vaḷanāḍu the second was in Uttamaśōla-vaḷanāḍu.[2] Though the names Uttamaśōla and Muḍigoṇḍaśōla after which the two subdivisions are named may refer to the same Chōḷa king (perhaps Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.), yet, as these divisions occur in the inscriptions of the same period, there is not much doubt as to their representing different local areas. Further, it may be pointed out that the two subdivisions named above comprised different districts. Thus, for instance, the districts of **Nechchura-nāḍu,**[3] **Kiḻkaḷa-kūṟṟam**[4] and **Kīḻvēmba-nāḍu**[5] were in Muḍigoṇḍaśōla-vaḷanāḍu, while **Purattāya-nāḍu,**[6] **Nāñji-nāḍu**[7] and **Marugal-nāḍu**[8] were in the subdivision of Uttamaśōla-vaḷanāḍu. A rough idea of the extent of Muḍigoṇḍaśōla-vaḷanāḍu might be formed from the fact that Tinnevelly, Kaḻugumalai, Ambāsamudram and the villages near them were originally included in it. In Uttamaśōla-vaḷanāḍu were situated Cape Comorin, Shērmādēvi, and Chōḷapuram near Nāgerkoil. Rājarāja-Pāṇḍinādu was the name applied to the Pāṇḍya country after its conquest by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I.; and it mainly consisted of the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly and a part of the Travancore and Pudukkōṭṭai States. Though the Pāṇḍyas were defeated several times on previous occasions and their dominion acquired by the Chōḷas by conquest, the name of their country does not appear to have been altered prior to the time of Rājarāja I.

Two rivers are mentioned in this record, *viz.* **Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷappērāṟu** and **Rājarājappērāṟu.** As one of the fields sold to the temple is said to have been situated to the north of the former and south of the latter, the relative position of the two is established beyond question and affords facilities for the identification of both. **Porundam,** the original name of Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷappērāṟu is synonymous with the Tāmraparṇi, which near Maṇṇārkōyil runs parallel to its tributary, the Gaṭanā, and is to the south of it. Rājarājappērāṟu is, therefore, identical with the Gaṭanā. In passing, it may also be pointed out that the two rivers join within a mile's distance of Maṇṇārkōyil at a place called Tiruppuḍaimarudūr.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] **Kō=Chchaḍaiyapaṇmar=āṉa Uḍaiyār śrī-Sunta(nad)ra-Śōḻa-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu padiṉ[mū]ṉṟā[va]du**[9] **śrī-Rājarāja-Ppāṇḍināṭṭu Mudigoṇḍaśō[ḻa]-vaḷanāṭṭu Muḷḷi-nāṭṭu** brahmadēyam **śrī-Rājarāja-**

[1] It may be noted that in the Tinnevelly district there are two kinds of tanks, *[illegible]* and *[illegible]-kuḷam*. The former depends on rain for its supply of water, while the latter is fed by a channel from a river.

[2] Nos. 193 and 194 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 and No. 100 of the collection for 1905.

[3] No. 18 of the collection for 1894.

[4] See remarks against No. 416 for 1906.

[5] No. 408 of 1906.

[6] No. 100 for 1896.

[7] No. 34 of 1896.

[8] No. 32 for 1896.

[9] The *va* in *mūṉṟāvadu* is written above the line.

chcharuppēdima[ṅ]galattu śrī-Rājēntra(ndra)śōḻa-Viṇ[ṇaga]r [pa]ramasvāmigaḷukku śrī-Rājarāja-chchatu[r]vvēd[i]maṅgalattu mahāsabhaiyōm viṟṟu=kkuḍutta būmiyāvadu [||*] Eṅgaḷ paḍāgai Pāmbunā[ṟi] Iḍaikku[ṉ]ṟaveṭṭikku mēṟkum [|] śrī-Rājarāja-Viṇṇagardēvar dēvadā[ṉa]-

2 ttukku=kkiḻakkum [|] Taṉ-Porundam=āṉa Muḍigoṇḍaśōḻappērāṟṟukku vaḍakkum [|] srī-Rājarājappērāṟṟu[k]ku=tteṟkkum [||] āga ivv=e[l*]laiyuḷ agappa[ṭ]ṭa iru-pū[1] āṟupāychchal nila[ṉ*] āṟu-vēliyum mēṟpaḍi maḷuk[kā]ḍu[2] vaśakkāniṉṟa nilaṉ mū-vēliyum pu[ṉ]śey maḷukkāḍu nilaṉ mū-vēliyum eṅgaḷūr=ppaḍāgai Kōṉāṭṭu iru-pū āṟup[p]āychchal[4] nilaṉ oṉṟēy-ēḻu-māvum ivv=ūr=ppaḍāgai Kaḍaiyattu-Paḍaiyāvli Kāḍēṟṟu iru-pū āṟupāychchal nilaṉ araiyum ivv=ūr=ppaḍāgai Pulakkuḷa-

3 m=āṉa Vārimāyileṭṭi ēri-puṟaṅ=garai oru-pū nilaṉ araiyum i=kkuḷatt-agam pu(pū)-nīr-kōvai-nilaṉ araiyum [ā]ga iru-pū āṟupāychchal[5] nilaṉ ē[ḻ]ē-mukkālēy-iraṇḍu-māvum mēṟpaḍi maḷukkāḍu nilaṉ mū-vēliyum puṉśey maḷukkāḍu nilaṉ mū-vēliyum oru-pū nilaṉ araiyum kuḷattil nī[r*]-kōvai-[ni]laṉ araiyum āga nilaṉ paḍiṉālē[y][6]-mukkālēy-iraṇḍu-māvum viṟṟu-kkuḍuttōm śrī-Rājēndraśōḻa-Viṇṇagar [parama]svāmigaḷukku śrī-Rājarāja-chcharuppēdimaṅgalattu mahāsabhai-

4 yōm [||*] I=ppariśu viṟṟu=kkuḍutta i-bhūmikku emmil=iśaiñja vilai=pporuḷ=ellāṅ-gaiyyilēy aṟa=kkoṇḍu iduvē[y][7] vilai-ōlaiyu[m] poru[ḷ]-śela ōlaiyum=āvid=āgavum iduv=alladu vēṟu vilai-māvaṟudi=pporuḷ-śela ōlai kāṭṭa=kkaḍamaiy=iṉṟi vilaikk=aṟa-viṟṟu=p[poru]ḷ-aṟa=kkoṇḍu viṟṟu vilai-ōlai-śeydu nīrōḍu aṭṭi=kkuḍuttōm Rājēndraśōḻa-Viṇṇagar paramasvāmigaḷukku śrī-Rājarāja-chcharuppēdimaṅgalattu mahāsabhaiyōm [||*] I=ppariśu viṟṟu=kkuḍukka=ppaṇichchōm srī-Rājarāja-

5 chchēri=Kkoṭṭaiyūr-Chchaṅgaraṉ Śivadēvabaṭṭachchōmāśiyārum[8] śrī-Mummaḍiśōḻachchēri Tiruppēr=Ddēvadēvēśa-[Nā]rāyaṇaṉum śrī-Arumoḻid[ē]vachchēri=Kkirāñchi Mahēśvarakiramavittaṉum[9] śrī-Nittavinōdachchēri Kōrōvi-Kāḷidāda[10]baṭṭa[ch]chōmāśiyārum śrī-Chōḻēntra(ndra)śiṅgachchēri Karāmbiṟchēṭṭu Śrīdarabaṭṭaṉum śrī-Sundaraśōḻachchēri Kōrōvi śrī-Mādavachchōmāśiyārum śrī-Vāṉavaṉ-mādēvichchēri=Kkōṭṭattu=Ddēvadēvēśaṉ-Śandiraṉum śrī-Uttamaśōḻachchēri=Kkarip-puṟattu=Ppoṟkku-

6 mārakiramavittaṉum śrī-Śembiyaṉmādēvichchēri=Kkīraṉūr Śōlaippirāṉ-Śuppiramaṇiyabaṭṭaṉum śrī-Kundavachchēri Nimbai-I[ḷai]yanambi-baṭṭaṉum śrī-Pañchavaṉmādē[vi]chchēri=Kkuṇḍūr=Ttiruvaraṅga-Nārāyaṇa-kkiramavittaṉum śrī-Olōkamādēvichchēri Iḍaiyāṟṟukkuḍi=Chchōmaṇakkaṉum āga i=ppari[śu] paṇichchu viṟṟu=kkuḍuttōm śrī-Rājēndraśōḻa-Viṇṇagar paramasvāmikaḷukku[11] śrī-Rājarāja-chatu[r]vētimaṅkalattu[12] mahāsabhaiyōm [||*] Ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Koṭ[ṭai]yūr=Chchaṅgaraṉ śivadēvabaṭṭa-

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[1] *oru-pū* and *iru-pū* are terms still employed in some parts of the country to mean single-crop and double crop lands.

[2] The *akshara kā* seems to be corrected from *ku*.

[3] This word is written below the line in the original.

[4] Read *āṟupāy-chchal*.

[5] The *akshara y* looks like *p* in the original.

[6] The *y* of this word is a correction from *p*.

[7] Here the original reads *pa* instead of *ya*.

[8] *Sōmāśi* is the abbreviated Tamiḻ form of the Sanskrit *sōmayājin*.

[9] *kiramavittaṉ* stands for the Sanskrit *kramavid*, one who knows the *kramapāṭha* of the Vēdas.

[10] *Kāḷidāda* is the Tamiḻ form of *Kāḷidāsa*.

[11] Read *paramasvāmigaḷukku*.

[12] Read *-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu*.

7 chchōmāśiyēṉ ivai eṉ eḻuttu [|*] Ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Kōrōvi-Kāḷidādachchōmāśiyēṉ ivai eṉ eḻuttu [|*] Ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Tiruppēr Dēvadēvēśa-Nārāyaṇaṉ eḻuttu [|*] Ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Kirāñchi-Mahēśvara-kkiramavittaṉ eḻuttu [|*] Ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Śrīdaṉūr=Kkēśavaṉ Śēnduppirāṉ eḻuttu [|*] Ippaḍi [aṟi]vēṉ Karāmbich[cheṭ]tu Śrīdarabaṭṭaṉ eḻuttu [|*] ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Kōrōvi śrī-Mādavachchōmāśi[y]ēṉ eḻuttu [|*] Ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Nimbai-Iḷaiyaṉambibaṭṭaṉ eḻuttu [|*] Ippaḍi aṟivēṉ

8 Iruṅgaṇḍi-Ddēvadēvēśabaṭṭaṉ eḻuttu [|*] Ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Irāśippuṟattu[1] Yaññaṉ[2] eḻuttu [|*] Ittham Vīrasya p[u]trēṇa Śāstamaṁka(ga)lavāsinā [|*] [Nā]rāyaṇēna vidita[m] bhakta-bhaktēna Śārggiṇā[3] [|*] Iti viditam Sōlaiprān Subramaṇyēna ||o Mahāsabhaiyār=ppaṇikka ivv=ōlai eḻudiṉēṉ ivv=ūr sabhai=kkaraṇattāṉ [Śūṟṟi]-Śaṅgaran=āṉa Śamaiñjaśappiriyaṉēṉ eḻuttu ||o

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the thirteenth year of (*the reign of*) king Jaṭāvarman *alias* Uḍaiyār śrī-Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍyadēva, the great assembly of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam sold the following land to the Supreme Lord (*paramasvāmin*) of *śrī*-Rājēndraśōḷa-Viṇṇagar at *śrī*-Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Muḷḷi-nāḍu (a district of) Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu (which was a subdivision) of *śrī*-Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu. (The land lies) to the west of (the path called) Iḍaikkuṉṟavetti[4] (leading to) our hamlet (*paḍīgai*) of Pāmbuṇāṟi, to the east of the *dēvadāna* of the god of *śrī*-Rājarāja-Viṇṇagar, to the north of (the river) Taṇ-Porundam *alias* Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷappērāṟu[5] and to the south of (the river called) *śrī*-Rājarājappērāṟu. The great assembly of *śrī*-Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam sold to the Supreme Lord of *śrī*-Rājēndraśōḷa-Viṇṇagar, six *vēli* of river-fed double-crop land lying within these boundaries together with three *vēli* of maḷukkāḍu-land of the same (class) which was being brought under cultivation;[6] three *vēli* of dry maḷukkāḍu-land; one (*vēli*) and seven *mā* of river-fed double-crop land in Kōnāḍu, a hamlet of our village; half (a *vēli*) of double-crop river-fed land at Kāḍēṟu in Kaḍaiyattu-Padaiyāvili, a hamlet of this village; half (a *vēli*) of single crop land close to the bank of the tank at Pulakkuḷam *alias* Vārimāyileṭṭi, a hamlet of this village; half (a *vēli*) of crop-yielding marshy land in the bed of this tank;—in all measuring seven (*vēli*) three quarters and two *mā* of river-fed double crop land; three *vēli* of maḷukkāḍu-land of the same (class); three *vēli* of dry maḷukkāḍu-land; half (a *vēli*) of single crop land; half (a *vēli*) of marshy land in the tank; together making a total of fourteen and three-fourths (*vēli*) and two *mā*. For the land thus given away by sale, this shall be the sale deed and the document evidencing the receipt of the money for our having obtained on hand the entire sub-amount agreed upon by us. Besides this, no other deed evidencing the payment in full of the sale money (*vilai-māv-aṟuḍi-poruḷ-śēlav-ōlai*) shall be demanded. We, the members of the great assembly of *śrī*-Rājarāja chaturvēdimaṅgalam, gave the land with libation of water to the Supreme Lord of Rājēndra-śōḷa-Viṇṇagar, having sold it completely and obtained the entire price and having executed the

[1] Read *Rāśipuṟattu*.

[2] Read *Yajñaṉ*.

[3] Read *Śārṅgiṇaḥ*. This is a verse in the Anushṭubh metre.

[4] Literally this word means a path cut through a hill.

[5] At first sight one would take the expression *Taṉporundamāṉa-Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷa=ppērāṟu* to mean 'Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷappērāṟu which is ever filled with water', but the real significance of the words seems to be that Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷa=ppērāṟu is another name for Taṇ-Porundam or the cool Porundam. Porundam and Porunai are other names of the river Tāmraparṇi.

[6] The word *vaśakkāniṟṟa* seems to be used in this sense also in No. 326 of the Epigraphical collection for 1908, in the passage *i-nnilattukku kālum-kalli kāḍum-veṭṭi nilamum-vasakki payir-ēṟṟi*. Here *vaśakki* seems to mean cultivating or ploughing in which sense it does not appear to be used at present.

sale deed. We (the following persons) thus ordered the sale (of the above mentioned land) :— Koṭṭaiyūr Śaṅgaraṉ-Śivadēvabhaṭṭa-śōmāśiyār of śrī-Rājarājachchēri; Tiruppēr Dēvadēvēśa-Nārāyaṇaṉ of śrī-Mummaḍiśōḻachchēri; Kriāñji śrī-Mahēśvara-kramavittaṉ of śrī-Arumoḻidēvachchēri; Kōrōvi Kāḷidādabhaṭṭa-śōmāśiyār of śrī-Nittavinōdachchēri; Karāmbichchēṭṭu-Śrīdarabhaṭṭaṉ of śrī-Chōḻēndrasiṅgachchēri; Kiōrōvi Madhava-śōmāśiyār of śrī-Sundaraśōḻachchēri; Kōṭṭattu-Dēvadēvēśaṉ-Chandraṉ of śrī-Vāṇavaṉmādēvichchēri; Karippurattu-Poṟkumāra-kramavittaṉ of śrī-Uttamaśōḻachchēri; Kiraṉūr Śōlaippirāṉ-Subrahmaṇyabhaṭṭaṉ of śrī-Śembiyaṉmādēvichchērī; Nimbai Iḷaiya-nambibhaṭṭaṉ of śrī-Kundavachchēri; Kuṇḍūr Tiruvaraṅga-Nārāyaṇa-kramavittaṉ of śrī-Pañchavaṉmādēvichchēri; Iḍaiyāṟṟukkuḍi Sōmanakkaṉ of śrī-Lōkamādēvichchēri. We, the members of the great assembly of śrī-Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, thus ordered and sold (the land) to the Supreme Lord of śrī-Rājēndraśōḻa-Viṇṇagar. I, Koṭṭaiyūr Śaṅgaraṉ-Śivadēvabhaṭṭa-śōmāśi know this; this is my signature. I, Kōrōvi Kāḷidāda-śōmāśi know this : this is my signature. I know this : the sigature of Tiruppēr Dēvadēvēśa-Nārāyaṇaṉ. I know this : the signature of Kirāñji Mahēśvara-kramavittaṉ. I know this : the signature of Śrīdaṉūr Kēśavaṉ Śenduppirāṉ. I know this : the signature of Karāmbichchēṭṭu-Śrīdarabhaṭṭaṉ. I know this : the signature of Kōrōvi śrī-Mādhava-śōmāśi. I know this : the signature of Nimbai Iḷaiyanambibhaṭṭaṉ. I know this : the signature of Iruṅgaṇḍi-Dēvadēvēśabhaṭṭaṉ. I know this : the signature of Rāśipurattu-Yajñaṉ. Thus known by Nārāyaṇa, son of Vīra, who was the devotee of the devotees of Vishṇu (and) resident of Śāstamaṅgala. Thus known by Śōlaippirāṉ Subrahmaṇya. At the command of the great assembly I, Śuṟṟi Śaṅgaraṉ *alias* Samañjasapriyaṉ, the accountant (*karaṇattāṉ*) of this village assembly, wrote this document; (this is my) signature.

List of villages and chēris mentioned in the inscription.

Serial Number.	Names of villages.	Serial Number.	Names of *chēris* of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.[1]
1	Koṭṭaiyūr	1	Rājarāja-chēri
2	Tiruppēr	2	Mummaḍiśōḻa-chēri
3	Kirāñji	3	Arumoḻidēva-chēri
4	Kōrōvi	4	Nittavinōda-chēri
5	Karāmbichchēḍu	5	Chōḻēndrasiṅga-chēri
6	Kōṭṭam	6	Sundaraśōḻa-chēri
7	Karippuram	7	Vāṇavaṉmādēvi-chēri
8	Kiraṉūr	8	Uttamaśōḻa-chēri
9	Nimbai	9	Śembiyaṉmādēvi-chēri
10	Kuṇḍūr	10	Kundavai-chēri
11	Iḍaiyāṟṟukkuḍi	11	Pañjavaṉmādēvi-chēri
12	Śrīdaṉūr	12	Lōkamādēvischēri
13	Iruṅgaṇḍi		
14	Rāśipuram		
15	Śāstamaṅgalam		

[1] Of these *chēris* Nos. 1—5 are named after the surnames of Rājarāja I., No. 6 after his father Parāntaka II. Sundara-Chōḻa, No. 7 after his mother Vāṇavaṉ-mahādēvī, who performed *sahagamana* on her husband's death, No. 8 after the Chōḻa king Uttama-Chōḻa, son of Gaṇḍarāditya, No. 9 after the mother of Uttama-Chōḻa, No. 10 after Rājarāja's sister and Nos. 11 and 12 after his queen. In *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 135, I have shown that Chōḻēndrasiṁha was a surname of Rājarāja.

No. 31.—DADHIMATI-MATA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHRUHLANA; [GUPTA-]SAMVAT 289.

BY PANDIT RAM KARNA; JODHPUR.

This inscription is the oldest of all so far discovered in Mārwār. It was found in a very ancient temple, which is dedicated to the goddess Dadhimatī, commonly called Dadhamat-*mātājī*, situated in a desert where the boundaries of two villages named Gōṭh and Māṅglōd meet. These villages are 24 miles north-east of Nāgōr, the principal town of the district of the same name, in the Jōdhpur State. The rims of the slab are raised one inch high on all sides, and it was discovered lying upside down in one of the corners of the hall of the temple of the goddess.

When the news of this find reached Jōdhpur, the stone was brought to the Tawārīkh Mēhkmā or Historical Department of the State, where its contents were first deciphered by me. The stone had been kept there for several years when, on the request of the *pañchas* of the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇa community of Jōdhpur, the Darbār kindly ordered that it should be returned to them with instructions to take proper care of it, it being the most valuable and oldest inscription in the State. The reason why it was made over to them was that all the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas recognise Dadhimatī as their *kula-dēvī* or family goddess, and that they consequently urged that the presence of such an inscription rendered the edifice more sacred and important in their eyes and proved the antiquity of the temple of their *mātājī*. The stone is, therefore, now lying in its former position in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of this temple.[1]

The inscription covers a space of writing 1′ high by 1′ 7¼″ broad. The average size of the letters is about 3/16″. Considerable skill seems to have been exercised in engraving this inscription, and the rims are raised one inch high, as noted above, presumably with a view to protect the writing from the effects of weather and rain or from other stones coming into contact with the written surface; but, in spite of this care and foresight, the right half of the sixth line has been rubbed off, apparently with an instrument, by somebody. Otherwise, the inscription is in an almost perfect state of preservation. It contains 13 lines of writing in Sanskrit, which is grammatically faulty and inaccurate in some places, *e.g.*, *Avighnanāgaḥ-pramukhā* (l. 2), *datta dramma-paṁchāśaḥ* (l. 7f.), *dataḥ drammaśataḥ* and *Bappakaḥ Pūrṇṇamukha-putrēṇa* (l. 10), etc., etc. Besides, there are several minor mistakes of engraving. The text is in prose excepting lines 11 and 12 wherein a verse occurs, which is a quotation from the *Dēvī-Māhātmya*, as will be shown subsequently. The date of the inscription is given in the last line. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and the letters *r*, *ś*, *ṇ*, *n*, *jh*, *h*, *d*, and *b*, are identical with those of the Mandasōr inscription of *Rājādhirāja* Yaśōdharman-Vishṇuvardhana of M. V. 589.[2] In respect of orthography it may be noticed (1) that in all cases where the word Brāhmaṇa occurs (except in ll. 3 and 12), the sign for *v* is used for *b*, though in the case of other words wherein the letter *b* occurs the sign for *b* is invariably employed; (2) the consonant following *r* has been doubled only once in the word *Pūrṇṇa-* in l. 10; (3) the rules of *parasavarṇa* have been throughout observed with the exception of the word *-saṁnidhya-* in l. 1.

[1] Its contents have since been committed in Dēvanāgarī characters to a copper-plate which has been fixed on the left hand of the entrance and in the front wall (facing the deity) of the Sabhāmaṇḍapa for the reason that if the stone, which is now old enough, be broken, the contents may not be destroyed. A new *praśasti* has been added, composed by Pandit Ram Karna, and giving the genealogy of the Rāṭhōrs from Sīhā and down to the late Mahārāja, Sir Sardar Singh. [The accompanying plate has been prepared from an impression prepared by Pandit Ram Karna himself.—Ed.]

[2] Published in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 224 ff., and *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 152.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the goddess Sarasvatī. Then follows a request to *dēvī* Dadhimatī by the community (*gōshṭhikā*) of Dadhya-Brāhmaṇas, headed by Avighnanāga. These Brāhmaṇas used to reside, it appears, in the same temple and were the worshippers of the *dēvī*. A passing reference is also made here to one Śrī-Dhrūhlāṇa, who appears to have been then the ruling prince, but who this chief was and where he ruled we are unable to ascertain. Lines 3 to 10 contain the names and *gōtras* of the donors with their fathers' names and the amount contributed by each, the details whereof are embodied in the subjoined table.

No.	Name of donor.	Name of father.	Gōtra.	Clan.	Amount contributed.
1	Avighnanāga	Laṅgaka	Vachchha[1] .	Āvō .	1,100
2	. . . . . . Miśra . .	Kaṭaka	...	...	
3	Mātulya	Pūphaka	...	...	
4	Yaśapati	Yakshadinna	...	...	
5	Majhabīha	Gaṇabhaṭa	...	...	100
6	....	....	...	...	120
7	Vishṇudēva	Ḍhūlaṇa	...	...	50
8	Nimbagaṇa	Śūraka	...	...	100
9	Dhaniyaka	Achintita	...	...	300
10	Bālāditya	Avigahaka	...	Mahattara	100
11	Bappaka	Pūrṇṇamukha	...	...	150
12	Sōmānaka	....	...	...	4
13	Achilakadē [va*]	Nimbāditya	...	...	
14	Suvaka		...	...	

Line 11 contains the verse[2] *sarva-maṅgala-maṅgalyē śivē sarvārthasādhikē | śaraṇyē tryambakē Gauri Nārāyaṇi namō=stu tē*, quoted from the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*, as said above. Then follow (l. 12) the names of the Brāhmaṇas numbered 12-14 in the above table. The reason why their names are mentioned after this verse and not along with those of their caste fellows specified above, is not quite clear. Probably they contributed their mite after the engraving of the inscription had commenced. The last line, *i.e.*, the 13th, gives the date which is the 13th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa of the year 289 (Gupta, equivalent to Vikrama-Saṁvat 665 or 608 A.D.).

It may be noted that the date of this inscription has been expressed in numerical symbols. The numeral 200 has been represented by a sign resembling ष् which is just after the fashion

[1] [Perhaps the same as *Vatsa*.—V. V.]

[2] Its meaning is, O goddess Nārāyaṇi, obeisance to thee, who art the source of all blessings, doer of good, accomplisher of desired objects, giver of shelter, endowed with three eyes and Gauri (*i.e.* the spouse of the god Mahādēva).

so often observed in the Jaina manuscripts[1] (*vide* Bühler's Table IX). Again, 80 has been expressed by a symbol which differs but little from that given in Bühler's Table. Then follows the sign for 9, which is also in harmony with the Valabhi system. So that 200 80 9 stand for the year 289, which has been given in the symbolical system so often met with in early inscriptions. Then follow the words *Śrāvaṇa ba* apparently for *Śrāvaṇa badi* (*i.e.*, the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa), the letter *di* after *ba* having been omitted for want of space. The date 13th has, again, been expressed by numerical symbols. 10 has been represented by a sign which is just like that met with in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions (*vide* Table No. IX of Bühler, referred to above) and 3 is denoted by three more or less parallel lines (☰) which is also after the Gupta fashion. Similarly, the numeral 4 in the last line has also been represented by the symbol (ꭍ) which is after the same Gupta or Nēpāl system (*vide* table quoted above). There is a dot after this symbol in the original stone, but it appears to have been inadvertently engraved by the mason. If the author had meant 40, the sign for 40 and not that for 4 would have been used in its place. From the above, it is quite clear that the date of the inscription is of the Gupta era and not Vikrama or Harsha. Secondly, the formation of the characters resembles that of the Mandasōr pillar inscription of king Yaśōdharman, as already noted, which fact also corroborates the conclusion arrived at above; and thirdly, we know that the Gupta rule, which had extended far and wide over the land, came to its end at about the same period.

It may be inferred from the words *asmin dēvyā nivēśē* of line 3 that the temple of the goddess Dadhimatī was *in situ* when the contribution was raised by the Dadhya-Brāhmaṇas headed by Avighnanāga. Had this subscription been called for erecting the shrine, some such word as *kārita* would have been used. The temple is therefore a very old one. Additions to the temple were made by a Dāhimā Brahmachārī named Vishṇudāsajī in V.S. 1906.[2]

In the beginning of this inscription there is a mention of *Dadhya*-Brāhmaṇas.[3] These are now-a-days known as Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas, and are one of the *chha-nyāti* (six castes[4]) of Brāhmaṇas of the Pañcha-gauḍa section. There is no doubt that the Dadhyas of our inscription are the modern Dāhimās, because, first, the whole of the community of the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas recognise this goddess (Dadhimatī) as their *kula-dēvī* or family goddess; secondly, the majority of the population of the villages, adjoining the temple within the limit of 10 to 20 *kōs*, consists of these Brāhmaṇas; thirdly, most of the modern names of the Khāmpas (clans) of this community are after the names of the villages situated round about the temple, *e.g.*, Gōṭhēchā after Gōṭh, Māṅgalōdyā after Māṅglōd, Āsōpā after Āsōp, Īnāṇyā after Īnāṇā, Khatōḍa after Khāṭū, Bōrāḍā after Bōrāwār, Ḍiḍawāṇyā after Ḍiḍwāṇā, etc. The Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas assert that they are descended from the well-known Dadhīchi-*Rishi* and style themselves *Dādhīchas*; while in this inscription they are termed *Dadhyas*, certainly after the name of the goddess Dadhimatī. A reference to No. 2 in the above table would show that the epithet *Miśra*, which is still used by the Dāhimās, was common in those days. In the third line there occurs a word *āvō*; but there is no clan amongst the

1 [A closer approximation to the symbol used in the present inscription occurs in Pandit G. H. Ojha's *Palæography of India*, plate 42, column 9, where it is stated that the symbols in that column are taken from "various records and charters." —V. V.]

2 Further repairs to the temple are being executed by the Dāhimā-mahāsabhā, by raising subscriptions from the whole community of Dāhimā Brāhmaṇas residing in all parts of India. Nearly a sum of Rs. 10,000 has already been collected and spent for the purpose.

3 [Though it seems most natural to read *śrī-dadhyā*, I feel little doubt that what the engraver had before him was *śrī-dēvyā*.—S.K.]

4 The names of the six castes who interdine but do not intermarry are:—1. Dāhimā, 2. Pārīkha, 3. Gauḍa, 4. Gūjara-gauḍa, 5. Sārasvata, and 6. Śikhawāla (some say Khaṇḍēlawāla).

Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas known by this name. It therefore appears that it is perhaps a contracted form of the word *āvōṭī*, just as the word *brāhmaṇa* is written in the abbreviated form *brāhra* in line 12. It is also possible that the letter *ṭī* of the word *āvōṭī* has been carelessly omitted. The word *āvōṭī* or *ābōṭī* means a worshipper; and hence it may be inferred that the Dadhyas were worshippers of the goddess Dadhimatī in those days. The office of worshipping this goddess is now held by the Sēvagas (or Bhōjakas). It is just possible that the Dadhya-Brāhmaṇas, as they took up some other profession, later on employed a Sēvaga for this purpose, whose descendants are up to this day doing the same work. This supposition is further strengthened by the fact that the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas of the village Rōl, 10 miles from this temple, even now personally perform the worship of the deity and offer oblations in her honour in the months of Chaitra[1] and Āśvina when fairs are held in and around the temple. In these fairs the inhabitants of the adjoining villages meet together to worship the goddess and offer their cattle for sale.

The most noteworthy information furnished by this inscription is the light it throws on the date of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*. In line 11 of our inscription is quoted the 9th verse of the 91st chapter of that *Purāṇa* or the 10th chapter of the *Dēvī-Māhātmya*, as the latter begins from the 81st chapter and ends with the 93rd. From this quotation we can conclusively and convincingly assert that the *Dēvī-Māhātmya* was composed before V. S. 665, *i.e.* before the 7th century A.D. It would, therefore, be futile if any one were to assign a date, later than the 7th century, to the *Dēvī-Māhātmya* or the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*. The section *Dēvī-Māhātmya* is regarded by some scholars as an interpolation, but what can with certainty be contended is that the *Dēvī-Māhātmya* is not a production later than the 7th century or thereafter. Rev. K. M. Banerjea writes in the introduction to his edition of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa* as follows[2] :—

" We cannot help noticing in this place the dignity imparted to the work under review. It is classed in the same category with the Vēdas, and described as an immediate product from Brahmā's mouth. Although a Purāṇa, it is not attributed to Vyāsa, whom other Śāstras consider as the author of all works bearing that title. The *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*, however, does not acknowledge him as its composer, editor or compiler.[3] It claims equal honour in this respect with the Vēdas themselves."

And he says in the beginning of his preface[4] that " the section called *Dēvī-Māhātmya* was probably an interpolation." A reference to chapter 94, verse 1,[5] would show that when recapitulating the past, the speaker (*i.e.* Mārkaṇḍēya-Ṛishi) says that he has caused him (the addressee, *i.e.* Kraushṭuki-Ṛishi) to hear the *Dēvī-Māhātmya*. This internal evidence alone is sufficient to prove that the *Dēvī-Māhātmya* is not an interpolation but forms a part and parcel of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*. Besides, if the *Dēvī-Māhātmya* were to be removed from it, the

[1] In the months of Chaitra and Āśvina falls the *Nava-rātra*, *i.e.* the first nine days of the bright half of the months when worship of the goddess is eloquently recommended in the *Dēvī-Māhātmya*. The Dāhimā-Mahāsabhā is contemplating to re-assume the management of the temple which was formerly in their own hands even when the Sēvagas were the worshippers. The annual meetings of the *sabhā* have been held in this temple for three consecutive days in every Chaitra-Navarātra, for the last four years, and the Mahāsabhā has recently started a school there.

[2] P. 15 of the Bibl. Ind. Edition, Calcutta, 1862.

[3] This statement has apparently been made on the authority of the Bengal manuscripts of the Purāṇa that were at Mr. Banerjea's disposal when editing the work, but the Maithila and other manuscripts of the same Purāṇa recount in the ordinary way the names of the eighteen Purāṇas and their author.

[4] *Vide* p. 1.

[5] सावर्णिकमिदं सम्यक प्रोक्तं मन्वन्तरं तव । तथव देवीमाहात्म्यं महिषासुरघातनम् ॥१॥

total number of verses attributed to this Purāṇa in the commencement would fall short by the number contained in the *Māhātmya*.[1]

But to return to our inscription. It does not give the names of the clans wherewith the Dadhya-Brāhmaṇas were then known; and the two names *āvō* and *mahattara*, which may be presumed to be clan-names, are not identical with the modern ones. It is therefore evident that the present Khāmpas, such as Gōṭhēchā, etc., must have been introduced only after V. S. 665. There is one *gōtra* mentioned in the inscription, *viz.* Vachchha (Vatsa) which is even now found among the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas. Had their present clans been well known, they would certainly have been mentioned as the epithet "Miśra" has been in l. 4.

The record does not contain the name of the person who composed it, nor of the mason who engraved it.

TEXT.[2]

1 ओं[3] नम:(॥) [स]रस्वत्यै [॥*] श्रीदध्या [4]दधिमतीसंनिध्यपादानुध्याता[:*] श्रीभ्रू-
ह्लाणपादानु[पा]-

2 लिता ब्राह्मणा[5] अविघ्ननाग:प्रमुखा[6] देवी[7] दधिमातीं विज्ञाययन्ति[8] ॥ अ-

3 स्मिं[9] देव्या [नि]वेशे गोष्ठिकाप्रथमं[10] आवो[ब्राह्म]ण[11] अविघ्नना[ग]:[12]
ब्राह्मण[लं]ग-

4 कपुत्र:[13] वच्छस:गोत्र:[14] तथा [15]ब्राह्मणमिश्र . . . कटक[पुत्र:[16] मा]तुल्य[17]
पूफकपुत्रै:[18] त[था]

5 [19]ब्राह्मणयशपति: यच्चदिन्नपुत्र:[20] ए[तै]मीष्ठिकै[21] प्रतत्त:[22] द्रम्मसहस्रं शताधिकं। ब्रा-[23]

6 ह्मणमभ्र[ह्मी]ह (।) गणभटपु[त्रे]ण दत्त[24] द्रम्मशतं । . . . . . .
. . . .

7 ब्राह्मणैर्दत्ते[25] द्रम्मशतं विंशोतरं[26] । तथा [27]ब्राह्मणविष्णुदेव: ढूलणपुत्रेण द[त्त][28]

8 द्रम्मपंचाश:[29] [।*] तथा [30]ब्राह्मणनिम्बगण (।) शूरकपुत्रेण दत्त[31] द्रम्मशतं [।*]
[त]था ब्राह्म-[32]

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1 [The above should be compared with the able discussion of the age of the Mārkaṇḍēya by Mr. Pargiter, in the introduction to his translation in the Bibl. Ind., Calcutta, 1904, where he sums up his results on p. 22 as follows,—"The *Dēvīmāhātmya*, the latest part, was certainly complete in the 9th century and very probably in the 5th or 6th century A.D. The third and fifth parts, which constituted the original Purāṇa, were very probably in existence in the third century, and perhaps even earlier, and the first and second ts were composed between those two periods."—S. K.]

2 From the original stone.

3 Expressed by a symbol.

4 Read °सांनिध्य°.

5 Read ब्राह्म°.

6 Read °नागप्रमुखा.

7 Read देवीं दधिमतीं.

8 Read विज्ञापयन्ति.

9 Read °स्मिन्दे°.

10 Read °ष्ठिकाप्रथम.

11 Read °ब्राह्मणोऽवि°.

12 Read °नागो ब्रा°.

13 Read °पुत्रो.

14 Read वच्छसगोत्रस्त°.

15 Read ब्राह्म.°

16 Read °पुत्रो.

17 Read मातुल्य:.

18 Read °पुत्रस्त°.

19 Read ब्राह्मणयशपतिर्य°.

20 Read °पुत्र.

21 Read °गोष्ठिकै:.

22 Read प्रदत्तं.

23 Read ब्रा°.

24 Read दत्तं.

25 Read ब्राह्मणैर्दत्तं.

26 Read °शोत्तरं.

27 Read ब्राह्मणविष्णुदेवढू°.

28 Read दत्ता.

29 Read °शत्.

30 Read ब्राह्म°.

31 Read दत्तं.

32 Read ब्राह्म°.

9 णधनियक (।) [1]अचिन्तितपुत्रेण दत[2] द्रम्मंत्रिशति[3] ॥ तथा महत्तरबा-
लादित्य (।) अ[वि]-
10 गहुकपुत्रेण दत:[4] द्रम्मशतं:[5] [॥*] तथा बप्पक(:)पूर्ण्णमुखपुत्रेण दत्त[6] द्रम्म-
11 शतं (।) सार्द्ध:[7] [॥*] सर्वमङ्गलमङ्गल्ये शिवे स[र्वा]र्थसाधके[8] । अरण्ये[9]
त्रांम्वके[10] गौरि(।) [ना]-
12 रायणि नमोस्तु ते ॥ तथा ब्राङ्क[11]सोमानक[12] ब्राह्मण[13]अचिलकं[दे][व*]सुवक:[14]
[नि]-
13 [म्ब]ादित्यपुत्रैर्दत्त[15] [द्र]म्मा[16] ४ ॥ [17]संवच्छरशेतेषु २०० ८० ६
श्रावण व[18] १० ३

No. 32.—SEVADI COPPER-PLATES OF THE CHAHAMANA RATNAPALA; VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1176.

BY PANDIT RAM KARNA, JODHPUR.

These copper-plates were found at Sēvāḍī, a village in Bālī district, Gōḍwāṛ province, Jōdhpur State. They were brought to light in a house in this village in consequence of a heavy downpour of rain. The news of the find reached the Police Sub-Inspector who forwarded the plates to the Mēhkmā Khās, Rāj Mārwār. They were thence sent to the Historic department (Tawārīkh Mēhkmā) of the State for being deciphered and for impressions being prepared therefrom. One set of impressions has been furnished to the Ajmer Museum at the request of the Curator.[19] The original plates are now in charge of the Superintendent of the Tawārīkh Mēhkmā.

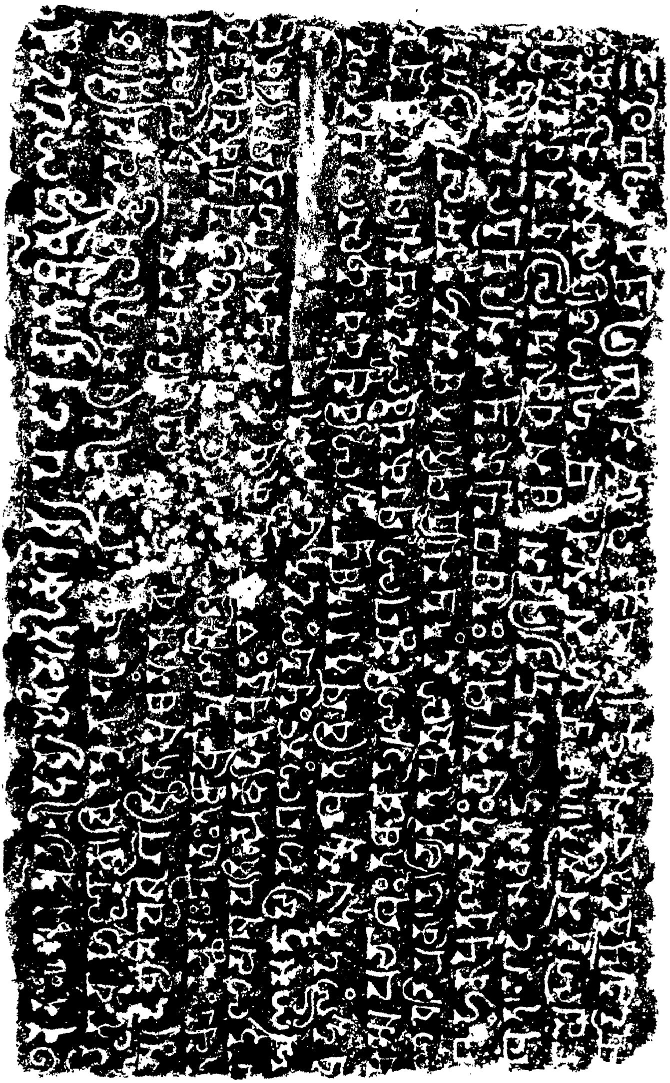
The plates are three in number, of which the first is inscribed on one side only. The second is written on both sides, and the third bears but three lines of writing on its inner side. The inscription is perhaps incomplete as shown by the isolated and unconnected letter *ka* at the end. The average breadth of the plates is 9″ while the average length is $11\frac{1}{3}$″. The edges have been slightly raised into rims, and the plates are strung on two almost circular rings, the ends of which are open and bear no sign of any seal. The ends of the rings are so wide apart as to permit the plates passing out of them without any difficulty. Their diameter varies from 2″ to $2\frac{1}{4}$″, and their thickness is slightly over $\frac{1}{4}$″.

The inscription consists of sixty lines of writing and is in an almost perfect state of preservation. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Attention may be drawn to the somewhat rare forms of the letters *i* and *bh*, while the archaic formation of

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1 Read °यकाचि°.
2 Read दत्ता:।
3 Read द्रम्मंत्रिशतीं
4 Read दत्तं.
5 Read °शतं.
6 Read दत्तं.
7 Read सार्द्धम्.
8 Read °साधिके.
9 Read शरण्ये.
10 Read त्र्यम्बके.
11 *I.e.* ब्राह्मण.
12 Read सोमानको.
13 Read ब्राह्मणाचिलक°.
14 Read °सुवकौ.
15 Read °पुत्रौ । एतैर्दत्ता.
16 Read द्रम्मा:
17 Read संवत्सरश°
18 Read वदि.
19 [The accompanying plate has been prepared from impressions sent by Pandit Ram Karna.—V. V.]

Dadhimati-mata inscription of the time of Dhruh[la]na; [Gupta-]Samvat 289.



W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE ·4

V. VENKAYYA.

the labial *ph* is rather peculiar to this inscription. The language is Sanskrit; and the text is in prose with the exception of thirteen lines at the beginning and seventeen at the end containing 11 and 15 verses (numbered), respectively, although the numbers of the last two are omitted. In respect of orthography the following may be noted: (1) the sign for *v* is also used for *b*; (2) there is an indifference about the doubling of the consonants after *r*, *e.g.* *-karmāṇau* in l. 52; (3) rules of *parasavarṇa* have in some places been violated; (4) *ś* and *s* have been confounded, *e.g.* *-yasaskarāṇi* (l. 53), *-sahaśrāṇi* (l. 58).

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of a village named Guṁdakūrchchā (the modern Gūndoch as we shall see later on) to Brāhmaṇas residing in the same village, by a Chāhamāna king named Ratnapāladēva,— the son of Pṛithvīpāla, in V. S. 1176.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Brahman. The introductory verse extols the word *svasti*. A person came out of the eye of Indra, lord of the east, while looking; and from this person sprang the Chāhamāna dynasty (v. 2), which is extolled in the succeeding verse (v. 3). The next eight verses unfold the following Chāhamāna genealogy. There lived a king named Lakshmaṇa, whose son was Śōhita, who is here called lord (*pati*) of Dhārā. His other name is Śōbhita.[1] From him sprang Balirāja, who was succeeded by his paternal uncle[1] Vigrahapāla. Vigrahapāla's son was Mahēndra whose other name is Mahindu to whom the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhavala lent a helping hand against Muñjarāja.[2] Mahēndra's son was Aṇahilladēva, who was blessed with two sons named Bālaprasāda and Jēsaladēva, whose (latter's) other name is Jēndrarāja[1] or Jindarāja. Jēsala's son was Pṛithvīpāla. Then comes the prose portion of the inscription. Pṛithvīpāla's son was Ratnapāladēva, who is styled a *Mahārājādhirāja*. He issues the following order after having called together all his ministers, civil and military officers, the headmen as well as the leading persons among his subjects and all the resident Brāhmaṇas of the Saptaśata-*vishaya* (of 700 villages):—

"Be it known to you that, the seat of our Government being in Naḍūla (Nāḍōl) and the head-quarters of our armies in the village Nahurā, after having bathed and put on two cleaned clothes, setting aside such faults as vehement desire, hatred, jealousy, moral decline, and others of like nature; being in the state of absolute goodness; realising the instability of the world; holding *tila* (sesamum), unhusked grain (barley), *kuśa* (grass) and water in our right hand; having satisfied gods and *pitṛis* with water; remaining true to our duty; comprehending (the fact that) life is more unsteady than the drop of water on the petal of the day-lotus; having worshipped the consort of Pārvatī (*i.e.* the god Mahādēva), who is the ruler of both the moveable and the immoveable; having adored Vishṇu (*who is*) the greatest in the world and is skilful in destroying heaps of sins and is able to save from (the pains of) birth, old age and death; having restrained the totality of the senses for a moment; having realised (the fact that) wealth (would) collapse in a moment and such other inconstancies (of the world); having satisfied Brāhmaṇas and other venerable persons by gifts of gold, food, and clothes; favouring (*i.e.* following) the right path; recalling (mentally) the fear of the next world; accepting the fruit of (actions in both) this and the next world; having seen that the lettering of the charter formerly issued by the *Mahārāja* Jindarāja has disappeared, and (having) a mind to renew the same in its former state; for the increase of our religious merit and fame; and for our well-being in the next world; with a pure mind inspired by great devotion; our sins vanishing far (from us) and we being conscious of self (*i.e.* being in our right senses), we have, with libations of water, granted this charter according to the former state of things on Thursday, the 8th of the dark half of the month of Jyēshṭha, when 1176 years, reckoned (in the

[1] See above, Vol. IX, p. 83.

[2] Above, Vol. X, p. 68.

name of) Vikramāditya had elapsed, to all the resident Brāhmaṇas of the great Brāhmaṇa village named Gumdakūrchchā, that has survived in all the four *yugas*, who delight in the six[1] acts of sacrificing, etc., prayer, study of the Vēdas, meditation and religious practices, who are well-versed in the sacred lore of *Itihāsas* (epic poems), *Purāṇas* (legends), *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhārata*, in words and sentences, and in (the *Smṛitis* of) Yājñavalkya, Kātyāyana, Bhṛigu, Aṅgiras, and Mārkaṇḍa; in the six *darśanas*[2] beginning with the *Bhaṭṭa-darśana* (Pūrvamīmāṁsā) and other sciences; who are performers of sacrificial rites prescribed in the *Yajur-vēda*, such as *Āvasathya* (sacred domestic fire), *Agnihōtra* (daily offering to fire), *Agnishṭōma* (liturgical rite in the Sōma sacrifice), *Sautrāmaṇi* (rite sacred to Sutrāman, *i.e.* Indra), *Paśubandha* (animal sacrifice lit. binding of victim to sacrificial post), *Chāturmāsya* (sacrifice to be offered every fourth month) and others; who are competent to break the hard knot of sins; who are well-versed in the Vēdas[3] and the Vēdāṅgas[4]; and whose fame is as brilliant, extensive and praiseworthy as that of the full moon. In the beginning of the Kali-age a pious *Mahārāja* (named) Śrī-Jājuka who was ruling Kanyakubja, rode a mare, and the land that he could traverse in 4 *praharas* (or 12 hours), was granted by him, with the pouring out of water, for his welfare in the next world, to a Brāhmaṇa named Gōvinda, by a *śāsana*, the glorious Gumdakūrchchā, a brush (*kurcha*) for manifesting the picture of good conduct, circumscribed by the four boundaries, (ll. 16-36). From that time the name Gumdakūrchchā (of the village so) named after the Brāhmaṇa Gōvinda became famous on (this) earth (l. 37). In the *Krita*-age it was known by the name of Nishadhā, in *Trētī* as Triyambakī, in *Drāpara* as Khanitrī and in Kali as Gumdakūrchchā (l. 38). Its (four) boundaries (are described as follows) :—

"To the east (lies) the way (leading) to the village (named) Vērā and passing by (the village) Ghōḍiyā, the reservoir (*raduha*), (locally called Nāḍī), (the village) Tōusāla, and the Śiva temple of the village Ārāchandra.

To the south (are situated) the pond (named) Rājjī near the village of Khavaḍa, and the villages Chāmgauhā, Krikuḍapadra, Gugī and the proximity of the *pratōlī* (main gate) of the village Chadarapadra.

To the west (are to be found) the villages (named) Mīlua, Ākandhāpadra and Goḍāiṇī, and three reservoirs of water (*raduha-traya*).

To the north (passes) the way which leads to Lavaṇa-khēḍa, going from the three reservoirs of water (*raduha-traya*) to (the village named) Sumnēvī, thence going round the mountain named Sēhatuṅga and (finally) reaching the village Vērā" (ll. 39-43).

"These are the four boundaries marked out. Within these limits, future kings, whether of our own family or others, should not demand even a single flower from the *śrī-lōkas* (*i.e.* Brāhmaṇas) residing in Gumdakūrchchā (*i.e.* should levy no tax, flower being mentioned as an insignificant article of no practical value) (l. 44)."

Then follow 15 imprecatory verses, after which there stand the first half of a verse and the letter *ka* which perhaps was the beginning of the second half left out for some reason unknown to us.

We thus see that the inscription refers itself to the Chāhamāna family of Lakshmaṇa, whose progenitor is, in this inscription, said to have been born out of the eye of the god Indra; while, in other inscriptions of the family it is recorded that, "when the solar and lunar races had come to an end, the holy Vachchha (*i.e.* Vatsa) brought about the creation of a new race

[1] The six acts prescribed for the Brāhmaṇas are sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, giving and taking.

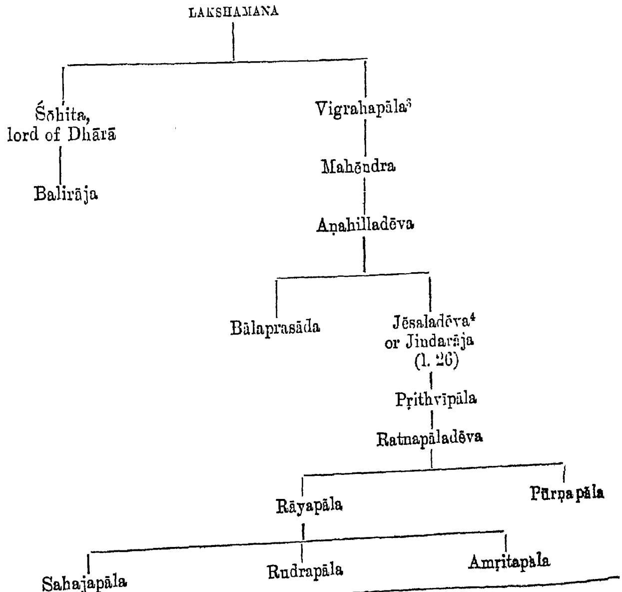
[2] The six *darśanas* are *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā* of Jaimini, *Uttara-mīmāṁsā* of Vyāsa, *Nyāya* of Gautama, *Vaiśeshika* of Kaṇāda, *Sāṅkhya* of Kapila and *Yōga* of Patañjali.

[3] The four Vēdas are, *Ṛik*, *Yajur*, *Sāma*, and *Atharvan*.

[4] The six *Vēdāṅgas* are, *Śikshā* (orthography or phonetics), *Kalpa* (rituals or liturgy), *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology and lexicography), *Chhandaḥ* (prosody), and *Jyōtisha* (astronomy).

of warriors, the Chāhumāna race."[1] This fact is further corroborated by an inscription where we read[2] that " there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great *Ṛishi* Vatsa.' Professor Kielhorn also points out[3] that " according to verse 12 of the Bijolī rock inscription of Sōmēśvara (No. 154 of his *Northern List*) Sāmanta, the first Chāhumāna chief, was born in the Vatsa-*gōtra* at Ahichchhatrapura." The current belief that the four races of Paramāras, Chālukyas, Chāhamānas and Pratihāras sprang from the *agni-kuṇḍa* receives no support from this inscription.

The genealogy unfolded by our inscription, is the same as that given by Prof. Kielhorn in his paper on the Chāhamānas of Naddūla, referred to above, as far as Pṛithvīpāla, and the name of Ratnapāladēva, the hero of our inscription, is an addition to it. But an inscription recently discovered at Maṇḍōr, when archæological excavations were being carried out under the supervision of Dr. Marshall, reveals the name of two further generations, *viz.*, Rāyapāla, son of Ratnapāla, and Sahajapāla, son of Rāyapāla. Before the discovery of the inscription at Maṇḍōr, it was not known whose son Rāyapāla was, though he was known to be a Chāhamāna from his eight inscriptions found in the Gōḍwāṛ District. From these latter we further learn that Rāyapāla had besides Sahajapāla two other sons, *viz.*, Rudrapāla and Amṛitapāla; while in another inscription of Ratnapāla (published in the *Bhāvanagar Prākrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*), the name of Ratnapāla's son is given as Pūṇapāksha, which I am inclined to read as Pūrṇapāla. So the dynastic list would now stand as follows :—



[1] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, p. 79.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[3] The present inscription does not give us the relation which Vigrahapāla bore to his predecessor Balirāja. It is taken from Kielhorn's Genealogical Table (above, Vol. IX, p. 83).

[4] Called Jēndrarāja (Jindurāja) in Prof. Kielhorn's Table.

In our inscription, Śōhita is styled lord of Dhārā. Śōhita's time is after V.S. 1039[1] when Muñja was ruling over Dhārā. It is possible that he defeated Muñja and became, for some time, lord of that city or country. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that Śōhita's son Balirāja, routed the army of Muñjarāja.[2] The *Mahārāja* Jindarāja mentioned in line 26 is the same as Jēsaladēva of verse 10 above. We may also note that the grant, the renewal of which is recorded in this inscription, is stated to have been originally made by *Mahārāja śrī*-Jājuka in the beginning of the Kali age.

Of the localities mentioned in our inscription, all of them except 5 have been identified :—

Guṁdakūrchchā—is the modern Gūndōch, 5 *kōs* south of Pālī (called Mārwār-Pālī), the principal town of the district of the same name and a railway station on the Jōdhpur-Bikaner Railway. It is a *Jāgīr* village held by Ṭhākur Gōpāl Singh, son of Ranjīt Singh, of the Ūdāvat clan of Rāthors.[3]

Vīrā—Bēḍ (now desolate) 1 *kōs* east of Gūṇdōch.

Khavaḍa—Khōḍ, 4 *kōs* south of Gūndōch.

Gugī—Gōgāvās (now deserted).

Chadarapadra—Chāñchōḍī, 7 *kōs* south.

Milua—Mālōla (now uninhabited), 1 *kōs* south.

Ākandhāpadra—Kāndā, 1 *kōs* west of Gūndōch.

Goḍāiṇī—Gurḍāi, 3 *kos* west.

raduha-traya—are the 3 Nāḍīs (or reservoirs of water) called Ḍūlī, Bhāṇḍlāī, and Ghāṇēvara, 1 *kōs* (west).

Sēhatuṅga—Kāliyōṭūṁka and Baḍā Bhākara are the names of 2 small hills and a way leading to Bēḍ passes between the two.

Ghōḍiyā—Bachūjī-rō-Gurhō, 1 *kōs* east of Gūndōch.

raduha—is the Nāḍī called Sānvaliyō, 3 *kōs* east.

Ārāchandra—now desolate; but there is still a temple of Śiva in the desert, ¾ *kōs* south of Gūndōch.

Nahurā—now called Bāmaṇān-rō-Nōrō. It lies in the Jālōr District and is situated at a distance of 11 *kōs* to the west of Gūndōch.

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

1 ओं[5] ओं व्रह्मणे[6] नमः ।[।*] [7]स्वस्तीति चतुरो वेदान् सषडंगपदक्रमान् [।*] सर्व्वांशिष्यमया[8] स्वस्ति स्वस्तीति परमं

2 पदं ॥ [१*] [7]पपात पुरुषे[9] तिन्नादोच्चत: पूर्व्वांदकाते:[10] । [11]चाहमानात्वयस्तस्माद्बभूव[12] गुणिनां प्रियः ॥[२*] [13]वंशः सतां य[14]

[1] This is the latest date given for Lakshmaṇa by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar; above, table opposite p. 78.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 71.

[3] Besides Gūndōch proper, he holds the following villages as his *Jāgīr*—Kōnalā, Bachūjī-rō-Gurhō, two *dhāṇīs* (hamlets) near Gūndōch, Pratāppurā and Gōpālgarh. The annual rental of all these villages is estimated at R7,000 per annum by the State for the purposes of levying State taxes, etc. The majority of the population consists of two different castes of Brāhmaṇas, *viz.* Gurjar-Gauḍas and Śaṅkhavālas. The former claim the village to have been granted to their ancestor named Gaṅgēya (a corruption of Gōvinda of our inscription). The *kūrcha* grass still grows here in abundance—a fact which leaves not even a shadow of doubt as to its being the same village.

[4] From the original plates.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Read ब्रह्म°.

[7] Metre: Anushṭubh.

[8] Read सकलाशीर्मेधा.

[9] Read पुरुषो मेधा°.

[10] Read °र्व्वदिकृते:.

[11] Read °मान्वय°.

[12] Read °बभूव.

[13] Metre: Indravajrā.

[14] Read य:.

3 [1]सफल: सपुण्यो लोके प्रसिद्ध: सगुणो वभूव[2] । सारोत्तारच्छेदविभेदहीन[3] आकारवन्मीनुरतोऽभिषेके[4] ॥३

4 [5]श्रीलच्चणो[6] [7]लब्धवरप्रदानस्तता [8]वभूवाखिलराज्ञपल्य:[9] ॥ [10]वृद्धाभिषिक्तोतिव-रण[11] पुष्टसप:द्रशीवा-[12]

5 स्थिरमंविकाया:[13] ॥४ [14]तस्यात्मजोरातिचयावमर्दी [15]य[सो]भिराक्रांतसमग्रकाष्ठ: । नरेन्द्रवृंदै:[16]

6 तुतपादपद्मो वभूव[17] धारापतिशोह्नितारव्य: ॥५ [18]ततो वभूव[19] राजन्यो [20]वलि-राजो महोपति: [।*] वलिसमा-[21]

7 नदानो यो जितनि:शेषसंगर: ॥६ [22]संख्याजिर[23] विग्रहपालसूनु: प्रतापनि:शे-षितवैरिजा[त: ।*]

8 [24]सक्रंदनाद्यो [25]वलवा[न्नि]तांतं ततश्च राजा समभून्महेंद्र: ॥७ [26]तस्याभवच्छीम-णाहिल्लदेव:[27] सु-

9 त: [28]शसांकोज्वलदानकीर्त्तिः । येनाहवे वैरिजनोपि साची[क्र]त: स्वशैर्यस्य[29] जना-तिग[स्य] ॥८ [30]त[स्या]-

10 त्मजोरातिगण[स्य] हंता वालप्रसादो[31] नृपतिर्व्वभूव[32] । रणाजिरे येन जिता: [33]सपत्ता सुस्थ[क्र]-[34]

11 ता शेषजना तिदापै:[35] ॥९ [36]तस्यानुजो जेसलदेवभूपो वभूव[37] पुणा[38] कमनीय-कांति: । जातं मता-

12 नां परिपूर्णताया: शत(तं) स्थिवास्वर्णतुरंगदानै:[39] ॥१० [40]सनुस्तस्या[41]भवद्राजा पृथ्वीपाल[42]

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1 The letter स is probably a subsequent addition.

2 Read बभूव.

3 Read सारोत्तरच्छेद°.

4 Read °वर्त्मानु°.

5 Metre: Upajāti.

6 Read °लक्ष्मणो.

7 Read लब्धवरप्रदानस्ततो.

8 Read बभूवा°.

9 Read °राजपूज्य:.

10 Read वृद्धा°. [The first akshara appears to be चू. Perhaps the reading intended is चूडा°.—V.V.]

11 Read °वरेण.

12 Read पुष्टस्तप:प्रभावात्.

13 Read °मंबिकाया:.

14 Metre: Upajāti.

15 Read यशोभि°. [There is a blank space for at least three letters between रा and क्रा in the original.—V.V.]

16 Read वृंदैर्नुत°

17 Read बभूव.

18 Metre: Anushṭubh.

19 Read बभूव.

20 Read बलि°.

21 Read बलि°. This line offends against the metre. [Perhaps we have to read बलिसम°.—V.V.]

22 Metre: Upajāti.

23 Read °जिरे.

24 Read संक्रन्द°.

25 Read बल°.

26 Metre: Upajāti.

27 Read °च्छ्री°

28 Read शशाङ्कोज्ज्वल°

29 Read °शौर्य°

30 Metre: Upajāti.

31 Read बाल°.

32 Read °र्बभूव.

33 Read °पत्ना:.

34 Read स्वस्थीकृता:.

35 Read निवापै:.

36 Metre: Upajāti.

37 Read बभूव.

38 Read पुण्य:.

39 Read स्थिरा°.

40 Metre: Anushṭubh.

41 Read सूनुस्तस्याभ°.

42 Read °पालो.

13 महाबलः[1] [।*] शूरो रणे क्रती [त्या]गी कचाशौचे सदा रतः ॥११
तत्पुत्रो [नि]जकुलांभोजमित्रो म-

14 हाराजाधिराजश्रीरत्नपालदेवो मही पालयन्[2] स्वीयमहामात्यरहसादिनियोगिनो[3]
महासामत-[4]

15 [5]डडनायकदुःसाधसाधनिकठक्कुरबलाधिप[6]पट्ट[कि]लजनपदादीन्[7] [8]सव्वान् [9]सपशत-
विषयात:स्थित-[9]

16 महास्थानब्राह्मणांश्च[10] वोधयत्यस्तु[11] वः संविदित[12] यथा । इह श्रीनदूलि
निजराज्ये प्रवर्त्तमा-

17 ने नड्डराग्रामस्थिते कटके [13]श्रीविक्रमादित्येत्पादितातीतसम्वत्सरशते[ष्वे]कादश-

18 सु षटसप्तत्यधिकेषु [14]ज्येष्ठमासवहुलपक्षा[ष्ट]मीगु[रु]वासरे ॥ अंकतोपि संव-

19 त् ११७६ ज्येष्ठ वदि ८ गुरौ[15] एवं काले प्रवर्त्तमाने[16] अस्यां संवत्सरमा-
सपक्षपूर्व्वायां तिथौ

Second Plate; First Side.

20 स्नानं विधाय धौतपोतिके परिधाय रागद्वेषमत्सरकषायादिदोषान् हित्वा
सात्विकभावे[17] स्थि-

21 त्वा संसारस्यासारता[18] विदित्वा तिलाक्षतकुशाबुप्रणयिनं[19] दक्षिणकरं कृत्वा देवपि-

22 तृनुदकेन संतर्प्य धर्म्मानुष्ठानमुपसर्प्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं

23 जीवितमाकलय्य चराचरगुरुं पार्व्वतीपतिं संपूज्य जगन्महीयांसं पापपटल-
पाटनपटो-

24 यास[20](।) जन्मजरामरणरक्षणप्रभविष्णुं विष्णुं पूजयित्वा क्षणमेकमिंद्रियग्रामं जित्वा
क्षणिकां लक्ष्मो-

25 मुपलक्ष्य[21] इत्याद्यनित्यतामवेक्ष्य ब्राह्मणान्[22] गुरूंश्च सुवर्णान्नवस्त्रदानैः[23] संतोष्य
सन्मार्गे सं-

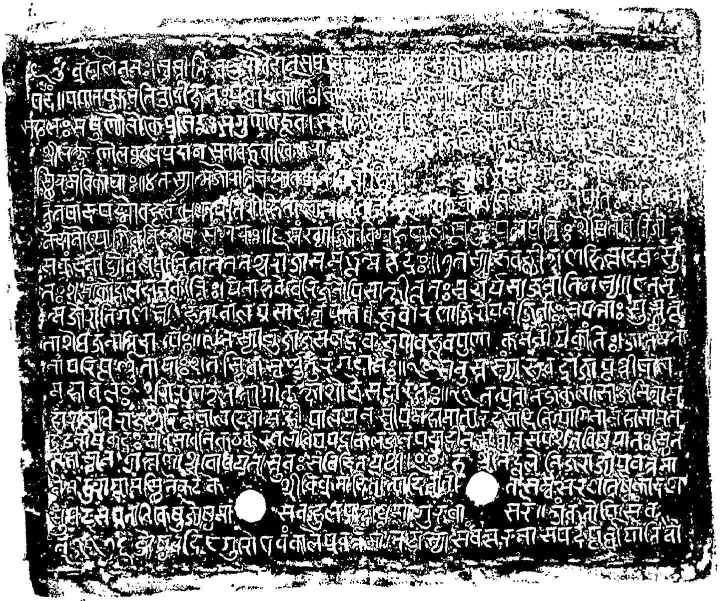
26 पोस्य[24] परलोकभीरुत्वमाश्रित्य[25] ऐहिकामुष्मिकं फलमंगीकृत्य [26]प्राक्महाराजश्री-
जिंदराज-

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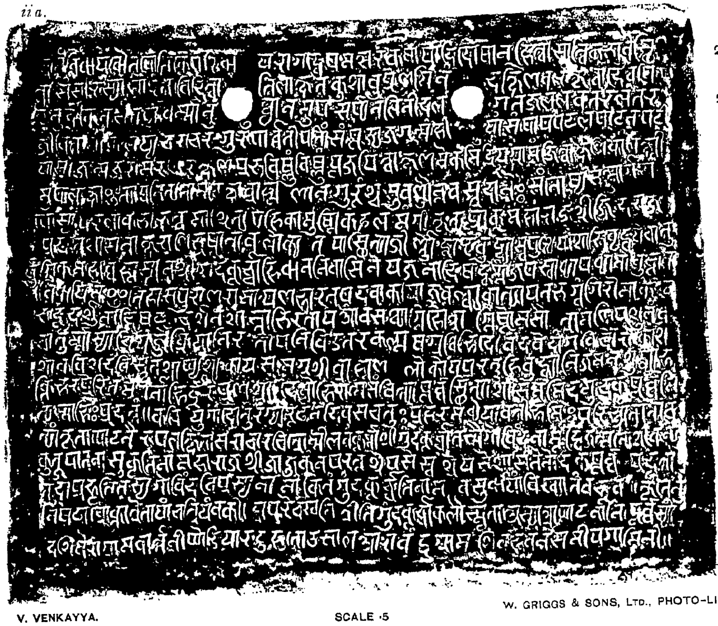
[1] Read °बलः.
[2] Read °यन्.
[3] Read °रथहस्त्यादिनियो°.
[4] Read °सामन्त°.
[5] Read °दण्ड°.
[6] Read °बलाधिप°.
[7] Read °दीन्.
[8] Read सर्व्वान्.
[9] Read सप्तशतविषयान्तः°.
[10] Read °ब्राह्म°.
[11] Read बोध°.
[12] Read संविदितं.
[13] Read °विक्रमादित्योत्पा°.
[14] Read °बहुल°.
[15] Read गुरावेवं.
[16] Read °मानेऽस्यां.
[17] Read सात्त्विक°.
[18] Read °सारतां.
[19] Read °कुशाम्बु°.
[20] Read °यांसं.
[21] Read °लक्षयित्वा°.
[22] Read ब्राह्मणान्.
[23] Read सुवर्णा°.
[24] Read संपोष्य.
[25] Read निश्रैयिका°.
[26] Read प्राङ्म°.

Sevadi Plates of Chahamana Ratnapala.—V.S. 1176.

i.

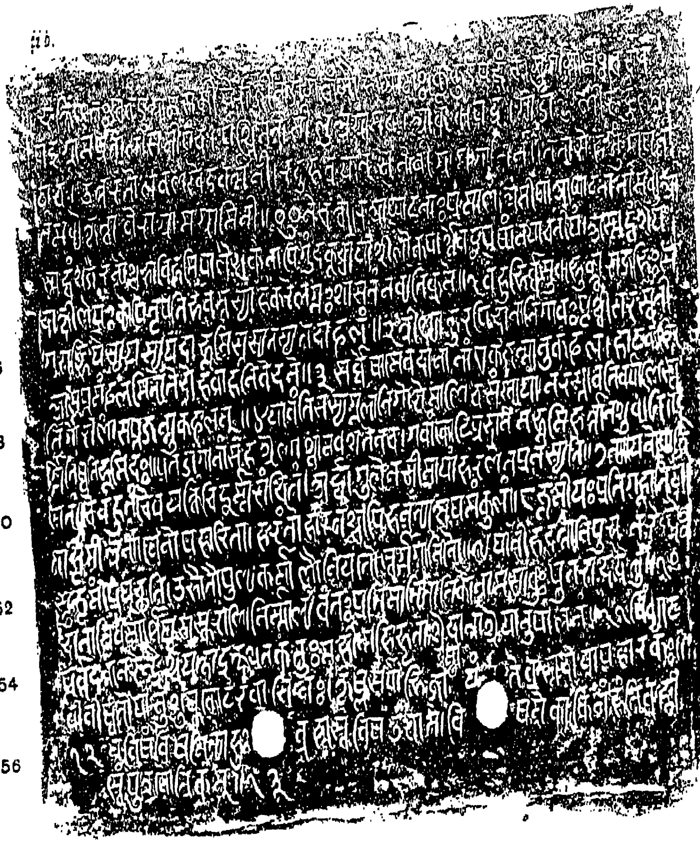


ii a.

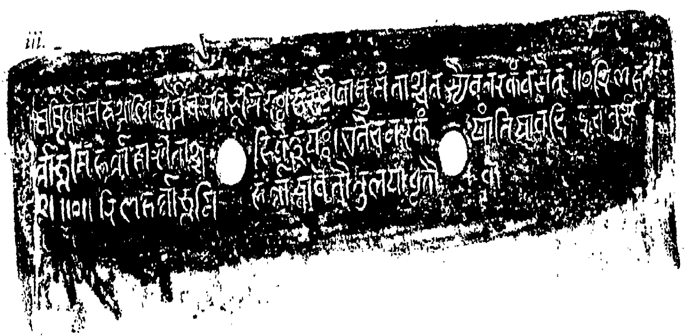


V. VENKAYYA. SCALE ·5 W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., PHOTO-LITH.

ii b.



iii.



27 प्रदत्तशासनाक्षराणि भ्रष्टान्यवलोक्य तया स्थित्या जीर्णोद्धारबुद्ध्या[1] स्वपुण्य-
यशोभिवृद्धये चातु-

28 [2]र्युगिकमहाव्वह्मस्थानश्रीगुदकूर्चाहिधाननिवासिने[3] यजनादिषट्कर्म्मजपस्वाध्यायध्या-
नानुष्ठान-

29 विधायिने इतिहासपुराणरामायणभारतपदवाक्ययाज्ञवल्क्यकात्यायनभर्गवंगिरोमार्कं-
डेय-[4]

30 [5]भट्टदर्शुनादिषट्दर्शनशा[स्त्र]ाभिरताय[6] आवसथ्याग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमसौत्रामणिपशुवंध-[7]

31 चातुर्म्मास्यादियजुक्रियानिरताय[8] निविडतरकल्मषग्र(ग्रं)थिभिदे [वे]दवेदांगविदे (।)
राकाश-

32 शो(शां)कविशदविस्तृतश्लाघ्यश्लोकाय समग्रश्रीव्राह्मणलोकीय[9] परत्र हिवुद्धा[10]
निजमन:शुद्ध्या भ-

33 क्तिभरप्रेरितमनोभिर्दूरप्रणष्टदेनोभिरात्मसंवित्त्या पूर्व्वस्थित्या शासनमिदमुदकपूर्व्वमि-

34 त्यस्माभि: प्रदत्तं ॥ कलियुगादौ तुरग्यारूढेन दिवसचतु:प्रहरमध्ये यावती
भ(भू)मि: परिभ्रांता ताव-

35 त्यां कृताघाटनैरुपलक्षिता [11]सराचारचित्रोन्मीलनकूर्चा श्रीगुंदकूर्चा त[स्मै] गोविं-
दनाम्न[12] द्विजन्मनो(ने ।) श्रीकन्य-

36 कु[ज]पातना[13] सुकृतिना महाराजश्रीजाजुकं(के)न परत्र श्रेयसे स्वश्रेयसे शा-
सनेनोदकपूर्व्वं[14] प्रदत्ता

37 तदाप्रभृति • तस्य गोविंदविप्रस्य नामांकितं गुंदकूर्चेति[15] नाम वसुधायां विख्यातं
वभूव[16] ॥ [17]कृते तु

38 त्रिषढा प्रोक्ता त्रेतायां च त्रियंवकी[18] । द्वापरे च खनित्रीति गुंदकूर्चा
कलौ स्मृता ।(॥) अस्या आघाटनानि । पूर्व्वस्यां

39 दशि[19] वेराग्रामवार्त्तनी[20] घोडिया रदुह तोउसाल आराचंद्रग्रामशिवभवनसमो-
पगामिनी ॥

Second Plate ; Second Side.

40 दक्षिणत: खवडग्रामसमीपे राज्ञीतडागं चांगोहाग्राम: । कुकुडपद्रं च । गुगी-
ग्राम: । चदर-

41 पद्रग्रामप्रतोलीसमीपं च । पश्चिमतो मोलुअग्रामं च । आकंधापद्र । गोडा-
द्रगी रदुहव-

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1 Read °बुद्ध्या.
2 Read °ब्रह्म°.
3 Read °गुंदकूर्चाभिधान°.
4 Read °भृग्वङ्गिरोमार्कं°.
5 Read °दर्शना°.
6 Read °षड्दर्शनशास्त्राभिरताय°.
7 Read °बन्ध°.
8 Read °यजु:क्रिया°.
9 Read °ब्राह्मणलोकाय.
10 Read हितबुद्ध्या.
11 Read सदाचार°.
12 Read °नाम्ने.
Read °कुलपतिना.
14 Read °पूर्व्वं.
15 Read °कूर्चेति.
16 Read बभूव.
17 Metre : Anushṭubh.
18 Read त्रियंबकी.
19 Read दिशि.
20 Read °वर्त्मनी.

42 य[1] च । उत्तरतो लवणखेडवर्त्मनी । रदुहचयात् सुंनेवोग्रामगामिनो ततो[2] सेहतुंगपर्व्व-

43 तं मध्ये क्षत्वा वेराग्रामग्रामिनो[3] ॥ इने[4] चत्वार आघाटनाः प्रमाणं अमोषां[5] आघाटनानां मध्ये[6] आ(अ)-

44 स्मद्वंशजैरन्यैश्च भावि[भू]मिपालैश्च केनापि गुंदकूर्च्चीयां श्रीलोकपार्श्वे वद्दपुष्पं[7] न याचनीयं । अस्मद्वंश य-

45 दा चोणे यः कोपि नृपतिर्भवत्तस्याहं[8] करे लग्नः शासनं न व्यतिक्रमे[9] ॥१ [10]वहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुत्का[11] राजभिः स-

46 गराद्भिर्यस्य[12] यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥२ चोण्याहुरपि[13]दानानि गावः पृथ्वों सरस्वती [।*]

47 आसप्तमं फलमित्येते[14] दोहवाहनिवेदने[15] ॥३ सर्व्वेषामेव दानानां[16] एकजन्मानुकं[17] फल[18] । हाटकच्चि-

48 तिगौरीणां सप्तजन्मुकं[19] फलम् ॥४ यावंति सस्यमूलानि गोरोमाणि च संख्यया [।*] नरस्तावति[20] व[ष]ाणि स्व-

49 र्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥५ तडागानां [21]सहस्रेणाश्व[मे]धशतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदा[ने]न भूमिहर्त्ता न शुध्यति ॥६

50 सत्यं चैव हुतं चैव यत्किंचिद्धर्म्मसंचितं । अर्द्धांगुलेन सीमायां[22] हरणेन प्रनस्यति[23] ॥७ न्यायेनोपाजि-[24]

51 ता भूमी[25] अन्यायेनोपहारिता । हरंतो हारतश्चापि[26] [27]हनत्यात्सपमं कुलं ॥८ भूमी[28] यः प्रतिगह्णाति[29] य-

52 स्तु भूमीं[30] प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ[31] स्वर्ग्गगामिनो ॥९ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैः[32]

53 दानानि[32] धर्म्मार्थयसस्कराणि[33] । निर्म्माल्यवंतःप्रतिमानि[34] तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददैतु[35] ॥१०

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[1] Read °चयं.
[2] Read ततः.
[3] Read °गामिनी.
[4] Read इमे.
[5] Read अमीषामा°.
[6] Read मध्येऽस्म°.
[7] Read बद्दपुष्पं.
[8] Read °र्भवेत् । एतस्या°.
[9] Read व्यतिक्रमेत्.
[10] Read बहु°.
[11] Read भुक्ता.
[12] Read संगरादिभिः । यस्य.
[13] Read °रति°.
[14] Read फलन्त्येते.
[15] Read °निवेदनैः.
[16] Read दानानामे°.
[17] Read °नुगं.
[18] Read फलं.
[19] Read °जन्मानुग.
[20] Read °वन्ति.
[21] Read सहस्रेण चाश्व°.
[22] Read सीमाया.
[23] Read प्रणश्यति.
[24] Read °नोपार्जिता.
[25] Read भूमिरन्यायेना°.
[26] Read हारयन्तोऽपि.
[27] Read प्रहन्त्यासप्त°.
[28] Read भूमिं.
[29] Read °गृह्णाति.
[30] Read भूमिं.
[31] Read नियतं.
[32] Read नरेन्द्रैर्दा°.
[33] Read °यशस्कराणि.
[34] Read °वान्त°.
[35] Read °राददीत.

4 पूर्व्वदत्ता[1] नरेन्द्रैश्च यत्नाद्रच्च [श]तकतु:[2] [।*] [3]मह्दीन्महिभृता श्रेष्ठा[4] दानाश्रेया-
नुपालनं[5] ॥११ विंध्याट-
5 [6]वीवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन:। कृष्णसर्पा भि[7] जायंते [8]व्रह्मदायापहारक:[9] ॥
6 १२ न विषं विष[मि]त्याहु:[10] व्रह्मस्वं विष[11] उचाते। विषमेकाकिनं हंति व्रह्म[12]-
7 स्वं पुत्रपौत्रिकम् ॥१३

Third Plate.

8 षष्टिर्व्वर्षसहस्राणि[13] स्वर्गे वसति भूमिद:। हरणेनानुमंताश्च[14] तस्यैव[15] नरकं
वसेत् ॥० रिणह-[16]
9 र्त्ता भूमिहर्त्ता हारीताश्च[17] ह्वि ते त्रय:[18] । एते च नरकं यांति [19]यावदिंद्रचतुर्दं-
30 श ॥० ॥ [20]रिणहर्त्ता भूमिहर्त्ता द्वावेतौ तुलया धृतौ[।*] क[21]

No. 33.—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS OF KONDAVIDU.

By J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L.

A.

This inscription is engraved on three sides of a stone pillar planted in front of the temple Virabhadra-svāmin in the village of Phirangipuram[22] in the Sattanapalli tāluka of the Gun- District. I first saw and copied it in April 1897. Subsequently, my friend Rao Sahib ishna Sastri visited the place and took an estampage of the inscription, from which I edit it. e letters are cut deep and the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation.

The Telugu characters and orthography of this inscription are similar to those of the taramūḍi plates of Kāṭaya-Vēma.[23] In the present inscription, however, the aspirated forms , *ḍ* and *p* are distinguished from the unaspirated ones by a stroke resembling the Telugu ure 1 affixed at the right-hand corner of the bottom of the letter. This sign is not found in case of *bha*, *bhā* and *bhu*, the first and last of which are, however, distinguished from the responding unaspirated letters by the presence of the *talakaṭṭu* or top-stroke. Sometimes a sonant is unnecessarily doubled after an *anusvāra* as in *vinōduṁḍḍu*-(l. 103).

A remarkable feature in the orthography of the Telugu portion of the inscription is the of the sign of the *pūrṇānusvāra* for denoting *ardhānusvāra* as in *-okkaṁḍu-* (l. 97 f.), *-paṭṭi-*

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1 Read °दत्तां. 2 Read शतक्रतौ. 3 Read मह्हीं महीभतां.
4 Read श्रेष्ठ. The syllable ष्ठा is written below the line.
5 Read दानाच्छ्रेयोनु°. 6 Omit the first वी.
7 Read हि. 8 Read ब्रह्म°. 9 Read °हारका:.
10 Read °त्याहुर्ब्रह्म°. 11 Read विषमुच्यते. 12 Read ब्रह्म°.
13 Read षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि. 14 Read हर्ता चैवानुमन्ता च. 15 Read तान्येव नरके.
16 Read ऋणहर्ता. 17 Read तथा हारयिता. 18 Read त्रय:.
19 Read °दिग्द्राश्च°. 20 Read ऋण°. 21 The inscription abruptly stops here.
22 A station on the Bezwada-Guntakal branch of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.
23 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

yuṁ Gṛishṇa- (102 f.), *=anuṁguṁ-butri* (104 f.), *-nārāyaṇuṁḍu-*(105 f.), *-puṭaṁbulaṁ bari-* (123), and *vēṁḍiṁ jēvu* (125 f.). In all these places, metre requires the *ardhānusvāra* only; and this was, no doubt, what was intended to be read. The use of the complete circle which is the sign of the full *anusvāra* to denote the half-*anusvāra*, is common in inscriptions and in old manuscripts and shows that the modern sign of the *ardhānusvāra*—*i.e.* the left half of a circle,—had 'not yet come into vogue at the beginning of the 15th century A.D. It shows also that '*ardhānusvāra* was *pūrṇānusvāra* incompletely pronounced,' as the author of the *Āndhrabhāshābhūshaṇam* puts it, and disproves the view of some of the later grammarians who seem to think that *ardhānusvāra* was the earlier and *pūrṇānusvāra* the later form of the sound. It also falsifies the much bolder theory of the late Prof. M. Seshagiri Sastri who held that *ardhānusvāra* simply denotes the elision of a consonant.[1] In modern Telugu the words *pūchi*, *ḍīchi*, and *nōchi* are pronounced only with an *ardhānusvāra* after the first vowel, but Nannichōḍa, in his *Kumārasambhavam*, used these words as *pūñchi*, *ḍāñchi* and *nōñchi* and made them rhyme with *eñchi*, and even now we hear, in the Guntur, Nellore, and the Ceded Districts, *vāṇḍu* for *vāḍu* (he), *tūñchu* for *tūchu* (weigh), *mīnda* for *mīdu* (above), *pēṇṭa* for *pēṭa* (market town) and *pēṇḍa* for *pēḍa* (dung). In the Roman text of the Telugu portion of the inscriptions, the *anusvāra* to be elided is printed in italics.

The language of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Telugu and it is throughout in verse. The sixth and seventh verses are also found in the *Śṛiṅgāradīpikā*, a commentary on the *Amaruśataka* by Kōmaṭi-Vēma[2], and the thirteenth verse is taken, with a slight modification, from the Madras Museum plates of Vēma.[3] The first verse is devoted to the praise of the bear-incarnation of Vishṇu and the second and third to the praise of the Sun and Moon, and Vināyaka. In the next verse, the poet appropriately eulogizes the feet of Vishṇu which gave birth to the (Śūdra) caste, which is a veritable ocean of good qualities. In that caste was born king **Vēma** who was 'a seventh emperor,[4] as it were, and an eleventh incarnation of Vishṇu' (v. 5). Vēma ruled for a long time, enjoying what was left of the kingdom after enjoyment by Brāhmaṇs, and constructed the flight of steps from *Pātālagaṅgā* to the summit of the Śrīśaila as if to climb up to the abode of Śiva (v. 6). He had an elder brother named **Mācha**, who had three sons, *viz.*, king **Reḍḍivōta**, śrī-**Kōmaṭīndra**, and king **Nāga**, who were like *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* personified (v. 7). **Ped[d*]a-Kōmaṭi** begot a son named **Vēma**—as great as Karṇa in charities—even as the ocean begot the moon (v. 8). Verses 9 and 11 describe the military greatness of Vēma, while vv. 10, 12 and 13 praise his charities which extended from Śrīśaila to Kāśī (Benares), touching on the way **Kumārāchala**, **Pañchārāma**, **Siṁhāchala**, **Śrīkūrma** and **Purushōttama**. The queen of this king was **Sūramāmbikā**, who, on the second day of the dark fortnight of the month of **Phālguna** in the year **Virōdhi** corresponding to the Śaka year counted by the moon, Rāmas, Rāmas and the earth (1331), performed the ceremony of *pratishṭhā* (completion and dedication to public use) of the tank called **Santānapayōnidhi** (vv. 14 and 15). The next three verses contain a hyperbolical description of the tank, and then follow three verses from the *Mahābhārata* on the merit of digging tanks. The last Sanskrit verse tells us that this pure *dharmaśāsana* was composed by **Śrīnātha** who was the *Vidyādhikārin* of **Vēma** and a storehouse of learning.

The three Telugu verses that are engraved on the east face of the pillar, are in the Sīsa metre, each verse consisting of four long lines in the proper Sīsa metre followed by four

[1] See his *Theory of Ardhānusvāra*, Edition of 1892.

[2] See the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya's remarks on the Phiraṅgipuram inscription, in his Report on Epigraphy for 1900, p. 21, paragraph 55.

[3] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff.

[4] That is, as great as any of the six emperors (*shaṭchakravartin*) spoken of in the Purāṇas.

short lines in the Tēṭa-gīta metre. The first verse announces the fact of the completion of the tank and gives us the additional information that the day of the ceremony of *pratishṭhā* was a Friday and that Sūramāmbā was the daughter of king Ganna of Dhānyavāṭi (Dharaṇikōṭa). The next two verses contain a hyperbolical description of the tank of which it is stated that its waters were as purifying as those of Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and all other sacred rivers, that it was full of water-lilies which blossomed at the touch of the rays of the moon which was the crest of (the idol of) Śiva established on its bank, that the deafening roar of its waters filled all space, that it was the sporting ground for fish, crabs, and other water animals, and that its waves kissed the sky (v. 24). "How, to such a tank as this, can be likened the ocean which was trodden to dust by the hoofs of the false Boar that was Vishṇu, which became dry by the touch of the fire of the arrows of Rāma, that was drunk up by sage Agastya, and that was dammed with stones by hosts of monkeys and bears?" (v. 25).

In regard to the date of the inscription, the Honourable Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, the learned author of the "Indian Chronology," kindly informs me that "the *tithi* ended at 23½ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise on Friday, 21st February, A. D. 1410".

The inscription confirms, but adds little to, what we know already of the history of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu, which I discussed at length in my paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vēma.[1]

Special interest attaches to this inscription as well as to the two following ones from the fact that they were composed by the great Telugu poet Śrīnātha.

Vēma, son of Pedda-Kōmaṭi, bore the titles *Saṁgrāma-Dhanaṁjaya* (vv. 9 and 11) and *Vīranārāyaṇa* (v. 23). He seems to have been both a scholar and a patron of scholars. The *Śṛiṅgāradīpikā*, of which he is the reputed author, says that he was well versed in all the branches of knowledge and that his court was the resort of poets among whom was the great Sanskrit poet Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, the author of the drama *Pārvatīpariṇaya* and of the poem *Vēmabhūpālīyam* of which Vēma was himself the hero. Śrīnātha held the position of *Vidyādhikārin* (Poet Laureate[2]) under Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma and he seems to have held the same position under his son Rācha-Vēma, as will appear from the next inscription.[3] After the death of Rācha-Vēma he seems to have gone to Rajahmundry where he was patronised by Vēma-Reḍḍi and Vīrabhadra-Reḍḍi. He was a prolific writer and his poetry is characterised by originality and vigour of expression. He is the author of the following works:—

1. Marudrāṭcharitramu.
2. Śālivāhana-Saptaśati.
3. Śṛingāranaishadhamu.
4. Bhīmakhaṇḍamu.
5. Kāśīkhaṇḍamu.
6. Haravilāsamu.
7. Paṇḍitārādhyacharitramu.
8. Vīthi-Nāṭakamu.

Nos. 3 to 6 have been published. A *Vīthi-Nāṭakamu* purporting to be the work of one Vinukoṇḍa Vallabhāmātya has been recently edited by Mr. Mānavalli Rāmakrishṇa Kavi, M.A.,

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1 Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff.

2 [*Vidyādhikārin* appears to have been a responsible high place somewhat similar to the 'President, Board of Examiners' of the present day. That Śrīnātha did occupy such a place is evident from what is said of him in the introduction to the *Bhīmakhaṇḍamu*, in the Sīsa-foot *bhāshimohināḍavu bahudēśa-budhalatō vidyāparikshaṇa-vēḷalandu*.—H. K. S.]

3 Śrīnātha's connection with the Reḍḍis probably began in the reign of Ana-Vēma to whose minister he dedicated his *Śṛiṅgāranaishadhamu*.

and I agree with the editor in considering that Śrīnātha, who was Vallabha's contemporary, was the real author of this little poem. The poetry is certainly that of Śrīnātha.[1]

In the introduction to his *Bhīmakhaṇḍamu*, the poet tells us that he was a Brāhmaṇa of the Pākanāṭi sect. The Pākanāṭis are found mostly in the Nellore District and there is a family of them at Sālūrupēṭa, whose housename is Śrīnātham (Śrīnāthuni). These Brāhmaṇs usually call their sect Prāṅnāṭi to distinguish it from that of Pākanāṭi Kāpus or Reḍḍis and interpret that term as meaning the "Eastern Country." This etymology is obviously incorrect.[2] The Telugu term Pākanāḍu is evidently derived from Tamil Pākkainādu, which is found in several Tamil inscriptions in the Nellore District[3] and the word *pākkai* is the Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit *pūga*, meaning areca-nut. Pūṅgi, a variation of Pūgi, appears in inscriptions as the name of the country "which extended from the eastern slopes of Srīgiri to the eastern sea on both sides of the river Kuṇḍi."[4] In my paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vēma, I was unable to explain the signification of this term, but there is no doubt about it now. The Telugu form of *pūgi* is *pōka*— *ō* being nasal— and a sect of the Reḍḍis of the Cudappah District call themselves Pōkanāṭi and not Pākanāṭi Reḍḍis.

Śrīnātha was a much travelled man for his times. He tells us, in a stray verse attributed to him, that he visited the courts of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II. and Rāvu Sarvajña-Siṅgamanīḍu of the Velugōṭi family, and that he was patronised by Sāḷuva Teluṅgu Rāya. He spent, however, the best part of his life at the courts of the Reḍḍi chiefs of Koṇḍavīḍu and Rajahmundry and dedicated most of his works either to those chiefs or to their officers. The traditional history of the Velugōṭi family tells us that Liṅgamanāyuḍu of that family having killed Vēma-Reḍḍi of Rajahmundry in battle and taken his sword called the *Nandikantapōtarāju*,[5] Śrīnātha was deputed by Vēma's brother Vīrabhadra to get back the sword and that the poet succeeded in doing so by eulogizing Liṅgamanāyuḍu in three verses.[6]

B.

This inscription also belongs to the time of Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma and is engraved on both sides of five copper plates. About ten years ago, the plates were sent by the Tahsildar of Guṇṭūr to the Collector of the Kistna District in which Guṇṭūr was then included, and I edit the inscription from impressions taken by me at that time. The inscription consists of two

[1] Śrīnātha is also the reputed author of the ballad *Palnāṭivīracharitramu*; but some dispute his authorship and the point requires investigation.

[2] [The Bitragunṭa plates of Saṁgama II (above, Vol. III, p. 27, verse 19) describe Pāka-vishaya or Pāka-nāḍu as a district situated 'on the shore of the Eastern Ocean (*i.e.* the Bay of Bengal),' including within it the town Vikramasiṁhapura, *i.e.* the modern Nellore. Pūgi or Pūṅgi-vishaya, on the other hand, was a part of Pāka, confined in extent to either bank of the river Kuṇḍi or Guṇḍlakamma and extending from Śrīśaila to the Bay of Bengal. Prāṅnāḍu 'Eastern Country' as applied to themselves, by the Pākanāṭi Brāhmaṇas of the Nellore district appears, therefore, to have been the correct etymological interpretation of the term Pāka-nāḍu, though the form Pākkai-nāḍu of Tamil inscriptions was undoubtedly derived from *pūṅgi*, *pūgi* or *pōka*, which formed a part of the name of the northern sub-division of Pāka-nāḍu and meant an areca-nut. Consequently it looks as if the larger territorial division Pāka-nāḍu or Pākkai-nāḍu derived its name from the smaller Pūṅgi-vishaya, which was perhaps the earlier and the more ancient.—H. K. S.]

[3] *Nellore Inscriptions* by Messrs. Butterworth and Venu Gopaul Chetty, Vol. II, p. 873, and Vol. III, pp. 1397 and 1401.

[4] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 10.

[5] In another place it is called *Sandikantapōtarāju*.

[6] The *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśacharitramu* by Vellāla Sadāśiva Śāstrulu and Avadhānamu Śēsha Śāstrulu, Madras edition of 1910, pp. 59 and 60. In this book the Reḍḍi king who was killed, is called Anavēma-Reḍḍi. But this is clearly a mistake for Allaya-Vēma-Reḍḍi.

parts; the first part records the grant by Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma of the village of Ālapāḍu to a Brāhmaṇ named **Viśvēśvarabhaṭṭa**, and the second part records the distribution of the village by the donee, among a number of other Brāhmaṇs. The first part consists of twenty Sanskrit verses intercepted, after verse 18, by a long Telugu prose passage which describes the boundaries of the village. The first, fourth, fifth and eighth verses are found also in inscription A. We learn from this part of the record that Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma had a younger brother named **Mācha** who is known to have been killed in battle by **Kumāra-Vēdagiri-Nāyuḍu** of the **Velugōṭi** family.

The object of the inscription is to record the fact that on the Śivarātri day in the month of **Māgha** in the year **Nandana** corresponding to the Śaka year counted by the oceans, **Rāmas, and the moon (1334)**, Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma granted the village of Ālapāḍu, situated on the eastern bank of the river **Tuṅgabhadrā**, in the beautiful **Velanāṇḍu** district of the **Triliṅga-*vishaya*** to Viśvēśvara-bhaṭṭa who was the great-grandson of Mādhava, grandson of **Guṇḍaya** and son of the great poet **Mādhava-bhaṭṭa** of the Yajuḥ-*śākhā* and the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*. The enclosing boundary line of the village is specified in great detail in Telugu prose after which comes the usual imprecatory verse *sva-dattā[d*]=dviguṇam puṇyam*. etc. The last verse tells us that the inscription was composed by Śrīnātha. The signature at the end consists of the phrase *śrī-Vīranārāyaṇasya*, *i.e.* of the glorious Vīranārāyaṇa.

The second part of the inscription, which is engraved on both sides of the fourth and fifth plates, states that Viśvēśvara-bhaṭṭa, here stated to be a student of the Yajuḥ-śākhā, of (the three ***pravaras***) Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja, to have been the son of Mādhavāchārya, 'who was capable (equally) of cursing or conferring boons,'[2] and to have been born as a gift of the glorious (God) Nṛisiṁha, divided the village Ālapāṭi-Vēmavara (*i.e.* Ālapāḍu renamed **Vēmavara** after the donor) given to him by king Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma, into 60 shares out of which he reserved apparently 15 shares for himself and distributed the remaining 45 shares as shown in the list appended at the end of this article.

Ālapāḍu is identical with the village of that name in the Tenāli tāluka of the Guntur **District. Tuṅgabhadrā** was a branch of the Krishṇā river and branched off from the main river near Bezwada. It has ceased to exist as a river after the construction of the Krishṇā **anicut** and its course is marked by the main and the Kommamūr canals of the Guntur tāluka and the drain which is in continuation of the latter.

The Honourable Swamikannu Pillai has kindly furnished the following note about the date of the inscription:—" Śaka 1334, Nandana, Śivarātri, *i.e.* Māgha *bahula* 13 or 14. I understand that Śivarātri is celebrated at midnight when the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa is current, whether the *tithi* be the 13th or the 14th. Now the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa was current at midnight between **Monday, 30th, and Tuesday, 31st January, 1413 A.D.** which was Nandana, Śaka 1334. The 14th *tithi* ended at $15\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās* on Tuesday, 31st January 1413. The *nakshatra* Śravaṇa ended at $12\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās* on Tuesday, 31st January 1413 ".[3]

[1] The description as usual includes the mention of a number of anthills distinguished by different trees that grow over or near them and of the villages, Pedapūṇḍi-Maṇḍūru (north-east), Tāṇḍiparati (south-west), Jaṭalammapāḍu and Chuṇḍūru.

[2] The same is stated of Mādhavabhaṭṭa in the first part of the inscription (v. 15). It is also recorded here that Mādhavabhaṭṭa had thoroughly accomplished (the repetition of) the *mantra* (invoking the blessings) of Lakshmī-Nṛisiṁha.

[3] [It will be seen from l. 29 that there was an eclipse of the sun in connexion with the *Śivarātri*. Mr. Sewell has kindly informed me that the Śivarātri ended at mean sunrise on Wednesday, February 1st. There was an important eclipse of the sun on that morning (Wednesday), conjunction taking place at 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.—S. K.]

4 भरामुद्वहन् । भारापितफणा-
5 विवर्तनवशान्मोदाय यस्या-
6 भवन्नियंत्वा भुजगेंद्रमौक्तिमणि-
7 भिनीराजनप्रक्रिया । [1*] तमो हरे-
8 तां तव पुष्पवंतौ राकासु
9 पूर्वापरशैलभाजौ । रथांगली-
10 लामिव दर्शयंती पुरा पुरा-
11 रे: पृथिवीरथस्य । [2*] मानुषाकारकिम्मो-
12 रस्तंबेरमवपुर्महः । उन्निद्रय-
13 तु भद्राणि रुद्राणी येन सुप्रजा[:] [।*] [3*]
14 यन्मौक्तौ निहितं चिराय निगमैर्ध्ये-
15 यं च यद्योगिभिर्यंल्लक्ष्मीमृदुपा-
16 णिपद्मयुगलीसंवाहनैर्लालितं [।*]
17 जाता यत्र वियन्नदी त्रिजगतीसंता-
18 पनिवापणी[1] तस्मात्कंसभिदः पदादु-
19 दभवद्वर्णो गुणार्णोनिधिः । [4*] तत्रा-
20 भवन्मसमचक्रवर्ती वेमक्षितीशो जग-
21 रक्षपालः । एकादशेति प्रतिभाति शंका
22 येनावताराः परमस्य पुंसः । [5*] रा-
23 ज्यं वेमः स चिरमकरोत्प्राज्यदानैक-
24 तानो भूमीदेवैर्भुवसुरभुजो
25 भुक्तशेषामभुङ्क्[2] । श्रीशैलाग्रात्प्रभ-
26 वति पथि प्राप्तपाताळगंगे सोपानानि
27 [3]प्रमथपदवीमारुरुक्षुश्चकार । [6*]
28 माचक्षोणिपतिर्महेंद्रमहिमा
29 वेमक्षितीशाग्रजो रामाद्यैः[4] सदृशो
30 बभूव सुगुणैस्तस्य त्रयो नंद-
31 नाः । [5]कित्यां जाग्रति रेड्डिवोतनृपति[:*] श्री-
32 कोमटींद्रस्ततो नागन्मापतिरित्युपा-
33 त्तवपुषो [6]धर्मार्थकामा इव । [7*] असूत

[1] Read °निर्वा°.

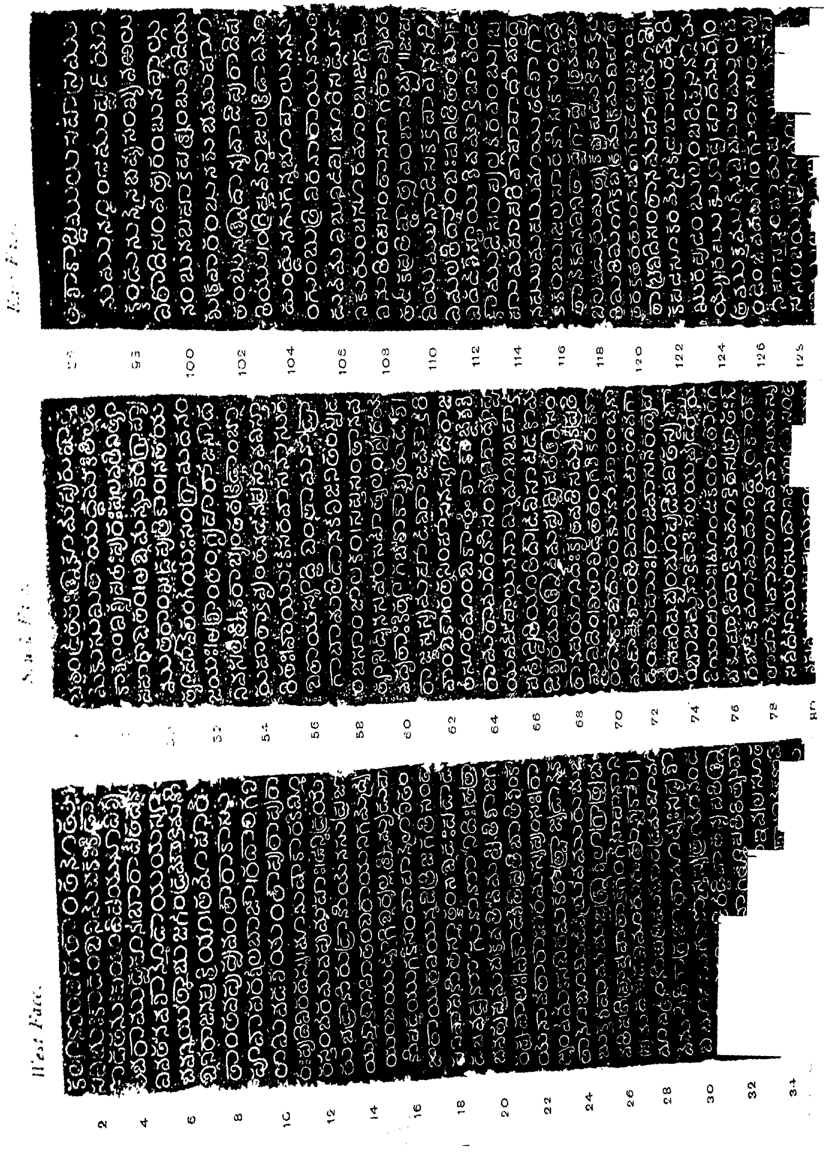
[2] Read °मभुङ्क्त.

[3] Read प्रमथ°.

[4] The *Śṛiṅgāradīpikā* has हेमाद्रि.

[5] Read कीर्त्यां.

[6] Read धर्मार्थ°.



Phirangipuram pillar inscription of Peda-Komati-Vema.

34 पुत्रं पेदकोमटींद्रो विश्राणने कर्णम-
35 सूतपुत्रं । वेमाभिधानं सुगु-
36 णैकधानं[1] पाथोनिधिर्नाधमिवौ[ष]-
37 धीनां । [8*] [2]धाटिदुंदुभिभांकृतिं[3]
38 कलयतो निर्घातरावं रिपू-
39 न् नामानि द्रुतमर्जुनस्य जपतो
40 यस्याजिगांडीविन: । संग्रामोपप-
41 दानि तानि भवता रक्षाकृते सर्वदा वर्ण्यं-[3]
42 तामिति बोधयंत्यधिपतीन् धीयं-[3]
43 त्रिणो मंत्रिण: । [9*] श्रीशैले स्थिरमूल-
44 तामुपगता वृध्वि[4] कुमाराचले पं-[3]
45 चारामतले प्रतानसुषमा सिंहा-

South Face.

46 चलेंद्रे तत: । श्रीकूर्मे पुरुषोत्त-
47 मे कुसुमिता [5]यध्वमंकीर्तोल्लंता
48 काश्यां विश्वपते: पुर: फलवतो नित्यो-
49 पहारोचितं । [10*] अभिमन्युकरग्राह्या-
50 मुत्तरां खड्गपुत्रिकां । नर्तय-
51 त्याहवे रंगे य: संग्रामधनं-
52 जय: । [11*] अश्रांतं गृहराजसौध-
53 निवसल्लक्ष्मीकराभ्यंतरक्रीडांभो-
54 रुहताकृष्टंतनटनप्रस्तावविस्ता-
55 रित: । वायु: केसरवासनासुर-
56 [6]बितो यस्यार्थ्थिचिंतामणेर्द्रा-
57 गाचामति दानकेलिजनितं खेदां-[7]
58 भसां जालकं । [12*] सप्तसंतानव-
59 त्यासोध्येन सर्वसहेत्यलं । स्पर्धये-
60 व धृता: कीर्त्या गर्भे लोकाश्चतुर्दश । [13*]

[1] Read °तानं पाथोनिधिर्नाथ°.

[2] Read धाटी°.

[3] The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

[4] Read वृद्धिं.

[5] Read यद्ध्वमंकीर्त्योल्लसंता.

[6] Read °भिती यस्यार्थि°.

[7] The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

61 राज्ञस्तस्य महादेवी राजमौळेरि-
62 मांबिका । रत्नसिंहासनस्यार्धे राज-
63 ते सूरमांबिका । [14*] ꣼ शाकाब्दे शशि-
64 रामरामधरणीसंख्ये विरोध्याह्व-'
65 ये वर्षे फाल्गुननाम्नि मासि बह्व(हु)ळे
66 पक्षे द्वितीयातिथौ[1] । देवी सा पेद्दकोम-
67 टीश्वरभुव[:*] श्रीवेमपृथ्वीपते[:*] श्रीसं-
68 तानपयोनिधेः क्षतवती सम्यक् प्रति-
69 ष्ठाविधिं । [15*] लीलालोढतरंगशीकरकणं[2]
70 राकाविधौ रंकुणा हेरंबेण
71 मदोष्मशांतिविषये हेलावगा-
72 ढं मुहुः । राजीवासनरथ्यहं-[2]
73 सपरिषच्चंचूपुटीचर्वितस्वक्कां-[3]
74 भोजमृणाळिकाकिसलयक्ष्वेदं[4] य-
75 दीयं पयः । [16*] घोंटाकंठकठोरग-
76 भंकुहळीपाळीमधूळीरसस्रोतःसौ-[5]
77 रभटीकमानमधुलिट्झंकारको-
78 लाहलैः । वाचालानि वनानि यस्य
79 सविधे सोयं सुधानिर्मलश्रीसंत[ा]-
80 नसमुद्र एष पयसां राशिर्जय-
81 त्यष्टमः । [17*] वैडूर्यरत्नशकलामल-
82 वारिपूरे मङ्क्षु[6] किमत्र भगवान्मध-[7]
83 कैटभारिः । अंगीचकार जगतामवन-
84 क्षलेन[8] पाठीनकक्षपवराहमहा-[9]
85 वतारान् । [18*] ꣼ श्रीमहाभारते ॥
86 देवा मनुष्याः पितरो गंधर्वो-
87 रगराक्षसाः । स्थावराणि च भूता-
88 नि संश्रयंति जलाशयं । [19*] तटाके य-

[1] Read °तिथौ.
[2] The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.
[2] Do. Read °स्वच्छां°.
[4] Read °च्छेदं.
[5] Read °तस्सौ°.
[6] Read मङ्क्षु.
[7] Read °न्मधुकैटभारिः.
[8] Read °च्छलेन.
[9] Read °कच्छप°.

89 स्य गावस्तु पिबंति तृषिता जलं । [मृ]-
90 गपच्छिमनुष्याश्च सोश्वमेधफलं
91 लभेत् । [20*] आस्फोटयंति पितरः प्रनृत्यं-[1]
92 ति पितामहाः । अपि नः स कुले जातो
93 यस्तटाकं करिष्यति । [21*] विद्याधिकारी श्री-
94 नाथो वीरश्रीवेमभूपतेः । [अ]करोदा-
95 करो वाचां निर्मलं धर्मशासनं । [22*] श्री [॥*]

East Face.

96 ශ්‍රී Śāk-ābdamulu sahasramu-
97 nu munnūṁṭa-muppadiy-o-
98 kkaṁḍunun=aina bhavya-saṁkhya- | varalu
99 **Virōdhi**-saṁvatsaraṁbuna **Phālgu-**
100 **na**ṁbuna **baha(hu)ḷa-paksha**ṁbu **vidiya** [|*]
101 **Śukravāra**ṁbuna śubha-muhū-
102 [r]taṁbuna śrī-**Dhānyavāṭī**-pur-ādhipa-
103 tiyu-|ṁ **Grishṇaveṇṇa**-[2]jala-krīḍā-vinō-
104 duṁḍḍun=agu **Ganna-bhūpālun**=anu-
105 ṁguṁ-butri | **Vīranārāyaṇu**ṁ-
106 ḍu-**Vēma**-vibhuni dēvi | bhūri-sadguṇa-
107 nikuruṁba **Sūramāṁba** | jagamu
108 vinutiṁpa **Saṁtāna-sāgar**-ākhya-[|*] vara-
109 taṭāka-pratishṭh-ōtsavaṁb=onarchche[3] || [23*] Jāhna-
110 vī-Yamun-ādi-sakaḷa-pāvana-nadī-
111 vimala-[4]tīrdhth-āṁbhaḥ-pavitritaṁbu | sa-
112 vidha-dēśa-sthāyi-Śiva-mauḷi-bāl-ēṁdu-
113 kaumudī-saṁpulla-[5]kairavaṁbu | ba-
114 hu-maha-[6]parivāha-pāthōbhara-dhvā-
115 na-ghumaghumāyita-diśā-gō-
116 ḷakaṁbu | jala-sāraṇī-sēka-saṁvardhi-
117 t-ānēka-vana-vinīt-ādhvag-ādhva-śramaṁbu [|*]
118 balavad-uru-matsya-kachhchhapa-[7]dhuḷi-kuḷīra-[|*]
119 timi-timiṁgiḷa-vikrama-krama-viḥāra-[|*]
120 taraḷatara-tuṁga-bhaṁga-kadaṁba-chuṁ[bi]-[|*]
121 t-ābhra-vīdhi(thi) **Saṁtāna-mahā-payōdhi**[8] || [24*]
122 **Kapaṭa-sūkaram**=aina **Kaiṭabh-āsura-vairi-**
123 **khura-puṭaṁbulaṁ** barikshuṇṇam=[9]a-
124 yye | **Raghu-kul-ōdvaha-dhanur-yaṁ-**

[1] The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

[2] Read *Krishṇaveṇṇā-*

[3] Read *=onarche.*

[4] Read *-tīrth-*

[5] Read *-saṁphulla-*

[6] Read *-mahā-*. There is an indistinct syllable written above the line between the letters *ma* and *ha*; it looks like *ḍa*, *ḍu* or *la*.

[7] Read *-kachchhapa-ḍhuḷi-*

[8] Read *-payōdhi.*

[9] Read *°kshaṇam=*.

125 tra-muktamul=aina chichchuṟammula[1] vē-
126 *ṁ*ḍi*ṁ* jēva daṟage-|*ṁ* Gumbha-sambhavu-
127 ni hast-āmbhō-ruhambunan=āpō-
128 sanamb=ayi hrāsam=omde-|*ṁ* bāshā-
129 [illegible]-achchhabhalla-[2]gōlāṅgūla-ka
130 pi-yudhamula[illegible]*ṁ* gaṭṭuvaḍiye |
131 vanadhi yē bhaṁgi sari-vachchun=ana*ṁ*gavachchu-[|*]
132 n=ā-rasātala-gambhīra-vāriy=aguchu-[|*]n=apa-
133 gat-āpāyam=aguchu śōbh-āḍhyav=[3]agu-
134 chu-[|*]n=anupamamb=aina Saṁtāna-vanadhitōḍa [|*] [25*]

Inscription B.

TEXT.

First Plate; First Side.

1 कल्याणं जगतां तनोतु स विभुः कादंबिनीमेचकः क्रीडाक्रो-
2 डतनुः पयोधिपयसो विश्वंभरामुद्वहन् । भारापेतफ-
3 णाविवर्तनवशान्मोदाय यस्याभवन्निर्यन्ना भुजगेंद्रमौक्तिम-
4 णिभिर्नीराजनप्रक्रिया ।[1*] लीलाद्यूतजितां कक्षाधरकक्षां मौ-
5 क्तौ दृढं कीलितामाहर्तुं युगसुन्नमय्य भुजयो-
6 र्विश्लेषयंत्या मिथः । पार्वत्याः कुचकुंभपार्श्व-
7 युगके सप्रेमलोलेक्षणः कालक्षेपणमिंदुमौचन-
8 विधौ कांचन् शिवः पातु वः ।[2*] भवतु भवतां फलाढ्ये कल्पलता
9 कापि करटिराजमुखी । मधुरसुधारसधारा मधुलव-
10 ललितेंदुमंजरीमंजुः ।[3*] तमो हरेतां तव पुष्पवं-
11 तौ राकासु पूर्वापरशैलभाजौ । रथांगलीलामिव दर्श-

First Plate; Second Side.

12 यंतौ पुरा पुरारेः पृथिवीरथस्य[4] । [4*] यन्मौक्तौ निहितं चिराय निगमै-
13 र्ध्येयं च यद्योगिभिर्यल्लक्ष्मीमृदुपाणिपद्मयुगलीसंवाहनैला-[5]
14 लितं । [illegible] विष्णुपदी त्रिजगतीसंतापनिर्वापणी तस्मात् कंस-
15 भिदः पद[illegible] गुणार्णोनिधिः । [5*] तस्मादभूत् प्रोलयवे-

[1] Mr. Brown gives the form *chichchuṭammu* in the sense of 'rocket.' The word is a compound of *chichchu* and *ammu* and means a fiery arrow.

[2] Read *-achchhabhalla-*.

[3] Read *-āḍhyam-*.

[4] Read पृथिवीरथस्य.

[5] Read °नैर्ला°.

[6] Read °दृर्णं.

16 मनामा श्रीशैलसोपानविदानशाली[1] । हेमाद्रिकल्पोदितदानदक्षो
17 निस्सीमभूदाननिरूढकीर्तिः । [6*] वेमक्षितीशो हृषमेकपादं खं-
18 जप्रचारं कलिकालदोषात् । दत्ताग्रहारद्विजवेदशक्त्या पथि क्र-
19 मैरस्खलितं चकार । [7*] माचक्षोणिपतिर्महेंद्रमहिमा वे-
20 मक्षितीशाग्रजो रामाद्यैः सदृशो बभूव सुगुणैस्तस्य त्र[यो]
21 नंदनाः । कीर्त्या जाग्रति रेड्डिवोतनृपति[:*] श्रीकोमटेंद्रस्ततो
22 नागक्ष्मापतिरित्युपात्तवपुषो धर्मार्थकामा[2] इव । [8*] वे-
23 माधिपो माचविभुश्च नंदनौ श्रीकोमटेंद्रश्च[3] गुणै-

Second Plate ; First Side.

24 कसंश्रयौ । भूलोकमेकोदरजन्मवांछया भूयावतीर्णाविव
25 रामलक्ष्मणौ । [9*] [4]चूडामणिर्नृपाणं [5]दुर्मदपरिपंदिशिखरिदंभो-
26 ळिः । सर्वज्ञचक्रवर्ती पेदकोमटिवेमभूपतिर्जयति । [10*] सोयं वेम-
27 [म*]हीपालो भूपालपरमेश्वरः । [illegible]
28 दात्तगुणोतरः[6] ।[11*] श्रीशाकाब्दे पयाराशिशशिशराङ्कु-
29 सम्मिते । नंदने मासि माघाख्ये शिवरात्रौ रविग्रहे[7] ।[12*]
30 पितुः पितामहो यस्य मह[नी]ययशोनि[धि]ः । मा-
31 धवो नाम मेधावी विश्वविद्याविहारभू[:] ।[13*] पितामहो महा-
32 विद्वान् यस्य श्रीगुंडयाभिधः । वेदादीनां विशुद्धानां वि-
33 द्यानां जन्ममंदिरं । [14*] शापानुग्रहदक्षो लक्ष्मीनरसिंहमं-
34 त्रसंसिद्धः [।] सकलकविसार्वभौमो माधवभट्टः पिता यस्य[।] [15*]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

35 श्रीविश्वेश्वरविदुषे भारद्वाजान्वयावतंसाय । स्वयविरचि-
36 ताय तस्मै विद्याविनयान्विताय पुण्याय । [16*] प्रदाच्चिलिंग-[8]
37 विषये वेलनांडौ मनोरमे । तुंगभद्रातरंगिण्याः प्रा-
38 क्तीरे पर्यवस्थितं । [17*] आलपाडुरिति ख्यातं ग्राममाचंद्रता-
39 रकं । साष्टैश्वर्यं साष्टभोगं धारापूर्वं धराधिपः [।] [18*]
40 अस्य ग्रामस्य सीमाचिह्नानि देशभाषया लिख्यंते [॥][9]

---

[1] Read °विधान°.

[2] Read धर्मार्थ°.

[3] Read श्रीकोमटेंद्रस्य.

[4] This verse is found also in the *Śṛiṅgāradīpikā*. Read °र्नृपाणां

[5] Read दुर्मदपरिपंथि°.

[6] Read गुणोत्तरः.

[7] The letters here are somewhat illegible though the reading is almost certain.

[8] Read प्रादाच्चि°.

[9] The rest of this side as well as the whole of plate 3 which are taken up with a description of the boundary line of Ālapāḍu in Telugu prose have not been transcribed. Plates 4 and 5 which contain the names of d---- who received the grant from Viśvēśvara-bhaṭṭa, are also left out.

Inscription C.

TEXT.

1 Śāk-āb[d]amulu sahasrambunu mun[n]ūṁṭa-muppadi[y-ēḍunu]
2 [1]yopp[u] migula | mahanīyam=aina Manmatha-vatsarambuna Ma[kh]a-[2] māsa-
3 munaṁ būrṇimā-dinamuna | Hēmādri-dāna-chiṁtāmaṇiy=a-
4 rirāya-basuva-[3]Śaṁkar[u]ṁḍ=āji-Phalgunuṁḍḍu | sa-mad-āri-rāya-vē-
5 śyā-bhujaṁguṁḍḍu Vēmaya-Rāchavēmana-kshmāvaruṁḍḍu | dalli-
6 Sūrāṁbachē samutpaṁnam=aguchuṁ [|] baragu Saṁtāna-vā-
7 rdhiki varuva gāṁga- | [n=o]layu giri-vāhinula Jaganobbagaṁḍa-[|*]kā-
8 luva ghaṭiṁchen=ā-tārakaṁbu gāṁga ||

|| Śrīnātha-kṛiti ||

No. 34.—MAREDAPALLI GRANT OF SRI-RANGARAYA II; SAKA 1497.

By V. Natesa Aiyar, B.A.

The subjoined grant is published from two sets of Sir Walter Elliot's ink-impressions which the late Government Epigraphist for India was kind enough to place at my disposal. It is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1497, the cyclic year probably being Yuva, and belongs to the reign of Śrī-Raṅgarāya II, of the third Vijayanagara dynasty. Mr. Sewell is of opinion that this date[4] marks the commencement of Śrī-Raṅgarāya's rule.

Although a number of inscriptions belonging to this dynasty has already appeared in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Indica*, yet not a single Sanskrit inscription of this particular king has been published *in extenso*.[5] And what is more, even the chroniclers of these times do not seem to have thought it either necessary or proper to make more than a passing mention of the successors of the renowned Rāmarāya on the Vijayanagar throne. This, perhaps, is partly accounted for by the fact that the battle of Tāḷikōṭa of A.D. 1565, in which king Rāmarāya fell, sounded, as it were, the death-knell of the dynasty and crippled its power and resources once and for ever. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that such information as can be gleaned from the grants and other documents of the rulers of this

[1] Read -*ēḍunun=oppu*.

[2] Read *Magha*-.

[3] Read *basava*-.

[4] Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 218.

[5] A fragmentary translation of an inscription of this king from Dēvanahaḷḷi in Mysore is published in Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*. See No. 140, p. 252 ff.

dynasty who lived during the days of its decline, will be useful in so far at least as they will enable us to determine with tolerable certainty the extent of their dominions and the seats of their government, if not also their relations with their quondam viceroys in distant provinces.

Turning to the grant itself, it may be observed that the tops of the first, second, fourth, and sixth pages of the impressions are marked by the Telugu numerals 1, 2, 3 and 4. There also appear faint traces of the numeral 5 at the top of the eighth page. This seems to indicate that the grant was originally incised on five plates of which the first and the last were engraved only on the inner, and the intervening three on both sides. Judging from the impressions, the plates can be said to have been in good preservation. They measure $9\frac{3}{8}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$ and seem to have had raised rims and a ring passing through the centre of their top.

The alphabet is **Nandināgarī**. The following are some of the orthographical peculiarities and errors :—

(1) the doubling of *y*, *t*, and *d* after *r* in *-turyyō* (ll. 9 and 13) ; *-śauryyēṇa* (l. 25) ; *-mūrttiḥ* (l. 46) ; *-kīrtti-* (l. 61) ; *bharttuṁ* (l. 87) ; and *-śārddūlamarddanaḥ* (l. 117) ;

(2) the doubling of *n* when followed by *r* in *nivasannrājati* (l. 81) ;

(3) the dropping of the *visarga* before sibilants in *-saptamaśrīpati-* (l. 11) and *svaḥkāminī-svatanu-* (l. 18) ;

(4) the use of the *anusvāra* instead of class nasals in *narēṁdraḥ* (l. 11) ; *Tātapiṁnama-* (l. 13) ; *haraṁ* (l. 14) ; *niraṁjanāni* (l. 34) ; *-bhāvāṁchitaḥ* (l. 65) ; and *-maṁḍalīka-* (ll. 102 and 105) ;

(5) the use of *n* instead of *ṅ* in *dinnāgān* (l. 58) ;

(6) the use of *ḷ* instead of *l* due, perhaps, to vernacular influence in *lāḷitaṁ* (l. 5) ; *-chaḷikshmā-* (l. 10) ; *surabhiḷāśugaṁ* (l. 21) and *-mē(ma)rāḷa-* (l. 55) ; and lastly,

(7) the use of the symbol for *ḍh* to denote *ṭh* (ll. 57 and 58). The words *chaurāśi* (l. 90), *sāmula* (l. 94), *dhaṭṭa* (l. 107) and *diśāpaṭṭa*, which occur in the Viḷāpāka grant[1], are also found here.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Gaṇādhipati and consists of eighty-three Sanskrit verses. It closes with the word *Śrī-Virūpāksha* in old Kanarese characters. The first three verses invoke respectively the gods Śiva, Vishṇu and Gaṇēśa in the manner of the British Museum Plates of Sadāśivarāya.[2] The following eighteen verses carry the genealogy of the dynasty, partly mythical and partly historical, down to Tirumalarāya's reign and have their exact parallel in verses 3-20 of the Koṇḍyāta grant of Veṅkaṭa II.[3] Verses 22-29 describe king **Tirumalarāya** but record no historical facts.[4] With verse 30 begins the description of the donor **Śrī-Raṅgarāya II**, son of king Tirumala and **Veṅgaḷāmbā**. In verse 42 he is said to have belonged to the Ātrēya-*gōtra*.

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 270.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 12.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 129.

[4] Identical with these are the verses 24-27, 29, 30 and 32 of the Tumkur Plates of Tirumalarāya (see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, pp. 2-3).

His ancestry is given as follows :—

Tātapinnama of the lunar race of kings (l. 13)
|
Sōmidēva (l. 15)
|
Rāghavadēvarāṭ (l. 16)
|
Śrī-Pinnama, the lord of the town of Āravīḍu (l. 16)
|
Bukka (*m.* Ballāmbikā) — who placed on a firm footing the kingdom of Sāḷuva-Nṛisiṁha (ll. 17-18).
|
Rāmarāja I (*m.* Lakkāmbikā) — who captured the forts of Avanigiri and Kandanavōlu (Kurnool) and put to flight Kāsappuḍaya (ll. 26-27).
|
Śrī-Raṅgarāya (I) (v. 15) (*m.* Tirumalāmbikā)
|
Rāmarāja II. (vv. 17-18) — Tirumalarāya (*m.* Veṅgaḷāmbā) (vv. 20-29) — Veṅkaṭādri (v. 19)
|
Śrī-Raṅgarāya II, the donor (v. 30 ff.) [son of Tirumalarāya]

Most of these details are found in the Kūniyūr plates of Veṅkaṭa II.[1] Śrī-Raṅgarāya II is reported to have captured several fortresses including the inaccessible **Koṇḍavīḍu and Vinikoṇḍapura** from his camp at **Uddagiri** (Udayagiri in Nellore) and to have been residing at **Penukoṇḍa** (v. 31).[2] He married two wives, *viz.*, **Tirumaladēvī** and **Krishṇāmbā** (v. 32). He reduced the **Chaurāśidurga** (*i.e.* eighty-four hill forts, perhaps, in Mahārāshṭra). He bore in his heart Śārṅgadhara (*i.e.*, the god Vishṇu) (v. 35). Some of his *birudas* were *Manniyān Sāmula* (v. 36), *Gaṇḍaragūḷi* and *Manyapuli* (v. 38). He was highly extolled as the vanquisher of **Avahaḷurāya** and the king of **Utkala** (vv. 37-8). He was the lord of **Āravīḍu** and adopted the surnames *Vēṅgyatribhuvanīmalla* (l. 102), *Urigōlasuratrāṇa* (*i.e.* Sulṭān of Oraṅgal) (l. 103), *Raṇamukharāmabhadra* (l. 104), *Kalyāṇapurādhipa* and *Chālikkachakravartin* (ll. 108-9). As suggested by Dr. Hultzsch the first and the fourth of these *birudas* were perhaps reminiscences of the Western and Eastern Chalukyas.[3] He calls himself the suzerain of the Raṭṭas and Magadhas (l. 107) *Konarānī-kōṭala-koṅga*, and **Oḍḍiyarāya-diśāpaṭṭa** (v. 45). With verse 53 commences the grant proper.

The date is expressed as the **twelfth tithi** (*prathamadvādaśītithau*) **of the bright fortnight of the month of** Āshāḍha in the Śaka year **reckoned by the horses (7), the treasures (9), the Vēdas (4),and the moon (1)** (*i.e.* **1497), the cyclic year being Yuva.** This date falls in A.D. 1574 expired.[4]

The grant was made before the god Rāmachandra.[5] The donee was **Aubhaḷabhaṭṭa** who belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gotra* and was a follower of the Kātyāyana-*sūtra* and the

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, pp. 238-9.

[2] This is already known to us from two inscriptions published by Mr. Rice (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII, Sh. 83, and Vol. XII, Ck. 39); see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 94.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 270.

[4] Sewell's *Indian Calendar*, p. LXXX.

[5] Perhaps, the Rāmasvāmin temple at Penugoṇḍa is referred to here. It may be noted in this connection that although the capital of this dynasty had been removed to Penugoṇḍa by king Tirumala, the father of the present donor, the name of the guardian deity occurring at the end of the grant is given as Śrī-Virūpāksha.

Śuklayajuḥ-*śākhā*. He was the son of **Varadabhaṭṭa** and grandson of **Bālēndubhaṭṭa** (vv. 55-7).

The village granted was **Mārēḍapalli** *alias* **Kṛishṇāpuram** belonging to the **Rāyadurga-rājya** girt round by **Hastināvatī** (*i.e.* the modern Hampi in the Bellary District), to the **Pennavēṇṭha** (?-*nāḍu*) and to the **Bhūdigumma**-*sīma*[1] (vv. 58-9). It was to the east of the river **Penna** (? Northern Pennār) and south of the hill bounding the village of **Chōḷasamudra** and near the *chemaḍa*-bush lying east of **Nīlādri** (*lit.* blue hill) situated on the outskirts of the village of **Korakodru** and close to the river **Penna**. It was to the west of the blue elevated ground bordering on the *Giḍḍamāḷigāni-kshētra* and lying to the west of **Kummarllapalli**, which again was the western boundary of the village of **Palukūr**, west of the tamarind tree adjoining the sandy tract bounding the village of **Vēlēṭi**. It was to the north of the stone pillar set up near the *śamī* tree growing on the outskirts of **Timmāpura**. Of these places, Kṛishṇāpuram may have taken its name from **Vīrakṛishṇama** of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*, at whose instance the grant was made. He was the son of **Varabayyappa** and lord of **Maṇināgapura** and is said to have borne the biruda *Sitakaragaṇḍāṅka* (vv. 70-3) and to have been the terror of Dhavaḷāṅka(ṅa).[2]

The titles *Sindhu-Gōvinda, Sitakaragaṇḍa, Davaḷaṅka-Bhīma* and *Maṇināgapuravarādhīśvara* are applied to Tirumalarāja of Udayagiri in an inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1457, the cyclic year Manmatha, corresponding to A.D. 1535-36.[3] In a copper-plate record of Śaka-Saṁvat 1484, the cyclic year Rudhirōdgārin, corresponding to A.D. 1563-64[4] the same epithets are given to Kṛishṇapa-Nāyaka, son of Baiyappa-Nāyaka, of Balam (Bēlūr). Of Kṛishṇapa-Nāyaka (also called Eṛa-Kṛishṇapa-Nāyaka) Mr. Rice remarks, that he "is represented in most of the inscriptions as the head of the family, who was enfeoffed by Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara. He was the *haḍapada*, or bearer of the king's betel-bag".[5] According to Mr. Rice, Veṅkaṭādri-Nāyaka, son of Kṛishṇapa-Nāyaka, was the head of the Balam family in Śaka-Saṁvat 1498, the cyclic year Dhātṛi, corresponding to A.D. 1576-7[6]. About Maṇināgapura Mr. Rice adds, "I have been unable to identify Maṇināgapura. It appears to be a place in the Central Provinces."

The composer of the inscription was the son of **Sabhāpati** and the engraver **Gaṇapayāchārya**, the son of **Vīraṇa**. These two persons also figure in the same capacities in the Tumkūr Plates of Tirumalarāya.[7]

The grant concludes with the usual imprecatory verses and *Śrī-Virūpāksha* in old Kanarese characters at the end.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । [8]स्तुंगशिरश्चुंबिचंद्रचाम-

2 रचावे[9] । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शंभवे ।(॥) [१*] [10]हरेर्लीलाव-

3 राहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडस्स पातु वः ।[हे]माद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री च्छत्रश्रि-

4 यं दधौ ।(॥) [२*] [10]कल्याणायास्तु तद्धाम प्रत्यूहतिमिरापहं । यद्गजो-

5 प्यगजोद्भूतं पंचास्येनापि लाक्षितं[11] ।(॥) [३*] [10]जयति क्षीरजलधेर्जात(तं)

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[1] Būdigumma is the name of a village in the Rāyadrug tāluka of the Bellary District. It is 29 miles east of Rāyadrug.

[2] The correct form of this biruda is *Davaḷaṅka-Bhīma* as will be seen in the next paragraph.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Sr. 95.

[4] *ibidem*, Vol. V, H. N. 5.

[5] *ibidem*, Vol. V, Part I, p. xxxiii.

[6] *ibidem*, Vol. IV., Yd. 59.

[7] *ibidem*, Vol. XII, p. 5.

[8] Metre: Anushṭubh. Read नमस्तुंग°.

[9] Read °चारवे.

[10] Metre: Anushṭubh.

[11] Read लाञ्छितं.

6 सव्येक्षणं हरेः । आलंबनं चकोराणाममरायुष्कारं[1] महः ।(॥) [४*] [2]पौत्र-
7 स्तस्य पुरूरवा बुधसुतस्तस्यायुरस(स्या)त्मजः संजज्ञे नहुषो[3] यया-
8 तिरभवत्तस्माच्च पूरुस्ततः । तद्वंशे भरतो बभूव मृ(नृ)पतिस्तत्संत-
9 तौ शंतनुस्तत्तुर्य्यो विजयोभिमन्युरुदभूत्तस्मात्परि(री)क्षित्तत[:*॥५*]
10 [4]नंदस्तस्याष्टमोभूत्समजनि नव[म]स्तस्य राज्ञश्चकिच्छापस्त-[5]
11 सप्तम[:*] श्रीपतिरुचिरभवद्राजपूर्वो नरेंद्रः । तस्यासीद्बिज्ज[लें]-
12 द्रो दशम इह नृपो वीरहेम्माक्रिरायस्तात्तोयोको[6] मुरारौ क्र-
13 तनतिरुदभूत्तस्य मायापरोषः[7] ।(॥) [६*] [2]तत्तुर्य्योजनि तातपिंनम-
14 महीपालो निजालोकनत्रस्तामित्रगणस्ततोजनि हरं[8] दुर्गा-
15 णि समाह्वितात् । अङ्केकेन स सोमिदेवनृपतिस्तस्यैव जज्ञ(ज्ञे) सु-
16 तो वीरो राघवदेवराडिति तत[:*] श्रीपिन्नमोभून्ट(नृ)पः । (॥) [७*] [9]आरवीटि-
17 [10]ननरीविभोरभूदस्य ब(बु)क्कधरणीपतिस्सुतः । येन साळुवनृ-
18 सिंहराज्यमप्येधमानमहसा स्थिरीकृतं ।(॥) [८*] [11]स्वःकामिनी[12] स्वत-
19 नुकांतिभिर[ा*]क्षिपंतीं बुक्कावनीपतिलको बुधकल्पशाखी । क-
20 ल्याणिनीं कमलनाभ इवाब्धिकन्यां[13] बल्लांबिकामुदवहद्बहु-
21 मान्यशीलां ।(॥) [९*] [14]सुतेव कलशांबुधेः सुरभिकाशुगं माधवात्कु-
22 मारमिव शंकरात्कुलमहीतत:[15] कनाका[16] । जयंतममरप्रभो-

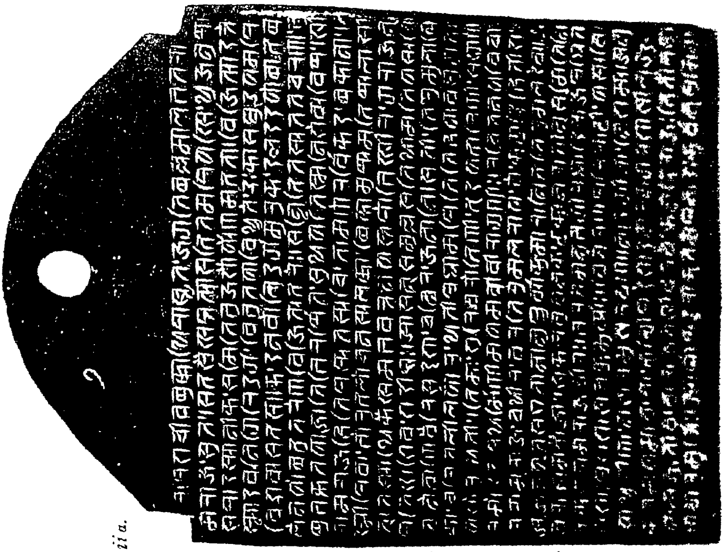
Second Plate; First Side.

23 रपि शचीव बुक्काधिपाश्च्छ्रुतं[17] जगति बल्लमालभत रा-
24 मराजं सुतं ।(॥) [१०*] [18]सहस्रैस्सप्तत्या सहितमपि यस्मिंश्चनुषां
25 सपादस्यानीकं समिति भुजशौर्य्येण महता । विजित्यादत्ते-
26 स्मादवनिगिरिदुर्गं विभुतया विधूतेंद्रः कासप्पुडयमपि
27 विद्राव्य सहसा ।(॥) [११*] [19]कंदनवोलिदुर्गमुरुकंदकद[भ्यु*]दयो बा[हु]ब-
28 लेन यो बहुतरेण विजित्य हरेः । सन्निहितस्य तत्र चरणांभु(बु)-
29 जु भक्ततया शातिभिरर्षितं[20] सुधयति स्म निशेव्य[21] विषं ।(॥) [१२*] [22]श्री-

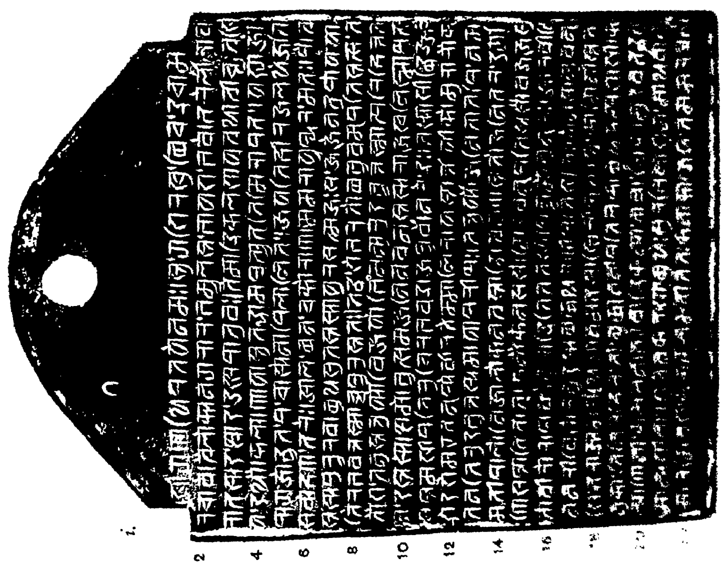
[1] Read °युष्करं.
[2] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
[3] Read नहुषो.
[4] Metre: Sragdharā.
[5] Read °श्चिक्कच्छापस्तत्°.
[6] Read °स्तात्तौयीको.
[7] Read °पुरोषः.
[8] Read हरन्.
[9] Metre: Rathōddhatā.
[10] Read °नगरीविभो°.
[11] Metre: Vasantatilaka.
[12] Read स्वःकामिनीः
[13] Read °ब्धिकन्यां.
[14] Metre: Prithvī.
[15] Read °महीभृतः
[16] Read कन्यका.
[17] Read °पाच्छ्रुतं.
[18] Metre: Śikhariṇī.
[19] Metre: Sailaśikhā.
[20] Read °रर्पितं.
[21] Read निपीय.
[22] Metre: Indravajrā.

Maredapalli grant of Sri-rangaraya II.

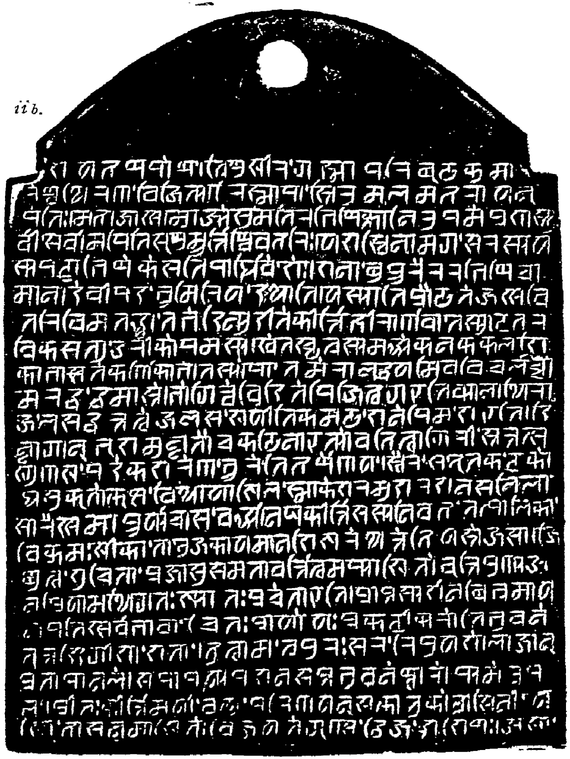
ii a.



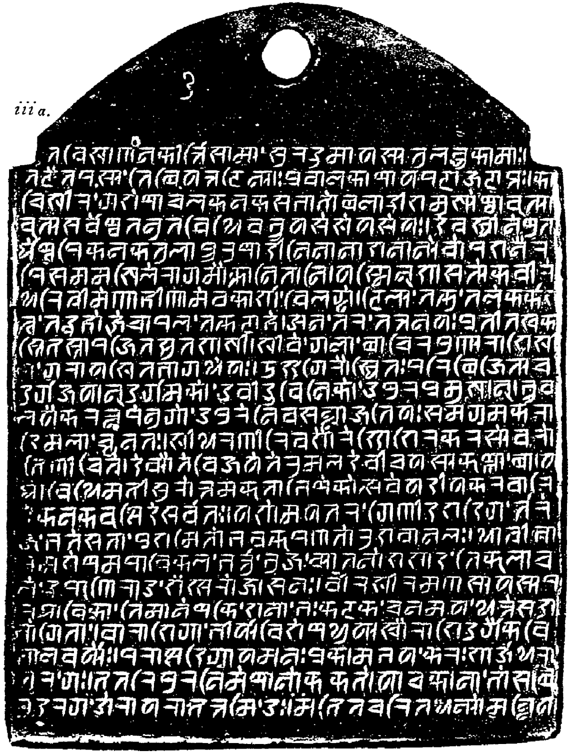
i.



ii b.



iii a.



30 रामराजक्षितिपस्य तस्य चिंतामणिरर्वि(र्थि)कदंबकानां । [ल]-

31 क्ष्मी[रि]वांभोरुहलोचनस्य [ल]क्कांबिकामुष्य महिष्यलासी-

32 त् ।(॥) [१३*] [1]तस्याधिकैस्समभवत्तनयस्तपोभिश्श्रीरंगराजनृ-

33 पतिश्शशिवंशदीपः । आसन् समुल्लसति धामति[2] यस्य चि-

34 त्रं नेत्राणि वैरिसुदृशां च [नि]रंजनानि ।(॥) [१४*] [3]सतीं तिरुमुला-
(मलां) बि-

35 कां चरितलीलयारुंधतीप्रथामपि तितिक्षया वसुमती-

36 यशो रुंधतीं । हिमांशुरि[व] रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं सह(हु)णै-

37 रमोदत सधर्मिणीमयमवा[प्य*] वीराग्रणीः ।(॥) [१५*] [4]रचितनयविचा-

38 र(रं) रामराजं च धीरं वरतिरुमलरायं वेंकटाद्रिक्षितीशं [।*]

39 अजनयत स एतानानुपूर्व्या कुमारानिह तिरुमलदेव्या[मि]-

40 व राजा महौजाः ।(॥) [१६*] [5][अ](स)कलभुवनकंटकानरातीन् समिति नि-

41 हत्य स रामराजवीरः । भरतमनु भगीरथादिराजप्रथित-

42 यशाः प्रशशास चक्रसुर्व्वीः ।(॥)[१७*][6] वितरणपरिपाटीं यस्य वि-

43 द्याधु(ध)रीणां नखरमुखरवीणानादगीतां निशम्य । अनु-

44 कलमयमावाल्लांब(बु)f [बं*]वापदेशादमरनगरशाखी लज्ज-

45 या मज्जतीव ।(॥) [१८*] [7]व्यराजत श्रीवरवेंकटाद्रिराजः क्षितौ लक्ष्म-

46 णधामूर्त्तिः । ज्याघोषदूरीकृतमेघनादः कुर्वन् सुमित्रा-

Second Plate; Second Side.

47 शयहर्ष(र्षं)पोषं ।(॥) [१९*] [8]त्रिषु श्रीरंगक्ष्मापरिवृ(वृ)ढकुमा-

48 रेष्वधिरणं विजित्यारिक्ष्मापांस्तिरुमलमह[ा*]रायनृ-

49 [प]तिः । महा(हौ)जास्साम्राज्ये सुमतिरभिषिक्ता(क्तो) निरुपमे प्रशास्तु-

50 र्वी सर्वामपि तिसृषु मूर्त्तिष्विव हरिः ।(॥) [२०*] [9]यशस्विनामग्र(ग्र)-
सरस्य य-

51 स्य पट्टाभिषेके सति पार्थिवेंदोः[9] । दानांबुपूरैरभिषिच्य-[10]

52 माना रैवीपदे भूमिरियं दधाति ।(॥) [२१*] [11]यस्यातिप्रौढतेजस्वि-

53 तरि [12]विमतक्ष्मांतभेदिन्युदीते कीर्त्तिश्चीरार्णवांतस्फुटतर-

[1] Metre: Vasantatilakā.
[2] Read धामनि.
[3] Metre: Pṛithvī.
[4] Metre: Mālinī.
[5] Metre: Pushpitāgrā.
[6] Metre: Mālinī.
[7] Metre: Upajāti.
[8] Metre: Śikhariṇī.
[9] Read पार्थिवेंद्रो:.
[10] Read °पूरैरभिषिच्य°.
[11] Metre: Sragdharā.
[12] Read विमत°.

54 विकसत्पुंडरीकोपमस्य । श्वेतश्छत्रस्य[1] मद्ये[2] कनककलशि-

55 का भासते कर्णिकाभा तस्योपांत[3] मेराळद्वयमिव विचलच्चा-

56 मरद्वंद्वमास्ते ।(॥) [२२*] [4]भोगित्वे विदितेपि जिह्वग[5] इति व्याळाधिरा-

57 जं लसद्दत्तत्वे[6] जळसंश्रयोति[7] कमढं[8] दानेपि मंदा इति । दि-

58 ग्ना(ङ्ना)गान् भृशमुन्नतौ च कढिना[9] इत्येव[10] हित्वा गिरींस्तत्तस्य-

59 द्गुणसंपदेकशरे(र)णं भूरेति हर्षेण यं ।(॥) [२३*] [4]खैरं संहृतकंटको-

60 [थ] सुकृतोत्कृष्टं विधायाखिलं क्ष्माकेदारमुदारदानसलिला-

61 सारैस्समापूर्य्य च । संवर्ग्गा(र्ध्या)नघकीर्त्तिसस्यनिवहं तत्पालिकां

62 [11]विक्रमः श्रीकांतां भुजकायमानशिखरे धत्ते हि यस्तेजसा ।(॥) [२४*] [12]जि-

63 ष्णुत्वं शुचितां प्रजासु समतावर्त्तित्वमप्याश्रितो वृत्ति(त्तिं) पुण्यज-

64 नप्रियामधिगतः ख्यातः प्रचेता इति । प्राप्तस्पर्शनबि(वि)भ्रमाय-[13]

65 [न]पतिस्सर्व्व[ज्ञ*]भावांचितः प्रायो यः प्रकटीकरोति भुवने

66 तत्तद्दिगीशांशतां ।(॥) [२५*] [12]हुत्वा मंत्रपुरःसरं रिपुयशोलाजान्

67 प्रतापानले (।) सपापय्य[14] पदान[15] सप्त भुवनेष्वारोप्य मेरूप-

68 लं । प्रीतः कीर्त्तिमयीं वधूं परिणयन् स्त्का(त्कौ)तुकोल्लासिनीं य-

69 स्सिंहासनमाश्रितो विजयते रत्स्यं[17] द्विजं(जैं)द्राशिषः ।(॥)[२६*] [18]अश्रां-

Third Plate; First Side.

70 तविश्राणनकीर्त्तिसाम्यं सुरद्रुमा यस्य तु लब्धु(ब्धु)कामाः ।

71 तटे(टे) तपस्यंति बि(वि)यत्तटिन्याः प्रवाळकाषायपटा जटाग्र[ा*]ः ।(॥) [२७*] [19][कां]-

72 चिश्रीरंगशेषाचलकनकसभाहोबळाद्रीशमुख्येष्वाहृत्या-

73 वृत्य सर्व्वेष्वतनुत विधिवभू(द्भू)यसे श्रेयसे यः । देवस्थानेषु [तो]-

74 र्थेष्वपि कनकतुलापूरुषादीनि नानादानान्येवोपदानैर-

75 पि सममखिले(लै)रागमो(मो)क्तानि तानि ।(॥) [२८*] [20]यस्मिन् शासत्येकवीरे

76 धरित्रीमेणाक्षीणामेव काश्यं विलग्ने । टिल्यं[21] तल्कुंतळे कर्क[श]-

77 त्वं तद्वक्षोज्ञे(जे) चापलं तत्कटाक्षे ।(॥) [२९*][18] अनंतरं तत्तनयः प्रतीतश्चक[ा]-

[1] Read श्वेतश्छत्रस्य.

[2] Read मध्ये.

[3] Read °पांते मराल°.

[4] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[5] Read जिह्मग.

[6] Read °द्दत्तत्वे.

[7] Read जल°.

[8] Read कमठं.

[9] Read कठिना.

[10] Read इत्येव.

[11] Read विक्रमश्री°.

[12] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[13] Read °विभ्रमो धन°.

[14] Read संप्रापय्य.

[15] Read पदानि.

[16] Read रत्नाग्नि°.

[17] Metre: Upajāti.

[18] Metre: Sragdharā.

[19] Metre: Śālinī.

[20] Read कौटिल्यं.

78 म्नि हस्तापजितद्युतशाखी[1] । श्रीवेंगळांबाचिरपुण्यराशि[:*] श्री-
79 रंगराय[:*] श्रितभागधेयः ।(।।) [३०*] [2]उदयगिरौ स्थितः परिवि(वि)जित्य च
80 दुर्गंज(च)यान् दुर्गमकोंडवीडुविनिकोंडपुरप्रमुखान् । भूव-
81 लयंकरत्नपेनुगोंडपुरे निवसन्राजति यः समग्रमकरा-
82 दिमलांच्छनतः ।(।।) [३१*] [3]श्रीधरणीरिव[4] शौरेश्शिशिरकरस्येव रो-
83 हिणीचित्रे । देव्यौ ते विजयेते [ति*]रुमलदेवी च यस्य कृष्णांबा ।(।।) [३२*] [5]य-
84 थाविधि महीसुरोत्तमकृताभिषेकोत्सवे यदीयकरवारि-
85 [दे] कनकवृष्टिदे सर्वतः । यशोमयतरंगिणी दशदिगंतरे
86 जृंभते सतां प्रशमितोभवत्कृपणतोरुदावानलः ।(।।) [३३*] [6]धात्रीभा-
87 रमशेषमपा(प्य)विकलं भर्तुं भुजं व्यातनोदाशादंतिकु(कु)लाच-
88 लेंद्रफणिराडंशैस्सरोजासनः । वीरश्रीरमणस्य यस्य प-
89 र[था] विश्रांतिमानेष किं दानांभः कटकं च नमयं[7] धत्ते सदा
90 भोगितां ।(।।) [३४*] [8]वाराशिगांभीर्यविशेषधुर्य(र्यो) शौराशिदुर्गैकधि-
91 भाळवर्य्यैः[9] । पराष्टदिग्रायमनःप्रकामभयंकरः शार्ज(ङ्ग)धरां-
92 तरंगः ।(।।) [३५*] [10]हतरिपुरनिमेषानीककाढ्यो[11] याचकानां ह्यौसवि-
93 [रु]दरगंडो रायराहुत्तमिंडः[12] । महितचरितधन्यो मन्निया-

Third Plate; Second Side.

94 न्नासुलादिप्रकटितविदु(रु)दश्रीः पाटिताराति-
95 लोकः ।(।।) [३६*] [13]उभयदळपितामहो नतानामभयपदार्पण-
96 तत्परो रिपूणां । अयमवहकुरायमानमहो(हीं)त्यसि-[14]
97 लजनैरभिधीयमानधामा ।(।।) [३७*] [15]तांडवितोदयो विरुदम-
98 न्यरगंडतयोद्दंडवल्लोल्लालेंद्रजयपंडितवीरयु-
99 तः । चंडिमशालिबाहुबलदंडितवैरिगं(ग)णो गंडरगू-
100 ळिमन्यपुलिमान्यमहाविरुदः ।(।।) [३८*] [16]सारचीररमया[17] समु-
101 ल्लसन्मारवोटिपुरहारनायकः । कुंडलीश्वरमहाभुज[18]

1 Read °द्युशाखी.

2 Metre: Śailaśikhā.

3 Metre: Gîti.

4 Read श्रीधरणी इव.

5 Metre: Pṛithvī.

6 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

7 Read काञ्चनमयं.

8 Metre: Upajāti.

9 Read °वर्य्यः.

10 Metre: Mālinī.

11 Read °नीकाढ्यो.

12 Read °राहुत्तमिंडः.

13 Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

14 Read °त्यखिलजनै°

15 Metre: Śailaśikhā.

16 Metre: Rathōddhatā.

17 Read सारचीर°.

18 Read महाभुज°.

102 अयन्मंडलीकधरणीवराहतां ।(॥) [३९*] [1]वेंग्यचिभुवनीमल्ल[:*]
103 संव्यच्चितिकलार्जुन: । (॥) [४०*] [2]उरिगोलसुरत्राण(णो) हरिगोचर-
104 मानस: । राज्ञां षरो रणमुखरामभद्र इति श्रुत: ।(॥) [४१*] [3]वर्णि-
105 तविरुदो नानावर्णश्रीमंडलीकगंड इति । आत्रेयगो-
106 त्रजानामग्रसरो भूभुजामुदारयशा: ।(॥) [४२*] [3]अतिविरुदतुर-
107 गधट्टो मतिगुरुरारट्टमगधमान्यपद: । शल्यारिनी-
108 तिशाली कल्याणपुराधिप: कलाचतुर: ।[।*][४३*] [3]चाक्किकचक्र-
109 वर्त्ती [4]माणिक्कमहाकिरीटमहनीय: । एवि[रु]दरायरा-
110 हुतवेश्यैकभुजंगविरुदरमणीय: ।(॥) [४४*] [3]कूलंकश(ष?)कोन-
111 रानी(॥)[कोटल*]कोंगजयविरुदभरितश्री:[5] । [6]रमातरकीर्तिरी-
112 ड्ड[य*]रायदिशापट्टविरुदघोषेण ।(॥) [४५*] [7]ओषधिपत्युपमा-
113 यितगंडस्तोषणपू(रू)पजितासमकांड: । भाषगेतप्प(प्पु)व-
114 रायरगंड: पोषणनिर्भरभूनवनखंड:[8] ।(॥) [४६*] [9]राजाधिरा-
115 जस्तेजस्वी श्रीराजपरमेश्वर: । मूरुरायरगंडांको मेरु-
116 लंघियशोभर: ।(॥) [४७*] [9]परदारेषु विमुख: पररायभयंकर: ।
117 शिष्टसंरक्षणपरो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्द्दन: ।(॥) [४८*] [9]हिंदुरायसुर-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

118 [त्रा]णस्सिंधुराजगभीरधि:[10] । अरीभगंडभेरुंडो
119 हरिभक्तिसुधानिधि: ।(॥) [४९*] [9]इत्यादिविरुदैर्वंदितत्या नि-
120 त्यमभिष्टत:[11] । जय जीवेति वादिन्य[ा*] गनितांजलिबं-
121 धंया[12] ।(॥) [५०*] [8]कों(कां)भोजभोजकालिंगकरहाटादिपार्थिवै: । प्र-
122 तीहारपदं प्राप्तै: प्रस्तुतस्तुतिघोषण: ।(॥) [५१*] [13]सोयं श्रीरंग-
123 राय[14] च्चितिपतितिलको रत्नसिंहासनस्थ: कीर्त्या नीत्या
124 निरस्यन्नृगनळनहुषानप्यचन्यामथान्यान्[15] । भा सेतो-

[1] Here is a half of an Anushṭubh verse; the other half is wanting.

[2] Metre: Anushṭubh.

[3] Metre: Gīti.

[4] Read माणिक्य°.

[5] The corresponding passage in the Tumkur plates of Tirumalarāya published in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, p. 8 runs thus:—

Kūlankaṣa-konarānī-kōṭala-gonga-jaya-biruda-bharita-śrīḥ |

[6] Read रम्यतरकीर्तिरी°.

[7] Metre: Dōdhaka.

[8] Read °भूनवखण्ड:.

[9] Metre: Anushṭubh.

[10] Read °गभीरधी:.

[11] Read °मभिष्टुत:.

[12] Read जनितांजलिबंधया.

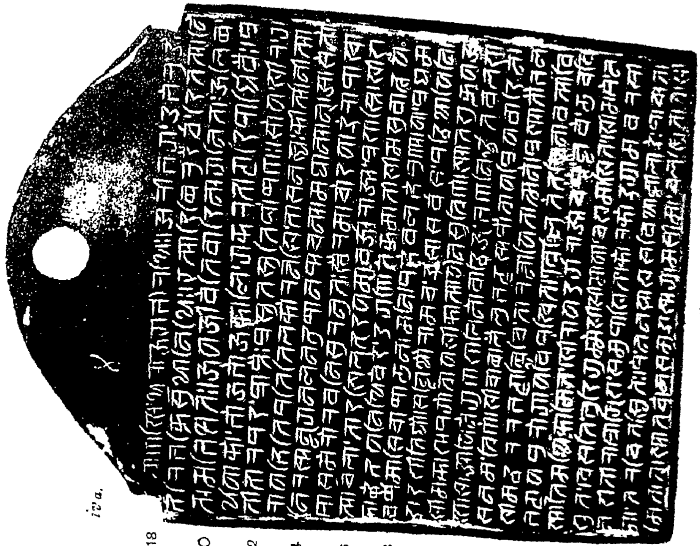
[13] Metre: Sragdharā.

[14] Read श्रीरंगराय or °रायक्षिति°.

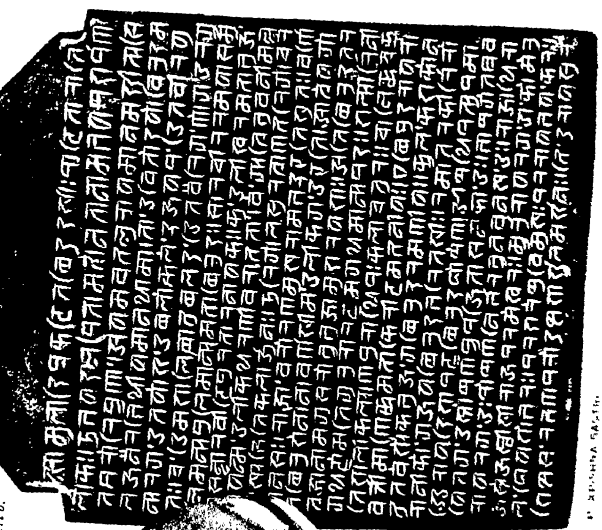
[15] Read °प्यधन्या°.

Maredapalli grant of Sri-rangaraya II.

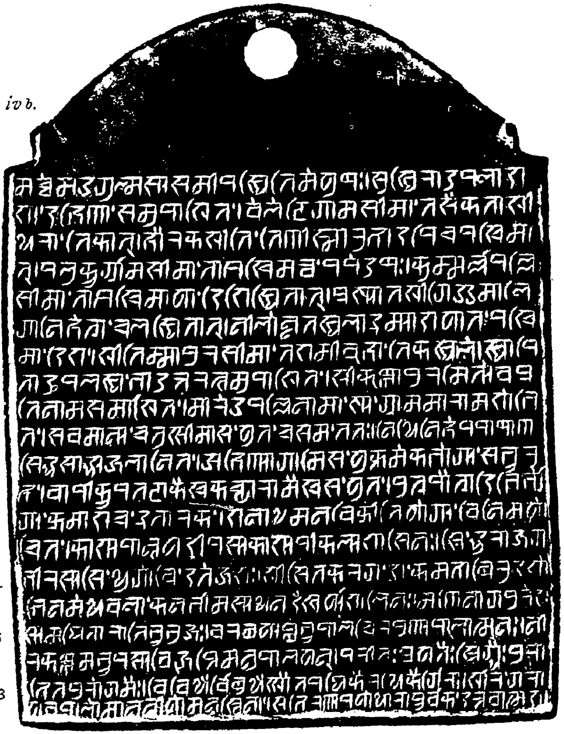
iva.



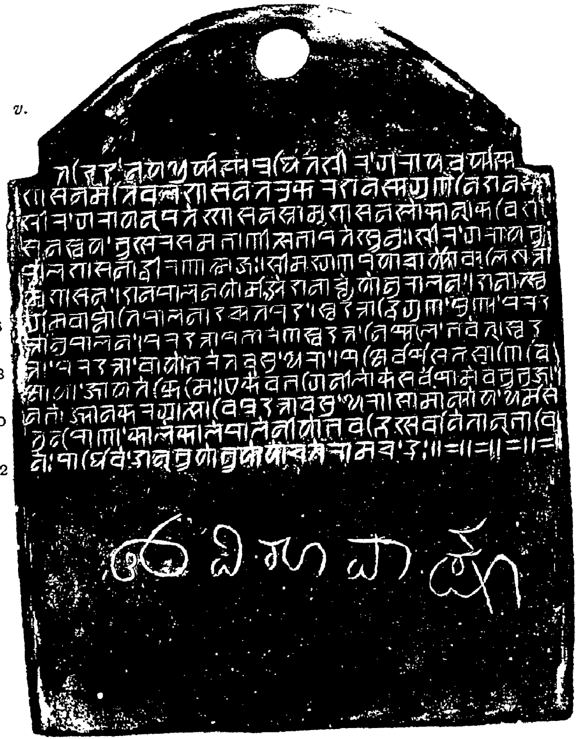
iiib.



iv b.



v.



125 रा सुमेरोरवनिसुरनुत: स्वैरमा चोदयाद्रेरा पाश्चा-
126 त्याचलांतादखिलहृदयमावर्ज्य राज्यं प्रशास्ति ।(॥) [५२*] [1]श्रीश-
127 काब्दे ह्यनिधिवेदेंदुगणिते क्रमाती[2] श्रीमसुवाह्वये
128 वर्षे मासि चाषाढनामनि ।(॥) [५३*] पक्षे वळक्षे पुण्यायां प्रथम-
129 द्वादशीतिथौ । सन्निधौ रामचंद्रस्य सर्वसंपद्विधायिनि ।(॥) [५४*]
130 श्रीमत्काश्यपगोत्राय श्रीकात्यायनसूत्रिणे । ख्यातशुक्लयजु-
131 श्शा[खा]ध्यायिने[3] गुणशालिने ।(॥) [५५*] [4]वाद्विजृंभणनिर्धूतव(ब)लशा-
132 सममंत्रिणे । [5]श्रीचाबालेलुभट्टस्य पौत्राय प्रियवादिने ।(॥) [५६*]
133 [6]श्रीमद्वररभट्टाब्धिचिंतारत्नायितात्मने । प्रख्यातौभक-
134 भट्टाय पुरोगाय विपश्चितां ।(॥) [५७*] वक्ळिते हस्तिनावत्या वि-
135 ख्यातिमधिकामितं(ते) । श्रीरायदुर्गराज्ये च [7]पेंन्नवेंढ च वि-
136 श्रुतं ।(॥) [५८*]वसतिं भूदिगुम्मेश्रीसीमायां[8] च श्रमश्रितं[9] । श्रीमत्पेंन-
137 नदीतीरात्प्राग्दिशं समुपाश्रितं ।(॥) [५९*] [10]कोरकोद्ग्रामवरसी-
138 मांतरचितस्थिते: । पेंननद्याश्र(श्च) सविधान्नीलाद्रे: पा(प्रा)च्यता-
139 मितात् ।(॥) [६०*] ख्यातचोक्कसमुद्राख्यग्रामसीमांचलस्थितात् । श्री-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

140 मच्चेमडगुल्लस्य समीपस्थितिमे(मी)युष: ।(॥) [६१*] सुस्थिरादुपका(ला)दा-
141 शां दक्षिणां समुपाश्रितं । वेलेटिगा(ग्रा)मसीमांतसैकताश्री-[11]
142 धरांतिकात् ।(॥) [६२*] चोरकश्रीतिंतिणीवृक्षाद्दादपि च पश्चिमा-
143 त् । पलुकूर्ग्रामसीमांतात्पश्चिमत्वं पपेदुष:[12] ।(॥) [६३*] कुम्मरपश्चि-
144 सीमांतात्पश्चिमायां दिशि स्थितात् । [13]प्रख्यातश्रीगिड्डमाळि-
145 गामिचेवांचलस्थितात् ।(॥) [६४*]नीलोन्नतस्थलाद्रम्यादायातं पश्चि-
146 मां दिशं । श्रीतिम्मापुरसीमांतश्रमीवृक्षांतिकस्थले ।(॥) [६५*] स्थापि-
147 [14]तादुपलस्थंभादुत्तरत्वसुपाश्रितं । श्रीकृष्णापुरमित्येव प्र-
148 तिनामसमाश्रितं ।(॥) [६६*] [मा]रेडपल्लिनामांख्यं(कं) ग्राममारामशोभि-
149 तं । [15]सवमान्यं चतुस्सीमासंयुतं च समंतत: ।(॥) [६७*] निधिनिक्षेपपाषाण-
150 सिद्धसाधन(ध्य)जलान्वितं[16] । अक्षिण्यागामिसंयुक्तमेकभोग्यं सभूरु-

[1] Metre of vv. 58-75 : Anushṭubh.

[2] Read क्रमात । श्रीमद्युवाह्वये.

[3] Read °ध्यायिने.

[4] Read वाग्विजृंभण°.

[5] Perhaps, the reading intended is श्रीमद्बालेन्दुभट्टस्य.

[6] The reading intended may be श्रीमद्वरदभट्टा°.

[7] Read पेन्नवेंढे.

[8] Read भूदिगुम्म°.

[9] Read समाश्रितं.

[10] This *pāda* of the Anushṭubh verse is irregular.

[11] Read °सैकतश्री°.

[12] Read प्रपेदुष:.

[13] This *pāda* of the verse is irregular.

[14] Read °स्तंभा°.

[15] Read सर्वमान्यं.

[16] Read °जलान्वितं.

151 द्वं ।(॥) [६८*] वापीकूपतटाकैश्च कच्छारामैश्च संयुतं । पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भो-
152 ग्यं क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं ।(॥) [६९*] दाना[ध]मनविक्रीतियोग्यं विनिमयो-
153 चितं । काश्यपान्वयदीपस्य काश्यपीकल्पशासि(खि)नः ।(॥) [७०*] सिंहु(धु)राजग-
154 भीरस्य सिंधुगोविंदतेजसः । श्रीसितकरगंडांकमहाविरुदशो-
155 भिन[:॥७१*] (मे)धवक्रांकनभीमस्य धनदैश्वर्य्यशालिनः । मणिनागपुरेश-
156 स्य मथितारातिभूभुजः ।(॥) [७२*] [1]वरबय्याप्वभूपालचिरपुण्यफलात्मनः । [2]नी-
157 रक्षणमभूपस्य विश्वसिमनुपालयन् ।(॥) [७३*] परीतः प्रयतैः स्निग्धैः पुरा(रो)-
158 हितपुरोगमैः । विविधैर्विबुधैश्श्रौतपथिकैरधिकैर्गिरा ।(॥) [७४*] श्रीरंगरा-
159 य[भू]पालो माननीयो मनस्विनां । सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवा-
[न्मु]दा । (॥) [७५*]

Fifth Plate.

160 [3]तदिदं नयधुर्य्यस्य प्रथितश्रीरंगरायवर्य्यस्य[।*]
161 [4]शासनमतिवलशासनतरुकरदानस्य गुणनिदा(धा)न[स्य][॥७६*]
162 [5]श्रीरंगरायनृपतेश्शासनस्तामशासनश्लोकान्[5] । कविश[ा]-
163 सनस्वयंभूस्सरसमभाणीत्सभापतेस्सूनुः ।(॥) [७७*] [6]श्रीरंगरायभू-
164 पालशासनाद्वीरणात्मजः । [श्री]मल्लणपयाचार्य्यो व्यलिखत्ता-
165 म्रशासनं ।(॥) [७८*] दानपालनयोर्मद्धे[7] दानाच्छ्रेयोनुरा(पा)लनं । दानात्स्व-
166 र्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्यत(च्युतं) पदं ।(॥) [७९*] स्वदत्ताद्वि(द्वि)गुणं पुण्यं परद-
167 त्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ।(॥) [८०*]स्वद-
168 त्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां । [8]षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि वि-
169 ष्टायां[9] जायते क्रिमिः[10] ॥ [८१*]एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां ।
170 न भोज्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंधरा ।(॥) [८२*] [11]सामान्योयं धर्मसे-
171 तुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिस्सर्वानेतान्[12] भावि-
172 नः पार्थिवेंद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः॥[८३*]=॥=॥=॥=॥

श्रीविरूपाक्ष[13]

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[1] Read वरबय्यप्प°.

[2] Perhaps वीरक्षणम° is meant.

[3] Metre: Gīti.

[4] Read °बलशासन°.

[5] Read °श्शासनतस्ताम°.

[6] The metre of vv. 78-82 is Anushṭubh.

[7] Read °मध्ये.

[8] Read षष्टिं वर्ष°.

[9] Read °ष्ठायां.

[10] Read क्रिमिः.

[11] Metre: Sālinī.

[12] Read भवद्भिः । सर्वा°.

[13] The characters are old Kanarese.

No. 35—MALEPADU PLATES OF PUNYAKUMARA; THE FIFTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN.

BY H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L., while he was Deputy Collector in charge of the Jammalamaḍugu Division of the Cuddapah district, in 1904, brought to the notice of the Madras Epigraphical Department a set of copper plates and a number of stone inscriptions relating to a family of kings whose existence was not known till then. These copper plates and stone records[1] were secured by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, through the kind offices of Mr. Ramayya Pantulu, and a brief account of their contents was given in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p. 48, paragraphs 5 and 6. I publish below, with the permission of the Editor, the inscription on the copper plates and also append in a postscript, as a specimen, the text and translation of one of the well-preserved stone epigraphs whose importance will be recognised when it is stated that they are the earliest Telugu records from the Cuddapah district and belong to a dynasty of kings who, though claiming Chōḷa descent, had, nevertheless, their dominion in the Pallava territory.

Regarding the discovery of the plates, Mr. Ramayya Pantulu writes:—"They were given to me by a man of the Sāli caste named Varadappa, who told me that he found the plates while digging foundations for a *mutt* at Mālēpāḍu. He preserved the plates in the temple of Ēkāmranātha at Vēlpucharla whither he had removed himself and gave them to me when I visited that temple." The plates are three in number, and measure, roughly, 7¼" by 2¾". They are held together by a ring whose ends are secured in an oval-shaped seal which measures about 1½" by 1¼", and which bears in high relief, a tiger which stands to the proper left, raises the left fore-paw, opens the mouth and has a twisted tail."[2] The first and last of the plates are written only on their inner sides and show traces of having had raised rims, which were apparently meant to protect the writing on these plates from coming into contact with the written sides of the middle plate. The circular copper ring which holds the plates together, measures 3¼" in diameter and is about ⅝" thick. The plates with seal and ring weigh 93 tolas. They have been presented to the Madras Museum— again through the kind intervention of Mr. Ramayya Pantulu — and will be deposited there after the final proof of the subjoined article has been passed for printing.

The seal with the emblem cut on it in bold relief— evidently the crest of the kings to whom the record belongs— deserves special consideration. The posture of the animal,[3] the sharp twist of its tail above the back, and the profuse mane round its neck— all considered together — make the figure look more like a lion than a tiger, although the possibility of the latter was suggested by Mr. Venkayya when he first discussed the question, from the supposed connection the kings mentioned in the Mālēpāḍu record bore to the Chōḷas of Tanjore whose crest was the tiger (*vēṅgai*).[4] Similar figures are engraved on the top of a broken slab at

[1] Some of the stone records which were not either set up in temples or otherwise properly cared for, were removed to the Madras Museum for preservation in the year 1905.

[2] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1904-5, p. 48.

[3] See the accompanying plate.

[4] *E.g.* in the historical introductions of Vīrarājēndra I. the king is stated to have "despatched (the banner of) the ferocious tiger into all directions" (*S.-I. I*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 37); see also, above, Vol. III, p. 125, note 3. Fine specimens of the Chōḷa tiger are depicted on the seal of the large Leyden Grant, the Tiruvālangāḍu plates and the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōḷa (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, Plate facing p. 104). They are seen also on the coins of Uttama-Chōḷa and on the Chōḷa pillar on the top of Mahēndragiri in the Ganjam district (No. 396 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1896).

Peddamudiyam[1] and on another at Muddanūr,[2] both of which bear records of about the same age as the subjoined inscription and belong, evidently, also to members of the same family. That these figures represent a lion and *not* a tiger, receives confirmation from an unexpected source. In a record of the 11th century A.D. from the Bastar State,[3] it is stated that a chief named Chandrāditya, a feudatory of the Nāgavaṁśī king Jagadēkabhūshaṇa-Mahārāja Dhārāvarsha, was a descendant of Karikāla-Chōḷa of the solar race, belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*, was the lord of the river Kāvērī (Cauvery) and of the (historic) town of Oṛaiyūr (Uṛaiyūr in the Trichinopoly district) and bore the lion-crest.[4] As the kings mentioned in the Mālēpāḍu plates will also be seen from the sequel to have possessed almost the same family-titles, and as it is not improbable that Chandrāditya of Bastar (whose capital was Ammagāma[4]) may have been a later member connected with some collateral branch of this same family, it may be assumed for the present, that the crest figured on the seal of the Mālēpāḍu plates, is a lion like that of Chandrāditya of Bastar. It is curious to note also that Sir Walter Elliot in his *Coins of Southern India* (Plate II, Nos. 49 to 54) refers to certain specimens which bear on their obverse sides the same figure as the one under discussion and tentatively attributes them to the Pallava kings of Vēṅgī. The monolithic shrine at Śīyamaṅgalam which was excavated in the time of the Pallava king Lalitāṅkura (*i.e.*, Mahēndravarman I.) about the beginning of the 7th century A.D.,[5] also bears sculptures of two identical lions which face one another and are similar in design to the lion depicted on the Muddanūr stone (see accompanying plate), The seals of Indravarman[6] and Vikramēndravarman II.[7] of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family and that of the Uruvupalli plates of the early Pallava king *Yuvamahārāja* Vishṇugōpavarman[8] bear similar figures. A small signet of *lapis lazuli* discovered among the Buddhist ruins of Amarāvati has on it the representation of a lion with the open mouth and the raised left foreleg together with the legend *Bhūtisa* written in early Brāhmī characters of the 3rd century B.C.[9] Ancient coins recently found at Bojjanakoṇḍa in the Vizagapatam district by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Madras, bear almost the same crest on their obverse sides.[10]

The writing on the plates belongs to the Southern class of alphabets and closely resembles that of the Ēḍēru plates of the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayāditya II (A.D. 799 to 843).[11] The horizontal top-strokes, often left unfinished in our plates, indicate perhaps an even earlier stage of development. Accordingly, in many cases, we find two points (one on each side of the letter) taking the place of a complete top line. The letter *k* is distinguished from *r* by a vertical stem which projecting from the top of the right side of the latter, supports over it the *talakaṭṭu*

[1] No. 351 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

[2] No. 406 of the same collection for 1904.

[3] No. 231 of the same collection for 1908.

[4] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 112.

[5] Above, Vol. VI, p. 320.

[6] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 110, paragraph 62.

[7] Above, Vol. IV, Plate, facing p. 244.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, Plate, facing p. 50.

[9] Director-General's Archæological *Annual* for 1905-6., p. 166.

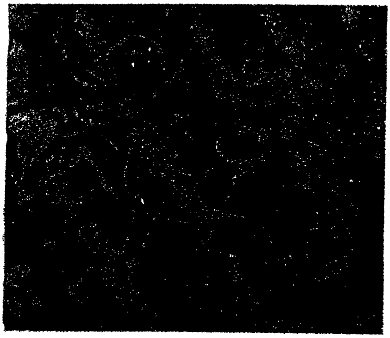
[10] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 5, paragraph 5. The tiger crest of the Hoysaḷas figured on the frontispiece of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. V., has also got the twisted tail, the mane, the conventional slender waist, and the face of a lion. Sir Walter Elliot interprets similar figures (?) on two Hoysaḷa gold coins (*South-Indian Coins*, p. 152 D, Nos. 90 and 91) as maned lions. In the legend about Saḷa, the founder of the Hoysaḷas, the Kanarese word used is *puli* which distinctly means 'a tiger'. It is not altogether impossible that a tiger was also represented by the artists of the day, with the mane and other features that were naturally characteristic of a lion. It is stated in the *Śukranītisāra* (IV, iv, 167) that a *tiger* and a *lion* have almost the same form, the difference being only in the mane which the latter possesses.

[11] Above, Vol. V, Plate, facing p. 120.

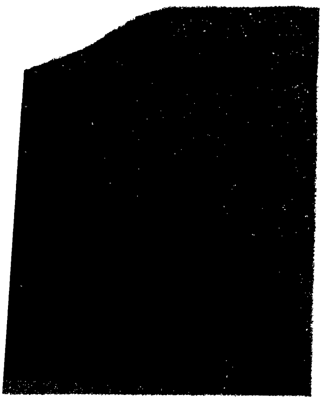
Lion seal and sculptures of about the Seventh Century A.D.



Seal of Punyakumara plates.



B.—Sculpture on a broken slab at Peddamudiem.



Sculpture on a slab at Muddanur.



D.—Sculpture on the rock-cut temple, Siyamangalam.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY V. MADHURANAYAKAM PILLAI.

AYYA. W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., COLL.

or head-line. This stem of *k* is found to be in continuation of the right side of the letter *r* in the Edāru plates, whereas here the stem begins a little removed from the right top of *r*. The use of the Dravidian *ḷa* (l. 9), *ṟa* (l. 20) and *ḻa* (ll. 8, 18 and 19) is also worth recording. As regards orthography it may be remarked that *m* and *v* coming after a *rēpha* are doubled (ll. 5, 6, 7, 11, 16, 19, 21, 22 and 24), except in *Pōrmukharāma* (l. 12 f.). The consonants *ḍ* and *ṭ* are likewise doubled after *r* in ll. 17, 22 and 24, and before *r* in l. 23, the only exceptions being *Purushaśārdūla* and *Mārdavachitta*, in l. 13. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose. An invocatory verse at the beginning and two imprecatory verses at the end are, however, written in the Āryā-Gīti and Anushṭubh metres, respectively.

After an invocation to Śiva, the record introduces us to a king **Nandivarman** of the **Kāśyapa-gōtra**. He was born in the family of **Karikāla** who was "the (celestial) tree *mandāra* on the mountain Mandara[1] — the race of the Sun, the doer of many eminent deeds such as stopping the overflow over its banks of the (*waters of the*) daughter of **Kavēra** (*i.e.* the river **Kāvērī**), who made his own the dignity of the three kings (*of the South*). Nandivarman had three sons, **Siṁhavishṇu, Sundarananda** and **Dhanaṁjayavarman**. The youngest Dhanaṁjayavarman, on whom devolved the sovereignty in regular succession, had a son "who acquired the title **Chōḷa-Mahārāja**, was well versed in grammar and other sciences and was the lord of the **Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa** and **Kēraḷa** (countries)." This was **Mahēndravikrama-varman**, "who was equal in prowess to (*god*) Mahēndra and possessed many surnames such as the glorious **Muditaśilākshara**,[2] **Navarāma**,[3] *etc.*" His son was king **Guṇamudita** and the latter's brother was the prosperous king **Puṇyakumāra**. This Puṇyakumāra, otherwise known as **Pōrmukharāma**,[4] **Purushaśārdūla**,[5] **Mārdavachitta**,[6] **Madanavilāsa**,[7] *etc.* thus ordered the inhabitants of his own dominion as well as those of **Hiraṇya-rāshṭra**: "Be it known to you that we, in the current **fifth year**, of our increasing and victorious reign, on the **full-moon day of** (*the month of*) **Kārttika**, have granted free from all molestations and taxes twice twenty-five (*i.e.* fifty) *nivartanas* of land (measured) by the royal unit, in the south-east quarter of the village named **Birapāṟu** (situated) in **Hiraṇya-rāshṭra**, on the southern bank of the river **Suprayōga**, to (*a certain*) **Chiruvaṇahaḷa-Kēśavaśarman** of the **Ātrēya**-*gōtra*, at the request of (*the chief*) **Koṭṭikuḷdarāja**." The inscription ends with two imprecatory verses (ll. 23 to 27) and a short Sanskrit clause invoking felicity on cows and Brāhmaṇas (l. 27).

Of the foregoing kings, Karikāla who held sway over the three kingdoms of the south and stopped the overflow of freshes in the Cauvery, is identical with the quasi-historical **Karikāla-Chōḷa** of Tamil literature, of whom many stories are related in the poems *Puranāṉūṟu*, *Porunārāṟṟuppaḍai*,[8] *Śilappadigāram* and *Paṭṭiṇappālai*.[9] Karikāla-Chōḷa is claimed by the Chōḷa kings of Tanjore to have been one of their famous ancestors, and to him is attributed the characteristic feat of constructing banks on either side of the river Cauvery and of renewing the town of Kāñchī with gold.[10] The exact time when this king flourished has not been properly made out. Inscriptions of a family of Telugu chiefs grouped by Mr. Venkayya under the name

[1] *I.e.* an ornament to the family which was as high (noble) as the mountain Mandara.

[2] Literally 'one who delighted in stone script (*i.e.* in inscriptions).'

[3] *I.e.* a new Rāma.

[4] A Rāma in front of battle. It may be noticed that the first component of this title, *viz. pōr* is a Dravidian word meaning 'battle' and cannot according to strict rules of Grammar be compounded with non-Dravidian Sanskrit words.

[5] A tiger among men (*i.e.* the best of men).

[6] One whose heart is tender.

[7] Amorous like (the god of) Love (Madana).

[8] Mr. Kanakasabhai's *Tamils*, Ch. V.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 144 to 149.

[10] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905-6, Part II, paragraph 15.

Telugu-Chōḍas,[1] state that an ancestor of these was a certain Karikāla "who caused the banks of (*the river*) Kāvērī to be built by Trilōchana and other kings who fixed their glances on (his) lotus feet (*i.e.* were subordinate to him)."[2] Apparently here also, the reference is to the king Karikāla-Chōḷa mentioned in the Mālēpāḍu plates. Karikāla's subordinate Trilōchana was, in all probability, a Telugu contemporary whose approximate date is possible to deduce from inscriptions. Trilōchana, Triṇētra, Triṇayana and **Mukkaṇṭi** are synonymous terms and occur frequently in Telugu epigraphs with the suffix Pallava, as the name of a mythical ruler of Pallava origin who held sway over the Telugu country at some period of its early history.[3] The Paurāṇik genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya kings invented as early as the time of Vimalāditya,[4] refers to a Trilōchana-Pallava[5] as the ruler of **Dakshiṇāpatha** and a powerful opponent of the **Chalukya** adventurer **Vijayāditya** of **Ayōdhyā**. This Trilōchana-Pallava is, perhaps, identical with the Trilōchana of the Telugu-Chōḍa inscriptions and with Triṇayana-Pallava and Mukkaṇṭi of other Telugu epigraphs. It may therefore be presumed that the three kings Karikāla, Vijayāditya and Trilōchana-Pallava were almost contemporaneous. From the account given in the Eastern Chālukya copper plates—whatever its historic value may be—it appears as if five generations had intervened between the mythical king Vijayāditya and Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana before the latter came to rule over the Vēṅgi-dēśa and founded the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. Dr. Fleet has proved that this Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana was the younger brother of Pulakēśin II.— the Satyāśraya-Vallabhēndra of Eastern Chālukya records — and that he succeeded to the throne as *yuvarāja*, in or about A.D. 615.[6] Calculating backwards for five generations, we arrive at the conclusion that Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā and, therefore, also Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla, must have flourished about the end of the fifth century A.D.[7] The history of the Pallavas at this period is obscure, and it is not unlikely that Karikāla-Chōḷa was supreme at the time and held the Pallava dominions under his sway. The three kings of

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[1] *Madras Ephigraphical Report* for 1900, paragraph 44.

[2] The actual phrase which precedes the name Karikāla in these inscriptions is: *charaṇa-sarōruha-vihita-vilōchana-Trilōchana-pramukh-ākhila-prithvīśvara-kārita-Kāvērī-tīra.* Some inscriptions substitute the word *vihata* for *vihita*. In this case the explanation would perhaps be *charaṇa-sarōruhēṇa vihatāḥ=tāḍitāḥ ata ēva vilōchanāḥ=vinashṭa-dṛiśaḥ, tējasa iti yāvat, Trilōchana-pramukhā yasya saḥ, i.e.* Trilōchana and other lords of earth whose eyes were blurred by (the brilliance of) his (*viz.* Karikāla's) lotus-feet (on the occasion when they prostrated to him). Karikāla is stated to have got thousands of Ceylonese coolies "to work on the embankments of the Kāvērī river, a hundred miles in length, which he constructed" (Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 416). Almost all the families of kings and chiefs in the south which trace their origin to the Sun, mention Karikāla among their ancestors and describe him as having constructed banks on either side of the river Kāvērī. The Kākatīyas of Warangal and, in latter times, the Maṭla chiefs of Cuddapah and the Sāḷuva chiefs of Kārvēṭinagar and a number of feudatory families who intermarried with the Vijayanagara kings of the lunar race, mention Karikāla in their genealogy. In the Telugu poem *Narasabhūpālīyamu* which was dedicated to one of the Toragaṇṭi chiefs of the solar race who were related to the kings of the third Vijayanagara dynasty by inter-marriage, it is stated that Karikāla planted rows of avenue trees on either bank of the Kāvērī in order to hide her 'who was the queen of the ocean' from public gaze.

[3] See *e.g.* above, Vol. VI, p. 277, footnote 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 348 f.

[5] The modern village Peddamuḍiyam in the Jammalamaḍugu tāluka of the Cuddapah district, is called Trilōchanapura in one of its later records. It was, as Mr. Ramayya Pantulu has pointed out to me the ancient Muḍivēmu-Agrahāra where Vishṇuvardhana, the son of Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā, was born and brought up. Its name Trilōchanapura connects it with the mythical king Trilōchana-Pallava who opposed Vijayāditya. The Pallava genealogy so far disclosed, either from copper plates or stone inscriptions, does not mention any name like Trilōchana-Pallava; but the Kādambas of Goa (*Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 566) and the Noḷambas of Hēmāvatī (above, Vol. X, p. 58) claim, respectively, Trilōchana-Kādamba and Triṇayana-Pallava as the founders of those dynasties.

[6] *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 352 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 283.

[7] *Arch. Surv. Report* for 1905-6, p. 174 f.

the South whom Karikāla is stated to have subdued were, evidently, the Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Kēraḷa[1] as specified in l. 9 of the text, in connection with Mahēndravikramavarman—a later member of this same family. The inclusion of the Chōla among the kings conquered, although it is wrong, is, nevertheless, meant to show that Karikāla virtually ruled over the whole of Southern India. The Tamil poem *Śilappadigāram* says of him that he was an ally of Avanti and the overlord of Vajra and Magadha.[2]

Of Nandivarman and his three sons Siṁhavishṇu, Sundarananda and Dhanaṁjayavarman we do not know much at present. The first two names bear resemblance to Pallava names. Sundarananda figures as one of the ancestors of an unidentified Telugu-Chōḍa chief Śrikaṇṭha whose Madras Museum plates have been noticed by Professor Kielhorn in one of the previous volumes of this journal.[3] A certain Dhanaṁjaya Eṟiga referred to in some epigraphical records from the Maddagiri tāluka of the Tumkur district calls himself a Chōḷa ruling the **Āḷvādi six hundred** district.[4] Mr. Rice assigns these records, on palæographical evidence, to about the middle of the 8th century A.D. The Chōḷas of the Tumkur district (round Niḍugal and Hēmāvati) may have been of a common stock with the Chōḷas of Cuddapah, and Dhanaṁjaya Eṟiga was either directly or indirectly connected with Dhanaṁjayavarman of the Mālēpāḍu plates. Again, a stone record at Kalamalla[5] in the Cuddapah district makes mention of a certain D[h]anaṁjeyuṇḍu who was ruling Rēnāṇḍu. The record is not dated; but to judge from the characters, it may roughly be referred to the same period as the Mālēpāḍu plates. It is, therefore, not unlikely that we have here a direct reference to Dhanaṁjayavarman, the last son of Nandivarman. Mahēndravikramavarman who assumed the titles **Chōḷa-Mahārāja, Mudita-śilākshara** and **Navarāma**, appears to have been so named after Mahēndravikrama, a name or surname of Mahēndravarman I.,[6] the Pallava contemporary of the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II., in the 7th century A.D.[7] After Guṇamudita, of whom nothing is stated in the inscription, came Puṇyakumāra Pōrmukharāma to whose reign our grant belongs. Two of the *birudas* assumed by him, *viz.* Mārdavachitta and Madanavilāsa indicate some apparent affinity to Mattavilāsa and Vichitrachitta, the recognised *birudas* of Mahēndravarman I.[8] This resemblance in the *birudas* suggests, as will be pointed out below, the possibility of some undefined relationship, political or otherwise, that may have existed between the Chōḷas of the Cuddapah district and the Pallavas of Kāñchī.

Puṇyakumāra, we are told, addressed his order to the inhabitants of his own dominion and to those of Hiraṇyarāshṭra. The latter territorial division, though not actually included in the province governed by Puṇyakumāra, must have been bordering on it and perhaps also subordinate to him. It is not impossible that this was actually the kingdom ruled by **Koṭṭikuḷdarāja,**

[1] Tamil literature refers to "the battle at Veṇṇil where Karikāla defeated the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya kings" (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 146). It is not impossible to interpret the word *trairājya-sthiti* of l. 4 in the sense of "the position of *trairājya*". In Western Chalukya copper-plates the Pallava King is often referred to as *Trairājya-Pallava* or *Trairājya-Kāñchīpati*, where *trairājya* evidently denotes the sovereignty over the whole of Southern India.

[2] Above, Vol. X, pp. 26f.

[3] Above, Vol. V, p. 123, note. Professor Kielhorn who has compared the palæography of these with that of the Masulipatam plates of Vijayāditya III. (A.D. 844-888), is of opinion that the Madras Museum plates of Śrīkaṇṭha are also of about the same period. It may be pointed out that an ancient coin of about the 4th or 5th century A.D., discovered at Bojjanakoṇḍa, bears on one of its sides the legend *Śrīkaṁṭa* and on the other the Pallava symbol of the vase and the lion (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part I, paragraph 5).

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Introduction, p. (7).

[5] No. 380 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

[6] *A. S. R.* for 1903-4, p. 271, and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part II, paragraph 14. The names Navarāma and Mahēndravarman also occur in the plates of Śrīkaṇṭha noticed above.

[7] *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 350.

[8] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part II, paragraph 14.

at whose request the subjoined grant was made. The river **Suprayōga**, on whose southern bank the village Birapāṟu was situated, is mentioned again in the Uruvupalli plates of the Pallava king *Yuvamahārāja* Vishṇugōpavarman.[1] It is there stated to have formed one of the boundaries of the village of Uruvupalli situated in the district of Muṇḍa-rāshṭra. Keṇḍakūra or Kaṇḍukūra, another boundary of Uruvupalli, mentioned in the same plates, is suggested by Mr. Venkayya to be identical with the modern Kandukūru,[2] the headquarters of a tāluka of that name in the Nellore district. And as Muṇḍa-rāshṭra is probably the same as Muṇḍai-nāḍu mentioned in some of the Nellore Tamil inscriptions,[3] the river Suprayōga has to be looked for somewhere in the Nellore district. Puṇyakumāra's sway thus appears to have extended beyond Cuddapah, even into Nellore. An inscription at Kalujavvalapāḍu in the Podili division of the Nellore district refers to a chief of the solar race (to which also Puṇyakumāra belonged) and is worded almost in the same style as the stone epigraphs of the family under reference[4]. The existence of this record may be taken to be a further proof of the influence of the Chōḷa kings, in the Nellore district, already at this early period. I am unable to identify the village of Birapāṟu which was situated on the bank of the river Suprayōga.

Before fixing the probable period to which the Mālēpāḍu plates belong, it may be useful to examine some of the allied lithic records referred to at the beginning of this paper. One from **Rāmēśvaram** near Prodduṭūru[5] and another from **Chippili** near Madanapalle,[6] have to be assigned on palæographical evidence to Puṇyakumāra of the Mālēpāḍu plates, though neither of them which mentions him refers to the family to which he belonged or the *gōtra* in which he was born. The latter is a memorial tablet in the Kanarese language and registers that "while the glorious Puṇyakomarāṉ (*i.e.* Puṇyakumāra) was ruling Chirpuḷi (Chippili), **Indarāḷa** rose (in rebellion ?), and (in the conflict that ensued, a certain) Parasurāman pierced and fell." The former tells us: 'In the victorious and increasing years of the reign of the lord of the earth (*prithivīvallabha*), the **Chōḷa-Mahārāja Pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra, in** (his) fifth year, **queen Vasantapōṟi-Chōḷa-Mahādēvi** presented three hundred (measures) of land in the fields of **Viripaṟiti** to the temple of **Vasantiśvara** at **Tārumunṟi**— the *āṇati* (*ājñapti*) of the grant being a certain **Māṟpiḍugu Raṭṭaguḍlu.**" Although one may feel doubtful about the identity of Puṇyakomarāṉ of the Chippili record, there is little doubt that Pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra of the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription is identical with the donor of the Mālēpāḍu copper plates. The mention in this record of (Puṇyakumāra's?) queen Vasantapōṟi-Chōḷa-Mahādēvi, of (his) officer Māṟpiḍugu Raṭṭaguḍlu and of the villages Viripaṟiti and Tāramunṟi is apparently of much historical interest. Māṟpiḍugu is a name or surname quite familiar to the period to which the inscription belongs and was in use among the ruling Pallava sovereigns and their subordinates.[7] Raṭṭaguḍlu is an honorific title largely used in the epigraphs under reference. Its significance, as indicated by the context, appears to justify our connecting it with the later Sanskrit word *rāshṭrakūṭa* which has been explained in the sense "the headman of a

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 53. [2] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1904-05, Part II, paragraph 2.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 283 and note.

[4] *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1179. The occurrence of epithets like *raḍḍōḍiya* and *raḍḍōḍlu* in connection with the original founders of the temple as stated in this record, is also worthy of note.

[5] No. 384 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904. [6] No. 299 of the same collection for 1905.

[7] Names ending in *piḍugu* were common in Pallava times. Perumbiḍugu was the name of a channel which was dug from the river Pālār to feed the Paramēśvara tank in the village of Kūram near Conjeeveram, in the time of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I. (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 155). Pagāppiḍugu was the surname of king Mahēndravarman I. Māṟpiḍugu was the epithet either of a Pallava king named Dantivarman or of one of his subordinates, in whose time a well was constructed at Tiruveḷḷaṟai in the Trichinopoly district. A tank at Ālambākkam in the same district was called Māṟpiḍugēri. Agraṇipiḍugu occurs among the names of the ancestors of the Telugu Chōḷa chief Śrīkaṇṭha who perhaps belonged to the same family as Puṇyakumāra. According to the *Nandikkalambakam*, Viḍēlviḍugu was a surname of the hero of that Tamil poem.

village." The following other forms of *raṭṭaguḍlu* are also found in the Chōḷa records of the Cuddapah district: (1) *raṭṭeḍlu*, (2) *raṭṭaguṭṭu* (perhaps the singular form of *raṭṭaguḍlu*) and (3) *raṭṭāḍlu*. Further, in some inscriptions, *raṭṭaguḍi* is found compounded with the name of a royal family, as Saḷki-Raṭṭakuḍi, Chaḷki-Raṭṭaguḍi, Gagga-Raṭṭaguḍi, Vallava-Raṭṭaguḍi, Chōḷiya-Raṭṭaguṭṭu, and Chōḷa-Raṭṭōḍi. In these forms apparently the first part denotes the dynasty Saḷki or Chaḷki (*i.e.* Chaḷukya), Gagga (Gaṅga), Vallava (Pallava ? or Vallabha-Rāshṭrakūṭa) and Chōḷiya or Chōḷa, under whose patronage the dignity (*paṭṭam*) of *raṭṭaguḍi* was held by the individual or individuals who bore them. The familiar phrase *rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭumbinaḥ*, which occurs in copper plate inscriptions, shows also that the *rāshṭrakūṭas* were *kuṭumbins* 'cultivators' (*kuḍi* in Tamil) who enjoyed a higher social status than others of their community. The Reḍḍis of the Telugu country according to their own account belong to the *Panṭakula* 'the cultivating caste' and command much respect. A class of Reḍḍis in the Nizam's Dominions, is still known by the name Raḍraḍḍis which appears to me to be a reminiscence of the older honorific *raṭṭōḍi*. Thus the Sanskrit *rāshṭrakūṭa* and the modern *reḍḍi* have to be traced to the form *raṭṭaguḍi* and its variants which were current in the Cuddapah district in the period of the lithic records under discussion.[1]

Six other stone epigraphs,[2] from the Cuddapah district, begin with a short eulogy of the Chōḷa kings, which is identically the same in all.[3] The ruling chief is introduced by the general appellation Chōḷa-Mahārāja and not by his proper name. Four allied records refer to an unnamed eldest son (*prathama-priya-putra*) of **Vikramāditya Bempaṇādhirāja**,[4] a **Vikramāditya-Chōḷa-Mahārāja** and queen **Eḷañchōḷa-Mahādēvi**[5] and prince **Śatyaditunru**, son of **Śaktikomara Vikramāditya** (and grandson of) **Chōḷa-Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya**.[6] These are names not mentioned in the genealogical portion of the Mālēpāḍu plates and consequently their relationship to Puṇyakumāra, to whose family they must belong, is not certain. The general appellation Chōḷa-Mahārāja, however, was, according to text line 8, first acquired by Mahēndravikramavarman, the father of Puṇyakumāra. It is not improbable that the Chōḷa-Mahārāja mentioned in the six lithic records quoted above, is identical with Mahēndravikramavarman. The province over which these Chōḷa kings apparently ruled is stated in four records to have been the **Rēnāṇḍu seven thousand**. One stone epigraph from Mālēpāḍu (see Postscript, below) adds the district **Siddhi one thousand**, perhaps the same as the Siddhaut country. A later inscription of the 12th century A.D. from Peddamuḍiyam,[7] mentions the **Rēnāḍu seventy**, which must have formed a sub-division of the **Rēnāṇḍu seven thousand** district. Mr. Ramayya Pantulu identifies Rēnāḍu with "the black-soil country which roughly includes large portions of the modern districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool, along the valley of the Kundēru river."

The period of the record could only be approximately fixed. The lion crest adopted by the Chōḷa kings was, as we have seen, already familiar in the 3rd century B.C. It was a Buddhist symbol used also by the Pallavas of the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Christian era and

[1] For a detailed criticism on the terms *raṭṭa* and *rāshṭrakūṭa* see above, Vol. VII, p. 221 f. A similar development of the title *Gauḍa* from the earlier *grāmakūṭa*, *gāmaūḍa* has been maintained by Dr. Fleet, *ibidem*, p. 183.

[2] Nos. 405, 406 and 408 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904; No. 352 of the collection for 1905 and Nos. 466 and 517 of the collection for 1906.

[3] This eulogy runs as follows:—*Svasti śrī ari-durdhara-vara-bhuj-āsi-bhāsura prachaṇḍa-pradyōta-Dinakara-kula-nandana Kāśyapa-gōtra Karikāl-ānvaya*—'Hail! Prosperity! (Chōḷa-Mahārāja) who is resplendent with an excellent sword in hand which his enemies could not oppose, who gladdens the family of the Sun whose rays are powerful, who belongs to the Kāśyapa-gōtra (and) to the family of Karikāla.'

[4] No. 403 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

[5] No. 400 of the same collection.

[6] No. 393 of the same collection. The text of this record with translation is published below, in a postscript.

[7] No. 350 of the same collection for 1905 (below p. 344, n. 2). Inscriptions of the 16th century A.D. at Peddamuḍiyam and Dombara-Nandyāla refer to the country in which these villages were situated as Rēnāṭa-Sīma in the Ghaṇḍikōṭa-rājya.

by the Vishṇukuṇḍin family of about the 7th century A.D. Again the adoption by Puṇyakumāra and his ancestors of titles and names which were current among the Pallava kings of the Siṁhavishṇu line, makes it probable that they were either the subordinates of those Pallavas or succeeded them politically in, at least, a portion of their extensive territory. Besides, the existence of a kingdom called Chu-li-ye in the time of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang (640 A.D.)[1] somewhere about the tract of country in which we find these Telugu-Chōḷa records, is conclusive proof "that this kingdom existed in the 7th century A.D." Allowing thus a little more than a century to the five rulers from Nandivarman to Puṇyakumāra, the date of the Mālēpāḍu plates may roughly be referred to about the end of the 8th century A.D., which is also the period determined by palæographical evidence.

The connection that existed between these Telugu-Chōḷas of the Cuddapah district and the Tamil Chōḷas of Tanjore, both of whom claim Karikāla as their ancestor, is not clear. After a more or less independent rule in Rēnāṇḍu for about a century or two, the Chōḷas of Cuddapah appear to have dispersed. Some of them became subordinate to the Western Chālukyas who conquered and occupied the northern portion of the Pallava country.[2] A collateral branch appears to have adventured further north to seek service in Chakrakōṭa under the Nāgavaṁśi king [Dhārāvarsha] Jagadēkabhūshaṇa-Mahārāja (A.D. 1060-61).[3] In the 12th and 13th centuries there flourished in the Guntur, Nellore, North Arcot, Cuddapah and Chingleput districts influential kings of the Telugu-Chōḷa (now changed into Telugu-Chōḍa) family who owed allegiance to the Kākatīyas of Warangal.[4] The Kākatīyas themselves trace their descent from the sun and count among their mythical ancestors the ancient king Karikāla-Chōḷa.[5] In the Anantapur district and the bordering Kanarese country there flourished also a branch of these Chōḷas. Even as late as the 16th century A.D., Chōḷa chiefs with the traditionary legend of descent from Karikāla and lordship over the ancient town of Uraiyūr[6] are found serving as viceroys under Vijayanagara rulers.

TEXT.[7]

First Plate.

1 [8]Jayati dhṛita-chandra-rēkh[ō] vi[pul-ā]mala-tāraka[ḥ] śubh-ālōka[ḥ] [|*] gagana-

2 m=iva suprasanna[ḥ Tri]pura-pratima[l*]la-kaṁṭa-hā[gaṁ]raḥ[9] || Dinakara-kula-Manda-

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[1] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905, p. 49.

[2] A Kanarese record (No. 350 of 1905) of the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI, dated in Śaka 1046 (= A.D. 1124-25) mentions the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Atyaṇa-Chōḷamahārāja whose eulogy begins with the very same passage as in the earlier Chōḷa records of the Cuddapah district under reference. Peddamudiyam, the village from which it comes, is described as "the jewel of villages, the great *agrahāra* Muḍivēmu, where resided one hundred and fifty pious (Brāhmaṇas) who were well versed in Vēdas and Purāṇas, in penance and in devotion to Nārāyaṇa and who were the lotus-tank (as it were), in which the Mahārājādhirāja Vishṇuvardhana and others had their birth." The last adjunct is explained by Mr. Ramayya Pantulu to be a clear reference to the birth of Vishṇuvardhana at Muḍivēmu mentioned in the mythological account of the later Eastern Chālukya copper plates.

[3] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1909, p. 112.

[4] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1900, p. 17 f.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 106, paragraph 44.

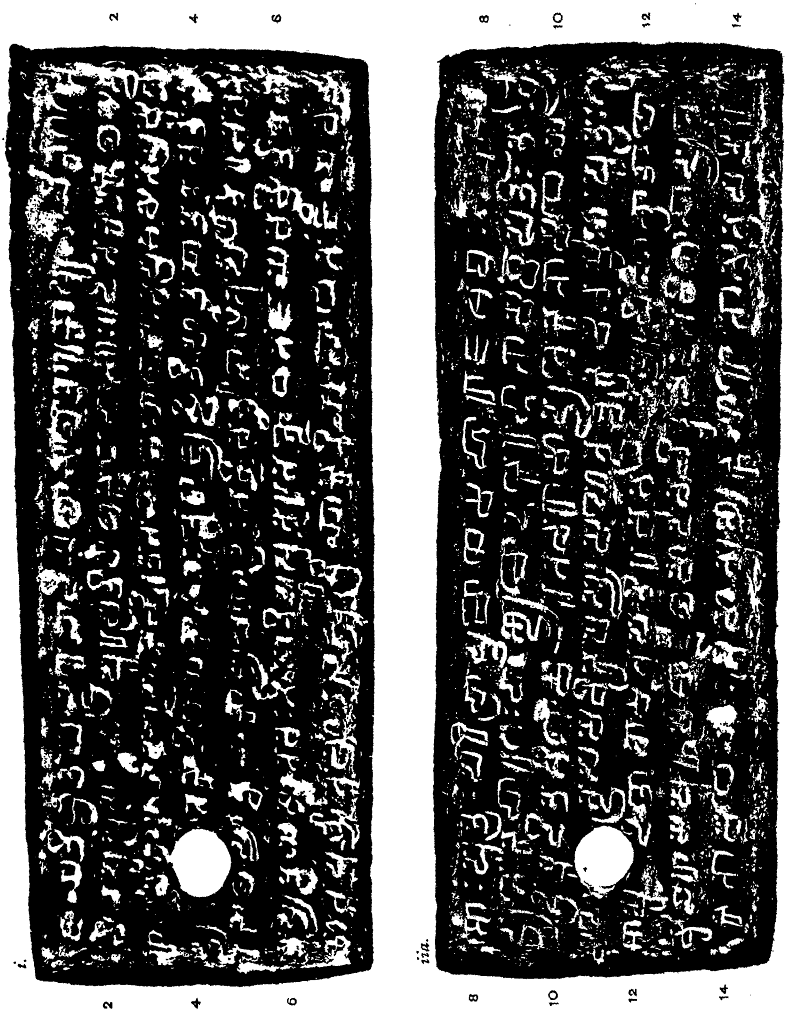
[6] The title 'lord of Uṟaiyūr (Oṟeyūr)' assumed by the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs occurs for the first time in the Bastar record of Chandrādityadēva of the 11th century A.D. Earlier Chōḷa inscriptions from Cuddapah do not speak of Oṟeyūr.

[7] From the original plates.

[8] A faint symbol for *Ōṁ* is visible at the beginning of the line.

[9] Metre: Āryā Gīti. Read *-kaṇṭhagō hāraḥ.* The adjectives which qualify *hāraḥ* 'the necklace' (of Śiva), are applicable also to *gagana* 'the sky' to which the necklace is compared. In the first case the necklace is made up of beads resembling the digit of the moon and of pearls big and bright; it is also auspiciously brilliant and flawless. The sky is the seat of the digit of the moon, full of big and bright stars, full also of good lustre shed by the stars and clear. It may be noted that *Chandrahāra* in Kanarese means 'a necklace of flat moon-like (circular) gold beads.'

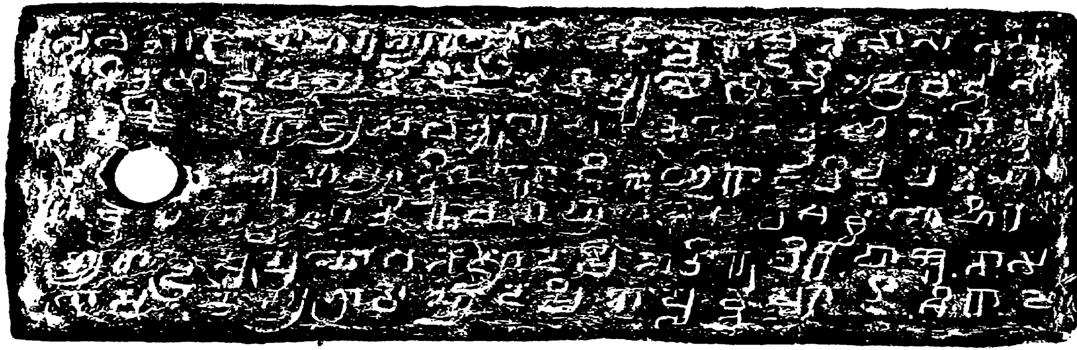
Malepadu plates of Punyakumara; the fifth year.



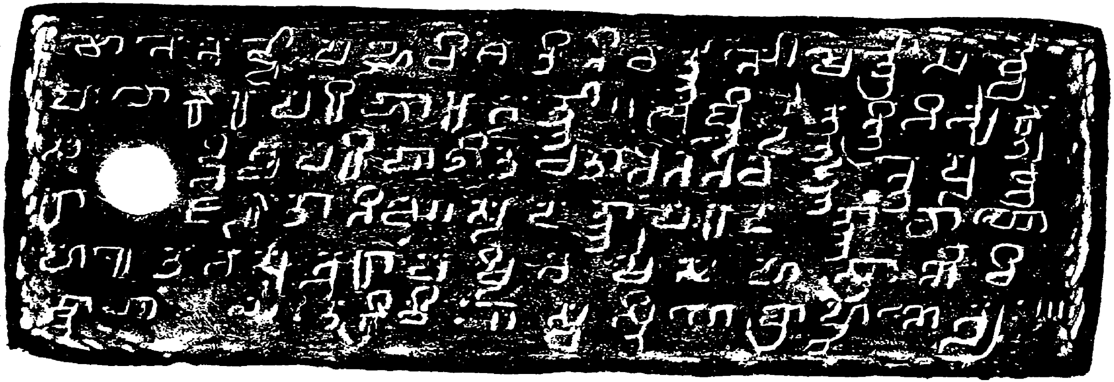
SCALE FULL-SIZE.

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iii.



3 r-ācha[la*]-Mandāru(ra)-pādapasya Kavēra-tanayā-[vē]l-ō[l*]laṁghana-
praśamana-pramukh-ā-

4 dy-anēk-ātiśaya-kāriṇaḥ trairājya-sthitim=ātmasāt=kṛitavataḥ Ka-

5 rikālasy=ānvayō Kāśyapa-gōtraḥ Nandivarmmā nāma nṛipatir=
abhavat [|*]

6 Tasya traya[s*]=[sū]navaḥ [Siṁha]vishṇu[s*]-Sundaraṇa[ndō]
Dhanaṁjayavarmm=ēti [|*] Tē [pu]-

7 [tr-ā]nu[pu]try=ānubhūta-rājya-śriyaḥ [|*] Kaniya[sō] Dhanaṁjayavarmma-

Second Plate; First Side.

8 ṇaḥ putraḥ pariprāpta-Chōḻa-Mahārāja-śabdaḥ [Śabda-śāstr-ā]-

9 dy-anēka-pāragaḥ Pāṇḍya-Chōḻa-Kēraḷānām=adhipatiḥ [|*] Tasya

10 śrī-Muditaśilākshara-Navarām-ādy-anēka-nāmadhēya-

11 Mahēndra-sama-vikramasya Mahēndravikramavarmmaṇaḥ putraḥ Gu-

12 ṇamuditō nāma nṛipatir=a[bha]va[t] [|*] Tasya priyō bhrātā Pō-

13 rmukharāma-Purushaśārdūla-Mārdavachitta-Madanavilās-ādy-anē-

14 ka-nāmadhēyaḥ śrīmā[n=Pu]ṇyakumārō nāma nṛipatir=a-

Second Plate; Second Side.

15 [bha]va[t] || Asau Hiraṇya-rāshṭra-[sa]hitā[n=sva]-rāshṭra-nivāsinas=sa-

16 rvvān=ittham=ājñāpayati [|*] Viditam=astu vō [=]smābhiḥ pravarddha[mā]-

17 na-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē pañchamē varttamānē Kārtti-

18 ka-[pau]rṇamāsyān=tithau Koṭṭikuḷdarāja-vijñāpanayā

19 Ātrēya-[gō]trāya [Chi]ruvaṇa[ha]la]-Kēśavaśarmmaṇē Hira-

20 ṇya-rāshṭrē Supra[yō]ga-nadyā dakshiṇa-tīrē Birapāṟu-nāma-

21 grāmaḥ [ta]sya grāmasya dakshiṇa-pūrvvasyāṁ diśi rāja-

Third Plate.

22 mānēna dvā-pañchaviṁśati-nivarttanō[1] kshētrō sarvva-

23 bādhā-kara-parihāran=dattō[2] || Abbhir=ddattaṁ [3]ttribhir=bhuktaṁ

24 sadbhiś=cha paripālitaṁ [|*] ētāni na nivarttantē pūrvva-

25 rāja-kṛitāni cha || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō

26 harēta vasundharāṁ [|*] shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi vi-

27 shṭhāyāṁ [jāyatē] krimiḥ || Svasti gō-brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ |||

POSTSCRIPT.

TEXT.[4]

First Face.

1 ◎ Svasti śrī-Chōḻa-Ma-

2 h[ā]rājādhirāja pa-

3 ramēśvara Vikramādi-

4 tya Śaktikomara Vi-

5 kramādit[y*]ula koḍuk[u-

6 ḻ]] Kāśyapa-g[ō]tru-

7 [nṟu] Śatyaditunṟu Śiddhi-

8 [vey]u Rēnāṇḍu-ēḻu[vē-

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[1] Read -nivarttanaṁ kshētraṁ. [2] Read =dattaṁ. [3] Read tribhir-.

[4] No. 898 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904. The characters are quite similar to those of the Alupa inscriptions of Udiyāvara (above, Vol. IX, pp. 15-24), which Prof. Hultzsch assigns to about A. D. [illegible]. It deserves to be noted that the record is written from the bottom upwards like the Amarāvatī pillar inscription of Siṁhavarman (above, Vol. IX, p. 43 and Plate) and one of the sides of the Bezvāḍa pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1910, p. 82.).

9 la] ēḻuchunṟi[1] Ko[ma-
10 ṟi]pāṟa-Rēvaśa-
11 [rmma] Kāśyapa-gō-
12 [t]ri(tru)ni(ṇi)ki ichchina .
13 . Chiṟuṁbūri[2] utta-
14 . śa tu(tū)rpuna diśa
15 . [ḍ]u Juggi-pola-ga[ru]-
16 su da[kshi]ṇa-[diśa]
17 . . . pāṟa [ma] .

Second Face.

18 ēnu maṟutru-gā-
19 nu tāgiri [||*] Dē(dī)ni
20 salpinavāniki
21 vē-gu[ḷ]ḷuvu vē-se-
22 ṟuvuḷu vēvānṟ=u(ū)-
23 ṟḷu nilpinaṁ[3] puṇyaṁ-
24 bu [|*]dīniki vakraṁbu
25 vachchuva(vā)nṟu putra-va-
26 dya(dha)-strī-vadya(dha)-[gō-va]-
27 dya(dha)-pañcha-ma[ha-
28 pā]takañ=chēsi[na]-
29 vāni lōka[ṁ*][bu-
30 n=u]n[ḍu*]vānṟu ◎

TRANSLATION.[4]

Hail! Śatyaditunṟu (Satyāditya) of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, son of Śaktikomara Vikramāditya (and grandson of) the great lord, the glorious Chōḷa-Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya, while ruling the Śiddhi one thousand and the Rēnāṇḍu seven thousand (*districts*), gave to Rēvaśarmma of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, (*a resident*)' of Komaṟipāṟa, five *marutru*[5] (of land) at Chiṟuṁbūru . . . . . on the north side . . . . . east side . . . . . the boundary of the fields of Juggi; (*on*) the south side . . . . To him that maintains this (*charity*), (*shall accrue*) the merit of establishing a thousand temples, a thousand tanks (and) a thousand villages! He that obstructs this, shall live in the world of him who commits the five great sins (*such as*) the murder of a son, the murder of a woman (*and*) the murder of a cow!

[1] The vowel sign for *u* is added, though wrongly, to the compound letter *nṟi*.

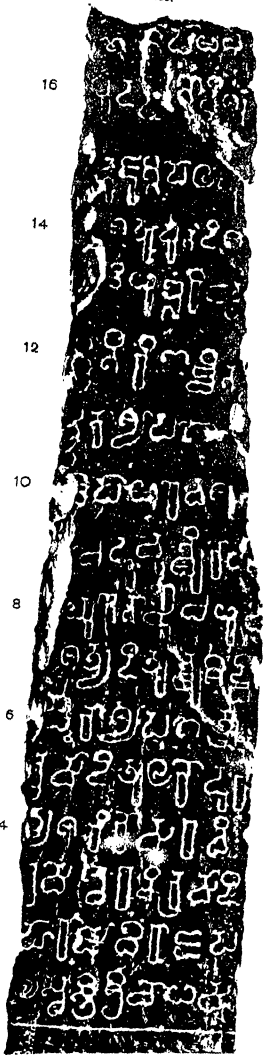
[2] The *anusvāra* which is to be connected with *ṟu* is placed over the letter *bū* which follows it. This peculiar position of the *anusvāra* is often found in the Telugu records of this period. The pronunciation intended may be either Chiṟumbūru or Chiṟṟubūru (the modern Chilamkūru near the Kalamaḷḷa railway station). The latter possibility is supported by the system of spelling generally followed in Prakrit manuscripts where an *anusvāra* placed at the top of any letter has the effect of doubling the preceding letter. The similar position of the *anusvāra* in the words *puṇyaṁbu* and *vakraṁbu* (l. 23 f.) cannot be explained in the same way. [3] Read *nilpina*.

[4] The subjoined is only a tentative translation of the inscription. Its peculiarities of orthography, grammar and idiom require independent study and discussion. I could only here draw particular attention to the use of *nṟu nṟi* for *ṇḍu*, *ṇḍi*, the use of the Dravidian *ḷ* for *l*, the wrong forms *gōtriniki* for *gōtruṇiki* (l. 12) and *dēni* for *dīni* (l. 19), the addition of the genetive suffix to the qualifying adjective instead of to the noun (ll. 10 to 12), the use of the expletive suffix *vu* in *vē-guḷḷuvu* (l. 21), the ungrammatical *vēvānṟ-ūṟḷu* for *vē-vūḷḷu* and the word *vadya* for *vadha*. Again, I am unable to explain the phrase *ēnu marutru-gānu tāgiri* in l. 18 f.

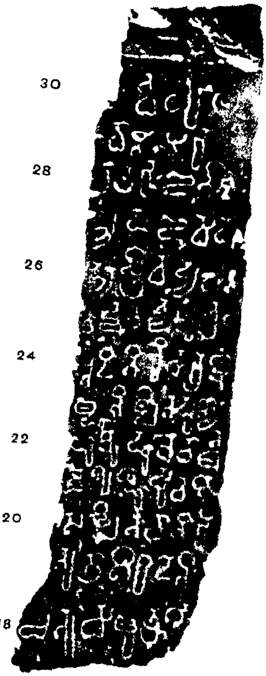
[5] *Marutru* is evidently the plural of *marutu*, which again is a corruption of the Kanarese *mattar*, *mattaru* 'a measure of land.'

Malepadu stone inscription of Satyaditya.

First Face.



Second Face.



V. VENKAYYA.

SCALE ONE-SIXTH.

W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., PHOTO-LITH.

INDEX[1].

[1] The figures refer to pages; *n* after a figure, to footnotes. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district, division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *f.*=female; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain *ri.*=river; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village, town; *W.*=Western.

K

after they were reduced to the position of Chōḷa feudatories. Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District seems to have borne the other name **Vāṇapuram**, and it is not unlikely that it was one of the important towns, if not the capital, of the Bāṇa territory.[1] Long after the Bāṇas ceased to be rulers, members of the family claimed to be lords of Parivipura and Nandagiri.[2] The Bāṇa crest was a bull, and their banner bore the emblem of a black-buck, while their drum was called *Paiśācha*.[3] Mahābali, the progenitor of the Bāṇas, is said to have been made door-keeper by the lord of gods and demons, Paramēśvara (Śiva) worshipped in all the three worlds.[4]

The **Udayēndiram grant of Vikramāditya II**,[5] furnishes the following genealogy of the Bāṇas for eight generations:

Bali.
|
Bāṇa.
⋮
Bāṇādhiraja.
⋮
Jayanandivarman,
who ruled the land west of the Āndhra country.
⋮
Vijayāditya.
|
Malladēva *alias* Jagadēkamalla.
⋮
Bāṇavidyādhara.
|
Prabhumērudēva.
|
Vikramāditya I.
|
Vijayāditya II.
Pugaḻvippavargaṇḍa.[6]
|
Vijayabāhu-Vikramāditya II.,
"dear friend of Kṛishṇaraja".

[1] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III, p. 89.

[2] See *e.g.* *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1899-1900, paragraph 85.

[3] These are mentioned for the first time in the Udayēndiram plates of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa king Pṛithivīpati II. (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 388, verse 24.)

[4] The expression *sakala-jagat-tray-ābhivandita-sur-āsur-ādhīsa-Paramēśvara-pratihārī-kṛita-Mahābali-kulōdbhava* is translated by Mr. Rice, on the strength of some Kanarese tradition, "born of the family of Mahābali, who had made Paramēśvara, lord of gods and demons worshipped in all the three worlds, (his) door-keeper;" *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. p. ii, note 5.

[5] Above, Vol. III. p. 74 f.

[6] The title Pugaḻvippavargaṇḍa was also borne by a brother-in-law of the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya, son of Parantaka I. (above, Vol. VII. p. 134). This Pugaḻvippavargaṇḍa is called Ilāḍarāja (*i.e.* chief of Virāṭa or Berar) (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 65). His son Vīra-Chōḷa was a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. and made a gift to the Jaina shrine at Pañchapāṇḍavamalai in the North Arcot District (above Vol. IV. p. 139).

As the last of them, Vikramāditya II., is said to have been the "dear friend of Kṛishṇarāja,"[1] who is no doubt identical with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II. (A.D. [illegible] to 911-12), we may assign him roughly to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. This would carry Jayanandivarman, the earliest known member of the family, to about the end of the 7th century A.D. But the Udayēndiram plates tell us that Jayanandivarman came to the throne after "many" Bāṇa princes had passed away. The antiquity of the family is carried farther by the Tāḷgunda inscription of Kākusthavarman,[2] which, as I have already noted, reports that Mayūraśarman, the first Kadamba king, levied tribute from "the great Bāṇa." Thus the history of the family is carried back to the 5th century A.D.

According to the Tamil poem *Maṇimēgalai*, the queen of the Chōḷa king Neḍumuḍikkiḷḷi[3] was Śīrtti, daughter of a descendant of Māvali. This is apparently a reference to the Bāṇa family. Śīrtti was also called Rājamādēvi and she had a son named Udayakumara. The time when the Bāṇa father-in-law of the Chōḷa king flourished, cannot be made out satisfactorily at present. But it may be presumed that the former is earlier than Jayanandivarman, the first Bāṇa king mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates.

No authentic records of the earlier kings of the family have come down to us. Of Koṅgaṇivarman, the progenitor of the Gaṅgas of Kōlār, it is said that he was anointed to conquer the Bāṇa-maṇḍala.[4] It may be presumed that this statement gives pointed expression to the hostility which generally existed between the Gaṅgas and Bāṇas in their later history, particularly during the period of supremacy of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ who were the suzerain lords of the Western Gaṅgas.

A stone inscription of the Gaṅga king Śrī-Mādhava-Muttarasa at Tallapalli[5] which Mr. Rice assigns approximately to A.D. 725,[6] refers to his expedition against Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa and to a battle at Kōyāttūr, *i.e.* the modern Laddigam in the Puṅganūr Zamindāri. At Kendaṭṭi-Maḍivāḷa in the Kōlār District is a stone inscription of Nītimārga-Koṅgoṇivarman (Kl. 79) which Mr. Rice assigns to about A.D. 890. The Gaṅga king's feudatory Noḷambādhirāja of the Pallava family is here said to have ordered a general of his to fight against the Bāṇa

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1 *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III. p. 92.

2 Above, Vol. VIII. pp. 24 ff.

3 He also bore the other names Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavaṉ, Māvaṉkiḷḷi, Vaḍivērkiḷḷi and Veṉvērkiḷḷi and is said to have wedded a Nāga princess named Pīlivaḷai. It is believed that he fought a battle on the bank of the river Kāri against the Chēras and Pāṇḍyas. The Chōḷa king also overcame the former by besieging Karuvūr. It was apparently during his reign that Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam, the Chōḷa capital, was destroyed by a tidal wave. The king is said to have died at a place called Kuḷamuṟṟam and he was known in later times as "Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ, who died at Kuḷamuṟṟam." In the Tamil anthology known as *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, there are 18 pieces in his honour composed by ten poets. In the note appended to each of these poems is mentioned this name of the king which does not figure in the body of the poem. Consequently, the assumption that these ten poets were contemporaries of the king is based on tradition current at the time when the notes were added. In the absence of definite information as to the authenticity of the tradition on which the notes are based, it is safer to abstain from drawing any historical conclusions from them. The anthology in which these 18 poems are included is believed to have been compiled by a poet named Perundēvaṉār, who probably flourished in the 8th or 9th century A.D. (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1898-99, paragraph 16). The date A.D. 105-120 for Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavaṉ assigned by the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai is based on the Singhalese chronicles, whose chronology is far from satisfactory. Without being dogmatic on the point, I would leave the chronology of early Tamil literature an open question until indisputable evidence is available on the point. For a tentative date of the Chōḷa king Karikāla, who was the grandfather of Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavaṉ according to Mr. Kanakasabhai, see the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-7, Part II, p. 224, note 1; and p. 225, note 10.

4 *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II. p. 387, verse 13.

5 *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Kōlār, Bp. 13.

6 *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Introduction, p. vi. The date given for the same record on p. 187 of the Translation is "about 890 A.D."

so far. Nandivarman's son Nṛipatuṅga was evidently the most powerful king of the family, as his inscriptions are found both in the ancient Pallava territory and in the Chōḷa country.[1] In fact, it may be presumed that the Gaṅga-Pallavas occupied a comparatively insignificant position during the reign of the first two kings. This partly accounts for the fact that the descendants of the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram continued until a very late period side by side with the Gaṅga-Pallavas.[2]

Apart from the Pallavas and the Gaṅga-Pallavas, the five subjoined records throw considerable light on the history of a feudatory family which played an important part in the ancient history of Southern India. These are the **Bāṇas**, who traced their descent to the demon **Mahābali.** They claim to be lords of **Nandagiri,** *i.e.* Nandidroog in the Chik-Baḷḷāpur tāluka, Kōlār District, Mysore State, and their traditional capital, the place of origin claimed by them, was **Parivipura,** regarding which place see p. 231 below. The inscriptions of this family have been found in the northern portion of the North Arcot District and in the Kōlār District of the Mysore State.[3] They seem to have been the guardians of the Pallava and Gaṅga-Pallava territories in the north and often figure in cattle-raids and similar frontier wars.

The earliest mention of the Bāṇas is in the **Tāḷgund pillar** inscription of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman. Here it is said that Mayūraśarman, the first Kadamba king, who may be assigned roughly to the 5th century A.D., levied tribute from '**the great Bāṇa**'[4] who was perhaps a Pallava feudatory. We are not told definitely where 'the great Bāṇa's' dominion lay.[5]

The country ruled over by the Bāṇas is called *Āndhrāt pathaḥ paśchimatā kshitiḥ*, '**the land to the west of the Āndhra road** (or of the country called **Āndhrapatha**),' in Sanskrit in the Udayēndiram grant of Vikramāditya II;[6] **Vaḍugavaḻi-mēṟku** in A. above; **Vaḍugavaḻiyiṉ mēṟku** in C. above; **the Vaḍugavaḻi twelve-thousand** in a Tiruvallam inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman;[7] **Vaḍugavaḻi 12,000 and Maṇṇe 200** in a record from the vicinity of Puṅganūr in the North Arcot District;[8] and "**the twelve-thousand villages in the Āndhra-Maṇḍala**" in the Mudiyanūr plates, professing to be dated in A.D. 338.[9] The last mentioned record is spurious, but there seems to be no objection to admit its evidence on the geographical point.

Perumbāṇappāḍi, which occurs in later Tamil inscriptions, was apparently another name for the Bāṇa territory. This province seems to have extended from Puṅganūr in the **west** to **Kāḷahasti** in the east. The river Pālār probably formed the southern boundary of the province in ancient times.[10] None of the foregoing terms make it clear if the Bāṇa dominions formed part of the Āndhra country, or were situated to the west of it, or should be looked for to the west of a road running from the Tamil to the Vaḍuga, Āndhra or Telugu, country. The question is further complicated by the absence of any definite boundaries of the Āndhra country that could be

[1] See above, Vol. VIII. p. 293.

[2] See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-07, Part II, p. 239 f.

[3] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-07, paragraph 45.

[4] Above, Vol. VIII. p. 35. The *Bṛihad-Bāṇa* of verse 15 corresponds to the term *Perum-Bāṇa* of the territorial term Perumbāṇappāḍi which appears to denote the Bāṇa dominions.

[5] From the way in which he is here mentioned it looks as if his dominions were not very far from Śrīparvatam, *i.e.* Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District.

[6] Above, Vol. III. p. 76, text-line 21.

[7] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 90.

[8] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 45.

[9] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 175. Dr. Fleet has told me that the real reading is not *Andhramaṇḍalē dvādaśa°* but *Andhramaṇḍaladvādaśasahasragrāma-sampādita*, etc., "lord of the seven and a half lakh country supplemented by the Andhramaṇḍala twelve-thousand villages."

[10] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 45.

bhabba); or is resolved into *iy* as in *paḍiyaṁśaṁ* from Skt. *pratyaṁśa*; but it remains when combined with *r* as in *paryata* (l. 3 A), see rule 6, and also note on *asaṁśrana* (p. 218).

Rule 6.—Conjunct *r* as the second member of an initial consonant is dropped; thus *paḍiyaṁśaṁ*=*paṭiyaṁśaṁ* (by rule 1)=Skt. *pratyaṁśa*, where the disappearing *r* has cerebralised the following *t* (ll. 2, 3 C) and *śava*=*śrāva* (l. 3 A), except in *bhradaba* (l. 2) where it has persisted perhaps in consonance with the old Persian *bhrātar*, "brother". In a medial akshara *r* is retained, whether as the first member as in *sarva* and *paryata* (l. 3 A) and *sarvina* (l. 3 B); or as the second member, as in *agra* (ll. 2, 3 C) and *parigraha* (l. 4), and see Rule 2.

The changes in the consonants then, it will be seen, are not random (if one may use the word) as so often seems to happen in Prākṛit, but follow a consistent plan, so that, if any word be re-adjusted according to these rules, it appears at once as actual Sanskṛit or but one step removed therefrom.

In considering the inflectional forms, it will be convenient to cite the words as they would appear in their more correct Prākṛit form when re-adjusted according to the foregoing rules, that is, to cite them from the reading in italics (p. 210 f.).

The Prākṛit of this inscription has more affinities with Ardha-Māgadhī than with Śaurasēnī, if we compare the grammatical terminations that occur with those given by Pischel.[1] The dative singular ends in *āē*, both for the masculine as in *bhāgāē* (l. 2), and for the feminine as in *pūyāē* (ll. 2, 3 C) and *dachchhiṇāē* (l. 3 A); and these are Ardha-Māgadhī forms. The locative singular ends apparently in *mhi* for the masculine and neuter, if we read *mri*=*mhi* in *Kharatamhi* and *vihāramhi* (l. 1); and it is only in Ardha-Māgadhī (as I understand) that the locative sing. ends in *ṁsi*, from which easily comes the form *mhi*, that is found in Pāli but not in any other Prākṛit, I believe. The genitive plural ends in *āna*, as in *saṁbhattikīna* (l. 2), *avashattrikāna* (l. 3 C), etc.; and this termination is found in Ardha-Māgadhī as well as other dialects, but not apparently in Śaurasēnī.

There are other peculiarities which mark this Prākṛit. The nomin. singular masculine of nouns ending in *a* appears as *a* and not *ō*, as *putra*, *katālayika* (l. 1), *bhāga* (l. 3 C) and *parigraha* (l. 4); except in the poetical quotation in l. 3 A, B, where the *ō* form appears in *yō* and *aṁḍajō*. The neuter nomin. ends in *aṁ* as in *paḍiyaṁśaṁ* (ll. 2, 3 C) and *vihāraṁ* (l. 4) both which words appear to be considered neuter instead of masculine; but *śōcha* (l. 2), which should be neuter, does not support this rule and suggests that the nomin. also ended in *a*: and the accus. ends in *a*, as in *śarīra* (l. 1). The genitive masculine has its ordinary ending *sa* as in *Arṭamisiyasa* (l. 1), but when used honorifically has its full form *sya*, as in *Marēgasya* (ll. 1, 2), *Hōvēshkasya* (l. 2) and *Miṭyagasya* (l. 3 C). From other noun-bases may be noticed the genitive *bhagavata Śākyamunē* (l. 1), which=Skt. *bhagavataḥ Śākyamunēḥ* without the visarga which disappears in Prākṛit;[2] and a form *ra* of the genitive singular of noun-bases ending in *ā*, that is, Skt. *ṛi*, as in *mātā-pitara* (l. 2), which is discussed in the Notes (p. 215). Among pronouns we find *ēsha* used as a neuter nomin. (l. 4)[3]; and from *idam*, not only the instrumental singular *imēna*[4] (ll. 1, 2), but also probably a new base *iya*.[5] Among the very few verbs that occur may be noticed *bhūyā* the apocopated form of Skt. *bhūyāt* (l. 2).[6]

The inscription records that in the year 51 and in Huvishka's reign, Kamagulya (or perhaps Kamakulya, by rule 1), son of Vagra Marēga (or perhaps Marēka, by rule 1), interred a relic of

[1] Prakrit Grammar, §§ 363-76.

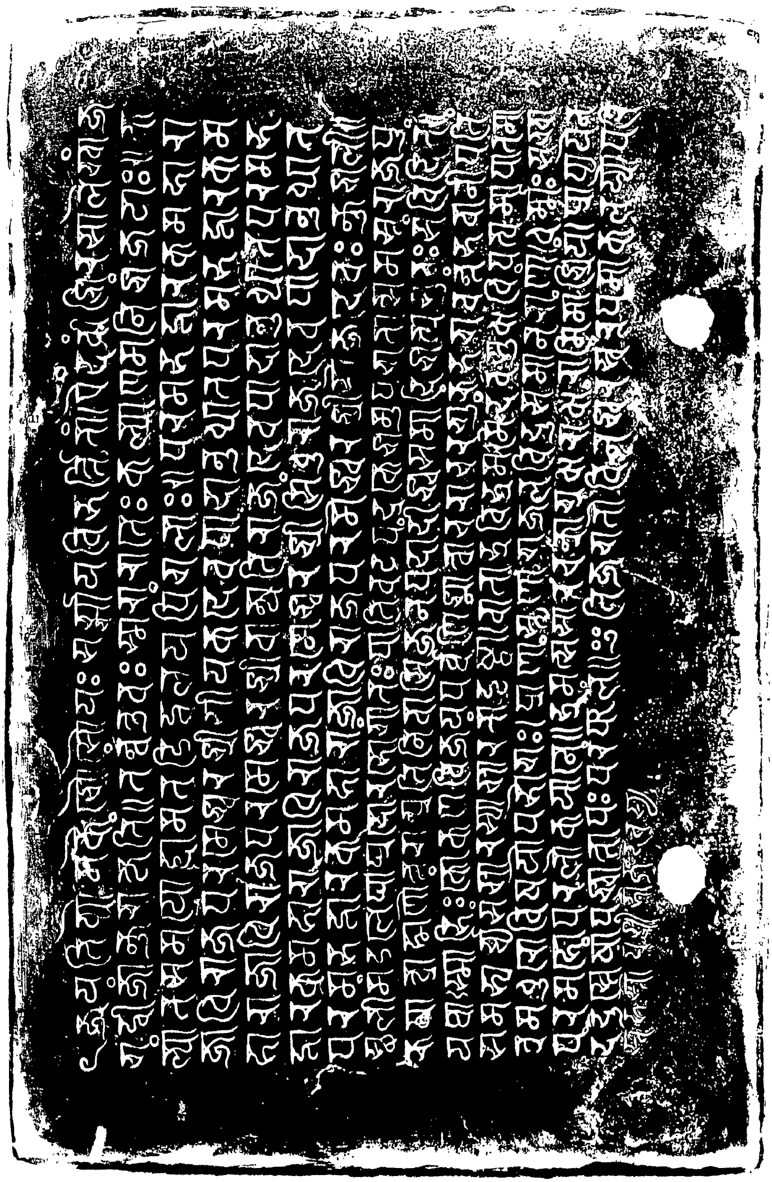
[2] I do not find *munē* mentioned as a genitive by Pischel; it is given in Dr. E. Müller's Pali Grammar, p. 70, citing Oldenberg, KZ. xxv, 318.

[3] Noticed in Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 426.

[4] This is found in other inscriptions.

[5] See note on *iya Khavadamri* (p. 212).

[6] Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 459, 464.



i. b.

E. Hultzsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

Scale two-thirds.

24 गोवशर्म्मा-अग्निशर्म्मा-द्विगोप-नावुव[क]-कुमारभद्र-सीह-नट्टक-गिंजक-गोग्गक-संगम[-]

25 द्विभट्टि-भानु-एवं चतुश्चत्वारिङ्शते[1] ब्राह्मणेभ्यः वटनगरस्थल्यन्तर्गतभोण्डानक-
ग्रामस्सोद्रङ्ग-

26 स्सोपरिकरस्सवातभूतप्रत्यायस्सधान्यहिरण्यादेयस्सदशापराधस्सोत्पद्यम[ा]न[2]विष्टिस-
र्व्वर[ा]-

27 जकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयवर्ज्जितः भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाच-

28 न्द्रार्क्कार्णव[3]क्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उदकातिसर्ग्गेण
धर्म्मदायो

29 निसृष्टः यतः ए[षां] भुंजतां [कृ]षतां कर्षयतां प्रदिशतां वा न कैश्चिद्व्या-
सेधे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्र-

30 नृपतिभिरप्यस्म[द्वं]शजैरन्यैर्व्वा अनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च
भूमिदानफलम-

31 वगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेति ॥ [4]बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
भिस्सग-

32 रादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [5]यानीह
दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि ध-

33 र्म्मायतनीकृतानि [।*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः
पुनराददीत ॥ [ष]ष्टिं वर्षस-

34 हस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदेत[6] भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव
नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकश्चा-

35 त्र भट्टादित्ययशाः [।*] लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिवीरपतिवत्रभट्टिना[7] ॥[8]

36 सं २०० ८० ६ आषाढ ब ८ ॥०।

37 स्वहस्तो मम ॥

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[1] More properly °श्चत्वारिंशते.

[2] Read °विष्टिस्स° or °विष्टिकस्स, according to several other grants.

[3] Read °र्णव°.

[4] This verse is introduced in the grant of 290 by the words *uktaṁ cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna.*

[5] The metre is *Upajāti* made up of *Upēndravajrā* and *Indravajrā.*

[6] For *mōdēta* many other grants read *mōdati*, but we have got *vasati* instead in the Smṛiti passages where it occurs.

[7] The original clearly reads the name as *Vatrabhaṭṭinā*, which does not make any sense. The grant of 290 reads Chandrabhaṭṭinā instead which perhaps is the proper spelling of the name. It should be noted, however, that Dr. Bhandarkar's plate (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 17) also appears to read the name as Vatrabhaṭṭi which the Doctor reads as Vashabhaṭa, as it does not look quite clear at the place.

[8] [The symbol here corresponds to the symbol at the beginning and may be read *ōṁ*.—H.K.S.]

No. 18.—BANSWARA PLATES OF BHOJADEVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1076.

By Professor E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

Although the approximate period of the reign of the **Paramāra** king **Bhōjadēva** of **Dhārā** is settled from references in contemporary literature,[1] the only inscription of his time which had been discovered so far was the Ujjain copper-plate grant of **Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021.**[2] The copper-plate inscription now published is dated about two years earlier, *viz.* in **the [Vikrama] year 1076, on the 5th** *tithi* **of the bright fortnight of Māgha** (l. 31). The date of the grant was the **anniversary of the conquest of Koṅkaṇa** (l. 10). It follows from this that Bhōjadēva had undertaken an expedition into the Koṅkaṇ either in Saṁvat 1075 or in one of the years preceding it.

The subjoined transcript is based on an ink-impression prepared by Pandit Gaurishankar H. Ojha, Superintendent, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, and transmitted to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. I have received no description of the original, which was found in the possession of the widow of a *ṭhaṭhērā* (copper-smith) living at **Banswara.**[3] But as the impression shows two ring-holes at the bottom of the first side and at the top of the second side, it may be presumed that the inscription is engraved on **two copper-plates** which are held together by two rings and measure $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth and $9\frac{7}{8}$ inches in height. The inscribed side of the second plate bears at its bottom in a rectangular border (before lines 28 to 32) a flying figure of **Garuḍa**, facing the proper left and carrying a snake in his left arm.

The alphabet is **Nāgarī** of the same type as in the Ujjain plates.[4] The *avagraha* is used, improperly, for marking the elision of a short *a* after a long *ā* in ll. 10 and 22. The consonant ब is expressed by व throughout. Once श is wrongly replaced by स,[5] and स by श in four cases.[6] The gerund बुद्ध्वा is twice spelt बुध्वा.[7]

The document is drawn up in **Sanskṛit** prose mixed with verses which are nine in number. Excepting the different date and the particulars of the donee and the object granted, the new grant is practically identical with the Ujjain plates. A short abstract of it will therefore be sufficient for all purposes.

After two verses invoking the god Śiva (*Vyōmakēśa*, v. 1, or *Smarārāti*, v. 2), **Bhōjadēva,** successor of **Sindhurājadēva,** successor of **Vākpatirājadēva,** successor of **Siyakadēva** informs all royal officers coming to **Vaṭapadraka** included in the **Ghāghradōra** district (*bhōga*) of the **Sthalī** province (*maṇḍala*) and the Brāhmaṇas and other inhabitants, that, **at the anniversary of the conquest of Koṅkaṇa,** having bathed and worshipped Śiva (*Bhavānīpati*, l. 10), he granted 100 *nivartanas* (in words and figures, l. 16) of land in the above-mentioned village (*viz.* Vaṭapadraka) to the Brāhmaṇa Bhāïla, son of Vāmana, of the Vasishṭha *gōtra* and the Vāji-Mādhyaṁdina *śākhā*, whose ancestors had emigrated from **Chhiñchhā** city (*sthāna*, l. 18).[8]

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[1] See Bühler's remarks in Vol. I. pp. 230-233, above.

[2] Published, with English translation, by N. J. Kirtane, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 53 ff. The date was calculated by Kielhorn, *id.* Vol. XIX. p. 361, No. 169.

[3] This fact is very suggestive. If the copper-smith had not died, and if Mr. Ojha had not rescued the copper-plates from his widow, they would have shared the fate of many of their fellows, *viz.* the conversion into copper vessels.

[4] See the lithograph, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 53 and 54. Instead of °विनिर्गतराभसुर° (l. 2 f. of plate ii) we may have to read विनिर्गत (॥) भूसुर°.

[5] See note 3 on p. 183.

[6] See notes 6 and 9 on p. 182, and 2 and 5 on p. 183.

See notes 6 and 11 on p. 183.

[8] Cf. *Chiṁcha-kshētra*, above, Vol. IV. p. 207, text line 29.